00031581

BOMBAY BRANCH
OF THE
ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY
TOWN HALL, BOMBAY.

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018

CHARLES KNIGHT'S

POPULAR

HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

"The harvest gathered in the fields of the Past is to be brought home for the use of the Present."—Dr. Arnold, *Lectures on Modern History.*

VOL. III.

FROM THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI. TO THE REIGN OF CHARLES I.

WOLSEY
CROMWELL
MORE
CRANMER

THE POPULAR

HISTORY OF ENGLAND

An Illustrated History

OF SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO OUR OWN TIMES.

31581

BY CHARLES KNIGHT.

"The harvest gathered in the fields of the Past is to be brought home for the use of the Present."—DR. ARNOLD, *Lectures on Modern History.*

VOLUME III.

FROM THE REIGN OF EDWARD VI. TO THE REIGN OF CHARLES I.

LONDON:
BRADBURY AND EVANS, 11, BOUVERIE STREET.

[*The Right of Translation is reserved by the Author.*]

00031581

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.—A.D. 1547 to A.D. 1549.

PAGE

Events immediately after the Death of Henry VIII.—Executors of his Will—Somerset chosen Protector—Character of the young King—War with Scotland—Scottish Alliance with France—Somerset's Desire for Union between England and Scotland—Invasion—Battle of Pinkie—Progress of the Reformation—Parliament of 1547—Various Statutes in Matters of Religion—Proclamation against certain Processions and Ceremonies—Love of old Ceremonies—The Act for the Uniformity of Service—Publication of the Book of Common Prayer . . . . . 1—12

CHAPTER II.—A.D. 1549.

Difficulties of the Government of the Protector—Proceedings of his Brother, Lord Seymour—His Arrest—His Attainder and Execution—Participation of Somerset in Seymour's Condemnation—Dangers of the Country—Seymour and the King—Charges against Sharrington—Somerset's Attempts to resist the Oppression of the Commons—Proclamations against Inclosures—Insurrections of 1549—The Cornish and Devonshire Rebellion against Religious Innovations—Siege of Exeter—The Norfolk Rebellion against Inclosures—Encampments on Mousehold-heath—Organisation of the Insurgents—Warwick arrives with an Army—Defeat of the Rebels—Dispersion of the Rebels—The Scottish War continued—Scottish Successes . . . . . 14—29

CHAPTER III.—A.D. 1549 to A.D. 1553.

Position of Domestic Affairs after the Suppression of the Insurrections—Somerset accused of Lenity—Somerset obnoxious to the Nobles—Confederacy against the Power of Somerset—Edward carried from Hampton Court to Windsor—Somerset deserted—Lord Russell with the Army of the West takes part against him—Somerset arrested—He is conveyed to the Tower—Articles exhibited against him—His Humiliation and Release—Parliament assembled—Law against Unlawful Assemblies—Anabaptists excepted from a General Pardon—Burning of Joan Bocher—Cranmer and the King—Articles of Belief—Canon Law—Bonner, Gardiner, and other Bishops deprived and imprisoned—Resistance of the Princess Mary to the new Services—Release of Somerset—His second Fall—His Trial and Execution—Foreign Churches in England—Peace with France and Scotland—Power of Northumberland—Illness of King Edward—Marriage of Northumberland's Son to Lady Jane Grey—Edward determines to alter the Succession—His Death—Heirs Female to the Crown . . . . . 30—49

CHAPTER IV.—A.D. 1553 to A.D. 1554.

The Lady Jane proclaimed Queen—Northumberland leaves London—Queen Mary proclaimed in London—Northumberland and others tried—Northumberland's Execution and Apostasy—Lady Jane Grey in the Tower—Coronation of Mary—

PAGE.

Her Person and Qualities—Parliament—Sweeping Changes in Religion—Proposed Marriage with Philip—Popular Hatred of the Marriage—Ambassadors arrive to arrange a Treaty—Insurrection of Wyat—Conduct of the Queen—Wyat's March to London—The Insurrection defeated . . . . . 50—64

CHAPTER V.—A.D. 1554 to A.D. 1555.

Gardiner's Sermon before the Queen—Execution of Lady Jane Grey and her Husband—The Gallows in every London Street—Suffolk beheaded—Acquittal of Throckmorton—Elizabeth summoned to the Court—Elizabeth sent to the Tower—Her Letter to Mary—Her Death urged upon the Queen—Her Release from the Tower—Unquiet Condition of the Country—Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley at Oxford—Arrival of Philip of Spain—Marriage of Philip and Mary—Seditious Books—Protestant Exiles—Cardinal Pole and the Parliament—Pole's Absolution of the Kingdom—All the Statutes against Heretics revived . . . . . 65—77

CHAPTER VI.—A.D. 1555 to A.D. 1556.

The Marian Persecution—Summary of the Protestant Victims—Commission to try Preachers and Heretics—Hooper and four others executed—Martyrdom of Hooper—Rowland Taylor in Prison—His Martyrdom at Hadleigh—The married Clergy especially persecuted—Thomas Hawkes and Bishop Bonner—Philpot—Toleration not practised by Reformers—The Spy-system for Discovery of Heresy—Martyrdom of Latimer and Ridley—Cranmer's Recantation—His Repentance—His last Exhortation—His Martyrdom . . . . . 79—93

CHAPTER VII.—A.D. 1555 to A.D. 1558.

Sights and Events in London in the first Year of the Persecution—King Philip leaves England—Abdication of Charles V.—Parliament—Pope Paul IV.—The Dudley Conspiracy—The Princess Elizabeth again suspected—Pole consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury—Visitation of the Universities—Exhibitions of Bigotry—Philip returns to England—Quarrel of the Pope with Spain, and his Alliance with France—Philip urges a Declaration of War against France—Stafford's Seizure of Scarborough Castle—English Forces sent to the Flemish Frontier—Battle of St. Quentin—Hostilities between England and Scotland—Calais taken by the French—Guisnes surrendered, and Hammes evacuated—The War ill-conducted—Interview of Philip's Ambassador with Elizabeth—Death of Mary . . . . . 94—105

CHAPTER VIII.—A.D. 1558 to A.D. 1561.

Elizabeth proclaimed Queen—She refuses to attend Mass on Christmas-day—Philip proposes Marriage to Elizabeth—The Commons request that she should marry—Her Answer—The Coronation progress through the City—Cecil—His Plans for the Restoration of Protestantism—Device for the Alteration of Religion—Opening of Parliament—Statute for restoring the Supremacy to the Crown—Statute for the Uniformity of Common Prayer—Deprivation of Bishops—Peace with France—Pretensions of Mary Stuart—Elizabeth the Head of the Protestant Party of Europe—Affairs of Scotland—Hostility of the Queen Regent of Scotland to the Reformers—Their Desire for an Alliance with England—French Troops sent to Scotland—England sends an Army and Fleet—Siege of Leith—Peace concluded at Edinburgh—Assembly of the Parliament of Scotland—Acts establishing the Reformed Religion—Mary refuses to ratify the Treaty of Edinburgh—Death of Francis II.—Mary determines to return to Scotland—Policy of Elizabeth and Mary—Elizabeth refuses Mary a Safe Conduct—Mary embarks at Calais—Arrival of Mary in Scotland—Contrasts in the Fortunes of Mary and Elizabeth . . . . . 107—127

CHAPTER IX.—A.D. 1561 to A.D. 1567.

PAGE

Public Spirit under Elizabeth—Sports and Processions—England sends aid to the French Protestants—Scotland—Plans for Mary's Marriage—Leicester and Darnley—Marriage of Mary and Darnley—The Reformers indignant at the Marriage—Revolt of Murray and other Nobles—Revolt suppressed, and the Lords banished—Darnley and Riccio—Quarrels of the Queen and Darnley—Plot against Riccio—Murder of Riccio—Birth of a Scottish Prince—Ascendancy of Bothwell—Darnley at the Kirk of Field—Assassination of Darnley—Mock Trial of Bothwell—Mary carried off—Marriage of Mary and Bothwell—Mary surrenders to her Nobles 129—149

CHAPTER X.—A.D. 1567.

Mary compelled to resign the Crown—Murray accepts the Regency—Escape of Mary from Lochleven—Circumstances of her Escape—Battle of Langsyde—Mary takes Refuge in England—Mary's Detention in England—Conferences of York and London—Mary placed under Charge of the Earl of Shrewsbury—Anxiety for her Safe Custody—The Duke of Norfolk and Mary—Lady Catherine Grey . 151—162

CHAPTER XI.—A.D. 1568 to A.D. 1572.

General View of the first ten Years of Elizabeth—Movement of Rome against Protestantism—Persecutions in the Netherlands and in France—Intrigues against Elizabeth—Insurrection of the North—Pius V. issues a Bull of Excommunication against Elizabeth—Parliament of 1571—Statutes against Papists—Puritanical Party in the House of Commons—Motion for Reform of Abuses in the Church—Trial and Execution of the Duke of Norfolk—Troubles of Scotland—The Huguenots of France propitiated by the Marriage of the Prince of Navarre—Coligny shot—The Massacre of Saint Bartholomew resolved upon—Its Perpetration—Effect of the News upon the Court and People of England—Terror of England—New Danger of the Queen of Scots . . . . . 165—176

CHAPTER XII.—A.D. 1572 to A.D. 1586.

Jesuits in England—Campion—Increased Severities against Papists—Expedition to the Netherlands—Leicester in the Netherlands—Death of Sir Philip Sidney—Naval Successes under Drake—Babington's Conspiracy—Trial of the Conspirators—Alleged Complicity of Mary in the Plot—Mary's Papers seized—She is removed to Fotheringay Castle—Note on Scottish Affairs . . . . . 179—192

CHAPTER XIII.—A.D. 1584 to A.D. 1587.

The Association—Statute for the Surety of the Queen's Person—Commission for Trial of Mary—Proceedings on the Trial—Judgment against Mary—Conflicting Opinions on this Judgment—The Parliament urge the Execution of the Sentence—The Judgment proclaimed—Conduct of Elizabeth—Interview with Davison—Warrant of Execution—Mary beheaded at Fotheringay—Elizabeth disavows her Responsibility in this Proceeding—The Disavowal a Self-Deception—Note on the Statements that Elizabeth desired that the Queen of Scots might be privately Assassinated . . . . . 193—205

CHAPTER XIV.—A.D. 1587 to A.D. 1588.

Funeral of Sir Philip Sidney—Preparations for the Invasion of England by Spain—Drake's Expedition to Cadiz—Suspected Policy of James VI.—The Armada announced—The Spirit of the Country—Camp at Tilbury—The Mariners of England—Defences of the Coast—The Demeanour of the Queen—Her Oration at Tilbury—Loyalty of the Catholics . . . . . 213—223

CHAPTER XV.—A.D. 1588 to A.D. 1589.

PAGE

Sailing of the Armada—The English Fleet—The Armada off Plymouth—The Fight up Channel—The Run to Calais—The Fire-Ships at Calais—The Fight off Gravelines—The Flight to the North—The Deliverance—The Thanksgiving—Spain makes new Preparations—Expeditions against Spain—The Heroic Time . . . 225—239

CHAPTER XVI.—A.D. 1567 to A.D. 1593.

The three religious Classes of the second Half of the Reign of Elizabeth—Progress of Non-Conformity—Statute against the Puritans—The Puritan Enmity to the Habits of Society—Philip Stubbes' "Anatomie of Abuses"—Pride of Apparel—Gluttony and Drunkenness—Dancing considered a Vice—Music held to be corrupting—The Sabbath profaned by Sports—The Lord of Misrule—May-Games; Wakes; Church-Ales—Country Festivals—Christmas—Athletic Exercises and Sports—Gaming—Stage Plays . . . . . 241—256

CHAPTER XVII.—A.D. 1589 to A.D. 1598.

Henry of Navarre succeeds to the Throne of France—English Expeditions to aid Henry IV.—A Parliament called—Contests of the Crown and the Commons—Intrigues of Spain in Scotland—Naval Expeditions—The Taking of Cadiz—Parliament—Statutes regarding the Poor—Progress of Poor-Law Legislation—Poverty and Vagabondage—Labourers refusing to work at usual Wages—Egyptians and pretended Egyptians—Villanies of London—Insecurity of the Suburbs—Increase of London and Westminster—Statutes against the Increase of Buildings—Hospitals and Almshouses—Incidental Causes of Indigence—Fluctuations of Price—Sickness—Nuisances—Fires—Insufficient Household Accommodation . . . . 259—277

CHAPTER XVIII.—A.D. 1598 to A.D. 1603.

Death of Lord Burleigh—Death of Philip II.—Condition of Ireland—Rebellion of Tyrone—Essex appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland—His bootless Campaign—Essex suddenly returns to England—Essex and the Queen—Disgrace of Essex—He is committed to free Custody, and then suspended from his Offices—His Discontent, and Schemes for Redress—Armed Assembly at Essex-House—Attempt at Insurrection—Essex and Southampton tried for High-Treason—Conduct of Bacon on that Trial—Essex executed—Scotland—The Gowrie Conspiracy—The Last Parliament of Elizabeth—Debates on a Subsidy—Bill for abating Monopolies—The Queen's Wisdom in yielding to Public Opinion—Death of Elizabeth—Note on the Story of Essex's Ring . . . . . 278—295

CHAPTER XIX.—A.D. 1558 to A.D. 1603.

Literature and Art characteristic of the Period of their Production—First Years of Elizabethan Literature bore the Impress of the two preceding Reigns—Sackville—The early popular Drama—Marlowe and the contemporary Dramatists—Growing Refinement—Spenser—Shakspere—Lyrical Poetry—Its Association with Music—Rural Images in the Poets connected with the pleasurable Aspects of Country Life—Architecture—The Palatial Mansion—Gardens—The Gentleman's Manor-House—Classical Education . . . . . 297—306

CHAPTER XX.—A.D. 1603 to A.D. 1604.

James proclaimed King of England—Question of the Succession—Sir Robert Carey's Ride to Edinburgh—James quits Scotland—His Progress to London—His System of Punishments and Rewards—Cecil's Influence—The Coronation—Raleigh,

PAGE

Cobham, Grey, and Others, arrested on Charges of Conspiracy—The two Plots—Trial of Raleigh—Conduct of Coke, the Attorney-General—Raleigh and Others convicted—Raleigh's long Imprisonment—Conferences at Hampton Court—Meeting of Parliament—Contest between the King and the House of Commons upon a Question of Privilege—Statutes of this Session—Wardship—Purveyance—Grievances—Temper of the Commons—Peace with Spain—James proclaimed King of Great Britain—Character of James . . . . . 307—320

CHAPTER XXI.—A.D. 1605.

The Gunpowder Plot—Lord Mounteagle receives a Letter—Fac-Simile of the Letter—Salisbury is made acquainted with the Letter—Its Interpretation—Search under the Parliament House—Seizure of Fawkes—The other Conspirators—Their Preparations during eighteen previous Months—Their Proceedings after the Discovery—The Conspirators in Arms—They resist the Sheriff—Some killed; Others taken Prisoners—Feelings of the Roman Catholics—Ben Jonson—Trial of Fawkes and Others—Garnet the Jesuit—His Conviction—His Doctrine of Equivocation 321—336

CHAPTER XXII.—A.D. 1605 to A.D. 1613.

Parliament of 1606—Statutes against Papists—Game Laws—Manners of the Court—Lavishness of James upon his Favourites—Feudal Aid—Impositions upon Merchandise—First Settlement in Virginia—Progress of the Colony—Settlement of the Pilgrim Fathers in Massachusets—Charter of the East India Company—First Factory at Surat—The Mogul Rulers of Hindostan—Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe—Dissolution of the Parliament—Murder of Henry IV. of France—Authorised Translation of the Bible—Ireland—Plantation of Ulster—Creation of Baronets—The New River—Increase of London . . . . . 338—355

CHAPTER XXIII.—A.D. 1612 to A.D. 1618.

Arabella Stuart—Death of Salisbury—Robert Carr, King's Favourite—Death of Prince Henry—Marriage of the Princess Elizabeth—The Addled Parliament—George Villiers, the new Favourite—Murder of Overbury—Trials for the Murder—Somerset and his Countess convicted—Conduct of the King—Sir Edward Coke dismissed—Proclamation for Sports—Note on the Secret Communications between the King and Sir George More . . . . . 358—371

CHAPTER XXIV.—A.D. 1618 to A.D. 1625.

Release of Raleigh—Raleigh's Expedition—Raleigh returns to England—His Execution under his former Sentence—Affairs of the Palatinate—The Elector defeated at Prague—Parliament—Monopolists—Lord Bacon impeached—Conduct of Parliament in Floyd's Case—The King and the Parliament at Issue—Parliament dissolved—Prince Charles and Villiers in Spain—The Proposed Marriage of Charles with the Infanta broken off—Rejoicings in England—Parliament—War and Subsidy—Statute against Monopolies—Impeachment of the Earl of Middlesex—Death of King James . . . . . 374—386

CHAPTER XXV.—A.D. 1625 to A.D. 1629.

Accession of Charles I.—Marriage of the King with Henrietta Maria—The first Parliament of Charles—Grievances—Naval Failures—The second Parliament—Contests of Peers and Commons with the Crown—Subsidies illegally levied—Imprisonments for Refusals to pay—The Queen's foreign Attendants dismissed—War with France—Its Causes—La Rochelle—Expedition to the Isle of Rhé—The third Parliament—Petition of Right—Buckingham denounced in the Commons' House—

PAGE

Prorogation of Parliament—Siege of La Rochelle—Buckingham and Richelieu—Assassination of Buckingham—Felton, the Assassin—Surrender of La Rochelle—Parliament—Religious Differences—Parliament dissolved in Anger—Members imprisoned—Peace with Spain and France . . . . . 387—404

CHAPTER XXVI.—A.D. 1629 to A.D. 1638.

Absolute Government—Condition of England from 1629 to 1637—Contrasts of France and England—Imprisoned Members—Sir John Eliot—His Death in Prison—Wentworth—Lord President of the North—Lord Deputy of Ireland—His Principles of Government—Prynne's "Histrio-Mastix"—His Punishment—Masques and Plays—Character of the Drama—Book of Sports—*Thorough*, in Church and State—Monopolies—Proclamations against Building in London—Other arbitrary Proclamations—First Project of Ship-Money—The Writ of Ship-Money extended—The Judges sanction the Writs—John Hampden—Solemn Trial of the Validity of the Writ of Ship-Money—Hampden adjudged to pay—Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick—The Despotism of Charles not effective of any Public Improvement—His alleged Patronage of the Fine Arts—Shows of the City—Mary de Medicis in London—*Note* on the Portraits of Charles . . . . . 405—428

CHAPTER XXVII.—A.D. 1637 to A.D. 1640.

Scotland—Visit of the King in 1633—A Service Book commanded to be used in 1637—The National Covenant—Progress of the Troubles in Scotland—The General Assembly—The King and the Scots levy Forces—The King at Berwick—Camp of the Covenanters—An English Parliament—Suddenly dissolved—Convocation continues to sit—The Scottish War resumed—Rout of Newburn—Council of Peers—Cessation of Arms—An English Parliament summoned—Character of the House of Commons—Strafford—Laud . . . . . 429—439

CHAPTER XXVIII.—A.D. 1640 to A.D. 1641.

The Long Parliament—Difficulty of narrating its History in a limited Space—Of what Manner of Men composed on its first Meeting—Opening of the Parliament—Election of Speaker—Petitions from the Prisoners under Sentence of the Star-Chamber—Their triumphal Entry into London—Arrival of the Earl of Strafford—The House of Commons resolve to impeach him—His Arrest—Arrest of Archbishop Laud—Impeached of High-Treason, and committed to the Tower—Finch, the Lord-Keeper, and Windebank, Secretary of State, fly the Country—The Judges in the Case of Ship-Money proceeded against—Destruction of Crosses and Images—Charges against Strafford—His Trial—Arrangements of Westminster Hall—Daily Course of Proceedings—Bill of Attainder proposed in the House of Commons—Disclosure of Henry Vane—Strafford's last Speech in his Defence—Pym's Reply—Close of the Trial—The Bill of Attainder passed by both Houses—Army Plots and Popular Clamours—Efforts of the King to save Strafford—He finally abandons him—His Execution . . . . . 441—458

CHAPTER XXIX.—A.D. 1641.

Act for the non-dissolution of Parliament—Jealousy of the Commons—Principal legislative Measures—Ship-Money—Star-Chamber—Local arbitrary Courts—Court of High Commission—Forests—Writs for Knighthood—English and Scottish Armies disbanded—The King goes to Scotland—The King in Scotland—Intrigues with Montrose—Parliament re-assembles—The Irish Insurrection—The King's Progress to London—Debate on the Remonstrance—The King's Entertainment in the City—Struggle of Parties—The Remonstrance presented—The King at Whitehall—Tumults—Popular Cry against Bishops—Protest, and committal of twelve Bishops—Question of the Militia—Articles of Treason exhibited against Lord Kimbolton and five Members of the Commons—The King attempts to seize the five Members—The House adjourned . . . . . 459—476

CHAPTER XXX.

PAGE

The King demands the Members at Guildhall—Manifestations of popular Discontent—" The King removes from Whitehall—The Members brought back in triumph—The Queen leaves England—Conference at Newmarket—The King refused entrance to Hull—Parliamentary Ordinance for the Militia—The King forms a Body-Guard at York—Preparations of the Parliament—View of Society immediately before the commencement of the Civil War—Arming of the People—The Cavaliers—Influence and Character of the Puritans—The Clergy—Shutting up of the Playhouses—Volunteers of London—Women petitioning—London Apprentices—Industry affected by the Preparations for Civil War—Disturbances in the Country Districts—Maintenance of Order generally—Influence of the Press—The Poets—The Journalists—Superstitions—The King sets up his Standard at Nottingham—His gloomy Prospects—Messages between the King and Parliament—Essex marches from London . . . . . 478—498

TABLE OF CONTEMPORARY SOVEREIGNS 499

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

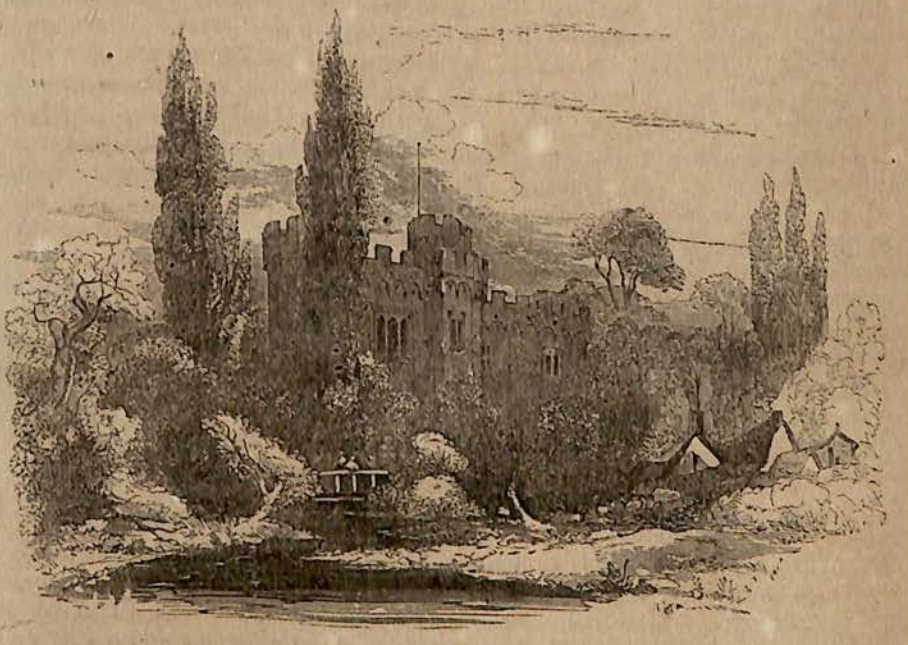
PORTRAITS ON STEEL.

Wolsey—Cromwell	*Frontispiece.*	
Burleigh—Drake—Raleigh	*to face page*	65
James I.—Charles I.	,, ,,	129
Strafford—Hampden—Falkland	,, ,,	193
Oliver Cromwell	,, ,,	259
Charles II.—James II.	,, ,,	321
Bacon—Spenser—Ben. Jonson	,, ,,	387
Milton—Hobbes—Jeremy Taylor	,, ,,	441

WOOD ENGRAVINGS.

	PAGE
Hertford Castle	1
Crown of Edward VI.	4
Castle of St. Andrew's	5
Palm Sunday: Procession of the Wooden Ass	11
Device of John Day	13
Arundel House. Granted by Edward VI. to Lord Seymour	14
Process of Coining	18
Exeter	22
Norwich	25
Armed Knight, Temp. Edward VI. (From the Tower Armoury.)	26
Sculptured Powder-flask. (From the Meyrick Collection.)	28
Pistols. Time of Edward VI. and Mary	29
Great Seal of Edward VI.	30
Ely Palace, 1772	32
Somerset House. (From the original Collection of Drawings, by John Thorpe, in the Library of Sir John Soane's Museum.)	36
Dutch Church, Austin Friars	45
Statue of Edward VI. at Christ's Hospital	48
Lady Jane Grey	50
Philip of Spain. (From a Painting by Titian.)	58
St. James's Palace and City of Westminster (Temp. James I.), viewed from the Village of Charing	64
Interior of the Beauchamp Tower	65
The Traitor's Gate	70
Woodstock, as it appeared in 1714	71
Great Seal of Mary	72
King Philip	74
Stone at Hadleigh, to the Memory of Dr. Taylor	79
Latimer	91
Cranmer, on the Morning of Execution	92
Costume of the Reign of Edward VI. and Mary	94
Dr. Dee	97
Fac-simile from Elizabeth's Translation of a Dialogue in Xenophon	99
Divinity Schools, Oxford, in the Sixteenth Century	100
Shilling of Philip and Mary	106
Great Seal of Queen Elizabeth	107
Crown of Queen Elizabeth	115
Signature of Elizabeth	117
Knox's House, in the Canongate, Edinburgh	122
Holyrood House	128
Old St. Paul's, before the Destruction of the Steeple, 1561	129
State Carriage of Queen Elizabeth. (From Hoefnagel's Print of Nonsuch Palace.)	131
Interior of Holyrood Chapel	141
Surrender of Mary, Queen of Scots, at Carberry-hill. (From the ancient Print published by the Society of Antiquaries.)	148
Monument to Knox, at Glasgow	150
James's Cradle	152
Interior of Tutbury Castle Yard	159
Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire	162
Kenilworth Castle in 1620. (From a Fresco Painting at Newnham Padox.)	165
Sir Thomas Gresham's Exchange, London. Completed in 1570	166
Queen Elizabeth surrounded by her Court. (From a Print by Vertue.)	177
Drake. His Ship	178
Arms, &c. (From the Tower Armoury.)	179
Earl of Leicester	182
Sir Philip Sidney	184
Fotheringay, as it appeared in 1718	190
Plan of Edinburgh. (From a Print of the early Part of the Seventeenth Century).	192
Tomb of Mary, Queen of Scots, in the South Aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster Abbey	193
Penshurst Castle	213
Drake	215
Medal struck by the Dutch. The Pope, Cardinals, and Princes in Conclave	217
Tilbury Fort. (About 1680.)	219
Frobisher	220
Cavendish	221
Queen Elizabeth's Armoury in the Tower of London	223
Howard, Lord High Admiral	225
Hawkins	228

	PAGE
The Spanish Armada attacked by the English Fleet. (From the Tapestry in the House of Lords, destroyed in the Fire at the Houses of Parliament)	229
Raleigh	231
Morions (from the Meyrick Collection); and Military Costume of 1591 (from one of the Morions)	235
Procession to St. Paul's	237
Medal struck by the Dutch after the Defeat of the Armada	240
Hooker	241
Costume. — Venetian, 1590 (Titian); Spanish, 1577 (Weigel); French, 1581 (Boissard)	248
The Drunkard's Cloak	249
Remains of Stoké Manor-House, the Seat of Sir Christopher Hatton	250
Barley-break	251
The Alehouse Door	253
Whitsun Morris Dance	253
Plough Monday. Dance of Bessy and the Clown.	254
Bringing in the Yule-log at Christmas	255
Hurling	256
Richard Burbage	257
The Globe Theatre	258
Medal of Henry IV. of France	259
Man and Woman in Stocks. (From "Caveat for Cursitors.")	269
The valiant Rogue and the Mendicant. (From "Caveat for Cursitors.")	271
Watchman	273
House of M. Beaumont, the French Ambassador, in the Strand	274
Leicester's Hospital, Warwick	275
The Prisoner	277
Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury	278
North Front of Burleigh House	279
"Drawn after the Quick"	281
Essex House. (From Hollar's View of London.)	288
Tomb of Queen Elizabeth, in the North Aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster Abbey	294
Essex's Ring	296
Spenser	297
John Shakspere's House in Henley Street. (From an old Print.)	302
The Duke's House, Bradford. (From Richardson's "Elizabethan Architecture.")	304
Staircase at Claverton, Somersetshire. (From Richardson's "Elizabethan Architecture.")	305
Westminster School. (From an ancient Print.)	306
Great Seal of James	307
Anne of Denmark, Queen of James I. (From Strutt.)	308
Coronation of James I.	310
Raleigh in the Tower	313
Procession of James I. on the Thames	319
Fifteen-Shilling Piece of James I.	320
James I. hawking	321
Fac-simile of the Letter to Lord Mounteagle	323
Vault beneath the old House of Lords	325
The Autographs of Guido Fawkes before and after Torture	327
House of the Conspirators at Lambeth	329
Musketeer, 1603	331
The Gunpowder Conspirators. (From a Print published immediately after the Discovery.)	332
Banqueting-House, Whitehall	338
Hall at Theobalds. (From a Picture at Hinton St. George.)	340
Henry, Prince of Wales. (From Drayton's "Polyolbion.")	342
Mohawk Indians	344
Coryat on his Elephant. (From a Woodcut in his "Crudities.")	347
Surat, in the Eighteenth Century	348
Delhi	350
Paul's Cross, Temp. James I.	353
Chadwell Springs	355
London Bridge, about 1616	356
Plan of St. Giles-in-the-Fields	357
Hatfield House	359
Jonson	360
Inigo Jones	360
Abbot	361
Earl and Countess of Somerset. (From a Print of the Period.)	366
Coke	369
Medal Likeness of James I.	370
Whitehall, with the Banqueting House, built in 1619	373
Cavalier, 1620. (From a Specimen at Goodrich, engraved in Skelton's Armour.)	378
Autograph of James I.	382
Selden	383
James I. lying in State	386
Great Seal of Charles I.	387
Queen Henrietta Maria. (Vandyck.)	388
Portsmouth and Portsea, Gosport and Porchester Castle in the Seventeenth Century	395
Medal of Richelieu	398
La Rochelle	399
House at Portsmouth in which the Duke of Buckingham was assassinated	401
Charles I. and Armour-Bearer	405
Prynne	411
Old Star-Chamber, Westminster, pulled down after the Fire of the Parliament Houses	412
The Paris Garden Theatre, Southwark	413
Hackney Coach Stand in Palace Yard	417
Sedan, 1638	418
View of Ancient Birmingham	420
Hampden House and Church	422
Gallery of the Arundel Marbles	425
Merchant's Wife of London. (From Ornatus Muliebris, 1640.)	426
"Green Man"	426
Cheapside, with the Procession of Mary de Medicis on her Visit to Charles I. and his Queen	27
St. Giles's and the Old Tron Church, Edinburgh, in the Time of Charles I.	429
Milton in his earlier Years	432
Dumbarton	434
"A perfect Diurnall of the Passages in Parliament"	441
Palace Yard Stairs, 1641	443
Pym	445
Destruction of the Cross in Cheapside. (From a contemporary Print in the British Museum.)	448
Soldier of the Trained Band	450
Autograph of Charles	458
Helmets of the Time of Charles I. (From Specimens at Goodrich Court.)	459
Dublin, in the Time of Charles I.	464
Lady Mayoress of London. (Hollar's Theatrum Mulierum.)	467
Whiffler and Henchboy	468
Holland House	469
Fish-wife	471
Citizen's Wife of London. (Hollar, Ornatus Muliebris, 1640.)	489
Butler's Cottage	493
Country-woman	494
Plan of Fortifications of City and Suburbs of London	498



Hertford Castle.

POPULAR HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER I.

Events immediately after the death of Henry VIII.—Executors of his Will—Somerset chosen Protector—Character of the young King—War with Scotland—Scottish alliance with France—Somerset's desire for union between England and Scotland—Invasion—Battle of Pinkie—Progress of the Reformation—Parliament of 1547—Various Statutes in matters of religion—Proclamation against certain processions and ceremonies—The Act for the Uniformity of Service—Publication of the Book of Common Prayer.

On Friday, the 28th of January, 1547, Edward, the son of king Henry VIII., is sojourning at Hertford Castle. His father lies dead in the palace at Whitehall. Between one and two o'clock of the morning of Saturday, the 29th, the earl of Hertford, his uncle, is also at Hertford Castle. Not twenty-four hours have elapsed since he was at the side of the dying king. He has left a confidential friend behind him, sir William Paget, one of the secretaries of state; and in answer to a despatch which has been forwarded to him, the earl writes, before day-break of that January morning, with regard to the late king's Will, "that it might be well considered how much thereof were

necessary to be published;" adding, "for divers respects I think it not convenient to satisfy the world." The Will was in safe custody. Hertford had locked it up; but he confides in Paget, and says in this letter, "I have sent you the key of the Will." * As the day advances, prince Edward and his uncle, with sir Anthony Brown, ride to Enfield. There, in the Manor House, dwells the lady Elizabeth. The son of Henry by Jane Seymour is a few months above nine years of age. Henry's daughter by Anne Boleyn has seen thirteen years and four months. This boy and girl are attached to each other. Their elder sister, Mary, who is now in her thirty-second year, has few sentiments in common with these young people. She clings to the principles and institutions which, since their births, have been rapidly perishing. They have been taught to believe that the new opinions to which she has been compelled to assent will go forward into a more complete and permanent revolution. Edward and Elizabeth are brought together at Enfield, before their father's death is declared to them. "Never," says Hayward, the historian of Edward VI., "was sorrow more sweetly set forth."

The parliament, which was sitting at the time of king Henry's decease, met on the 29th of January, and transacted business without receiving any intimation of the great change in the monarchy. On the 31st, on which day Edward was conducted to the Tower of London and proclaimed king, Wriothesley, the chancellor, announced to the lords and commons the death of "their late dread lord." A portion of the king's Will was then read, and the parliament was dissolved. That Will was dated the 30th of December; and under it sixteen executors were appointed, to exercise the powers of the crown during Edward's minority. To assist these executors in cases of doubt, a second council of twelve persons was also nominated. At the accession of Henry VI., at the age of nine months, the peers assembled and issued writs for a parliament. Henry V. had desired by his Will that his brother Gloucester should be regent; but the parliament declared that a king could not appoint a regent during the minority of his successor. They committed a limited power to Gloucester under the title of Protector. The Executors of Henry VIII. raised the earl of Hertford to that office. The very act of appointing executors was the assertion of the royal prerogative to deal with the kingdom as with a private estate. A servile parliament had passed a statute under which Henry thus attempted to supersede the ancient powers of the legislature. The solemn trust conferred upon numerous executors propitiated the ruling passion strong in death; but the administrative power of many would necessarily be usurped by one, or by a few. Wriothesley opposed the nomination of any one of the council with an authority superior to the rest. Hertford reasonably enough pointed out the difficulties of conducting a government with such a large executive. The chancellor was overruled. The influence of Hertford prevailed. He was soon after created duke of Somerset; and Wriothesley was removed from office; having in his struggle for power committed a political offence. In these proceedings, the party of the Reformation was triumphant. Without the support of a powerful party Somerset could not have gone so direct to the object of his ambition. No one appears to have offered any resistance but the ex-chan-

* Tytler, "Original Letters," vol. i. p. 15.

cellor; and after Edward's coronation, which took place on the 28th of February, the Protector was not only confirmed in his authority by letters-patent under the great seal, but his powers were extended, and the functions of the executors were merged in those of a general council, who were bound to act by the advice and consent of the real head of the state. The boy-king had been crowned and anointed. He had taken the coronation oath. He had proclaimed a general pardon. But Somerset was the sovereign of England for the time being. He and his faithful co-executors had wealth as well as titles showered upon them, under the pretence that the late king had, by a clause in his will, required his executors to make good all that he had promised; and witnesses were ready to prove what these promises were. The same spirit of rapacity which had swallowed up so large a portion of the church property, in the days of Henry, was still unsated; and the zeal for a reformed church, earnest as it was amongst the more intelligent and truly religious of the nation, was thus exposed to reproach and misconstruction. When it was alleged that Henry VIII. had promised the earl of Hertford the revenues of six good prebends, the disinterested sincerity of the Protector in seeking a further reformation of religion might well be doubted.

In tracing the course of events in the reign of Edward VI.—a reign which lasted only six years and a half—we feel strongly impressed with the contrast between the influence of the personal character of a king whose will was almost absolute, and that of the personal character of a king whose nonage prevented him exercising any real control over public affairs. And yet we cannot speak of the tendencies of the government without feeling that the disposition, the abilities, and the acquirements of this youth, who died before he had completed his sixteenth year, could not be without some effect upon the opinions of the time, if they had little share in the direction of its policy. The "Journal" written with his own hand, which is preserved in the Cotton Library, is very remarkable, not only for what it contains but for what it omits. There is not the slightest display of learning in it—there are no puerilities. It is a very simple record of public affairs, without any expression of strong feeling. Not exhibiting any large or original views, it yet manifests a perfect acquaintance with the general nature of the matters which came under the writer's observation. A very competent judge has said, "It is perhaps somewhat brief and dry for so young an author; but the adoption of such a plan, and the accuracy with which it is written, bear marks of an untainted taste and of a considerate mind." * Of the first and second years of his reign, and of three months of the third year, it presents only a short summary. From the 24th of March, 1549, it becomes a Diary, and is continued till the 30th of November, 1552. In the introductory part, his own birth is recorded; and his early education is thus described: "Afterwards was brought up, till he came to six years old, among the women. At the sixth year of his age he was brought up in learning by Master Doctor Cox, who was after his almoner, and John Cheke, Master of Arts, two well-learned men, who sought to bring him up in learning of tongues, of the scripture, of philosophy, and all liberal sciences. Also John Belmaine, Frenchman, did teach him the French language." In a very curious paper,

* Sir J. Mackintosh, "History," vol. ii. p. 249.

without date, addressed to Edward by William Thomas, clerk of the council, a series of eighty-five questions upon matters of policy are put before him. These are of the most general nature, but of much significance—such as, "Whether it be better for the commonwealth that the power be in the nobility or in the people?" These questions the writer recommends by saying, "there is not so small a one amongst them as will not minister matter of much discourse worthy the argument and debating; which your highness may, either for pastime or in earnest, propone to the wisest men." * The very nature of these questions is some testimony to the opinion held of this

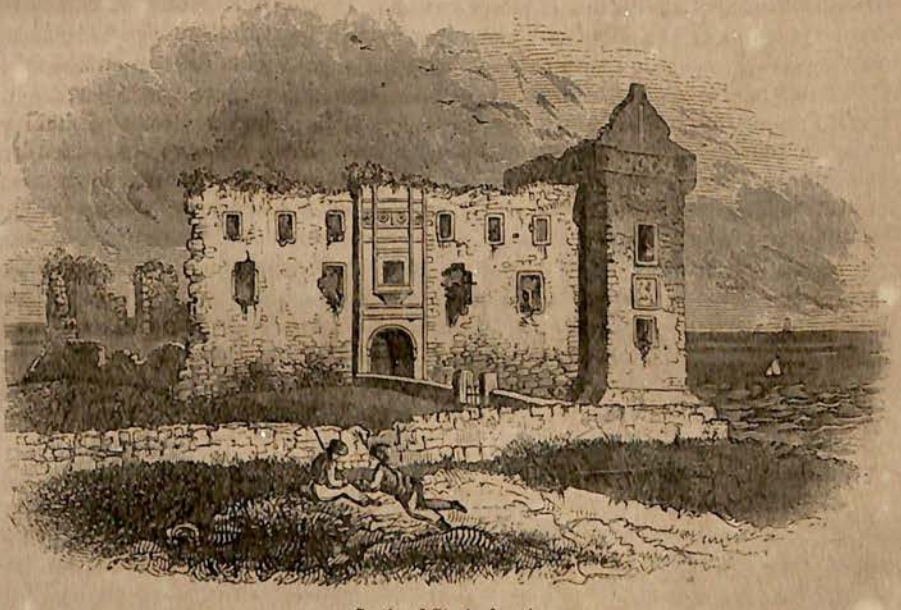
Crown of Edward VI.

prince's understanding; and this opinion may be valued at a higher rate than the eulogy of Cardan, an Italian physician, who saw him professionally in 1552, that he was "a marvellous boy"—"*monstrificus puellus.*"

At the period of Henry's death England was at peace. The pacification of 1546 with France included Scotland; and it was a leading object of Henry's policy, which he held to in his dying hour, that the union of England and Scotland should be cemented by the marriage of his son with the child Mary, the Scottish queen. The attempt to force this marriage upon Scotland had aroused the old national spirit of independence in her nobility; and the proposal of Somerset, that the former treaty for this marriage should be renewed and ratified, was coldly listened to. Within a month after the accession of Edward, the Council Book shows that a state of active hostility was approaching. On the 27th of February, Sir Andrew Dudley is appointed to the command of the ship Pauncy, to cruise in the North Seas, off the English and Scottish coasts.† In less than a fortnight, Dudley had captured the Scottish vessel Lion. This casual encounter appears to have made a strong impression upon the young king, for it is recorded with more than usual minuteness in his Journal. At this juncture an event occurred which materially affected the relations of England with France and Scotland. Francis I. died on the 31st of March, at Rambouillet. He had reigned thirty-two years; during which period his affairs had been so mixed up with those of Henry VIII., either as friends or enemies, that their fates

* See Ellis, "Second Series," vol. ii. p. 187.
† Lemon, "Calendar of State Papers," p. 2.

seemed in some degree to be linked together, and Francis had entertained a notion that he should die in the same year as the English king. When Henry died, Francis caused a funeral service to be celebrated in the church of Notre Dame; and he gradually fell into a state of dejection, which, if not a tribute of friendship to the memory of his rival in pomp and pageantry, was a submission to the lesson, which even kings must learn, that "all is vanity." The son and successor of Francis, Henry II., was playing at tennis, two days after his father's death,—by advice of his physicians.* He gave a more convincing proof of his slight regard for his father's memory, by calling about him the counsellors against whom he had received a death-bed warning. Twenty days before the death of Francis, a treaty had been concluded between France and England. This the new king of France refused to ratify. He preferred to cultivate an alliance with the Scots. The duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine were the brothers of the queen-dowager



Castle of St. Andrew's.

of Scotland, and they were amongst the chief advisers of the French king. To stay the progress of the reformed opinions in Scotland, and to prevent the marriage of the young Mary with Edward, were sufficient motives to a decided change of policy. The castle of St. Andrews, after the murder of cardinal Beaton, in 1546, had been held against the regent Arran, by those who were favourable to the English alliance. A truce between the regent and the possessors was concluded in February, 1547; and they subsequently proceeded to make a treaty with Somerset, in which they engaged to forward the projected marriage, and to aid any English force that should enter

* Wotton to Somerset, "Tytler," vol. i. p. 38.

Scotland for the purpose of obtaining possession of the queen's person. The French government, in the summer of 1547, sent a fleet to assist in the reduction of the castle. It was finally surrendered on the 29th of July, and was afterwards demolished. On the 2nd of September, the protector crossed the border at Berwick, with a powerful invading army.

It would be injustice to the policy of Somerset to assume that he entered upon the war with Scotland in the arrogant spirit with which Henry VIII. had conducted his negociations and his assaults. There was a treaty under the Great Seal of Scotland for the marriage of Edward with Mary; but the determination to demand its fulfilment was conducted in a tone of moderation, in the first instance, which shows that the empire of force was gradually yielding to the empire of opinion. The Protector addressed a remarkable letter "to the nobility and counsellors, gentlemen and commons and all other the inhabitants of the realm of Scotland," in which, with "greeting and peace," he sets forth the desire of England to establish the amity of the two countries by the union of the Crowns. In this document we recognise the expression of the sagacious statesman rather than that of the ambitious intriguer—of one who saw what was inevitable, but who did not sufficiently estimate the force of national pride and individual interest in retarding a great good. What the statesmen of queen Anne had the utmost difficulty in accomplishing, the minister of king Edward vainly expected to realise by appeals to great principles which were imperfectly understood even two centuries later. Somerset said to the people of Scotland, that living in one island, speaking the same language, alike in manners and conditions, it was "unmeet, unnatural, and unchristian, that there should be betwixt us so mortal war, who, in respect of all other nations, be and should be like as two brethren." He proposed a solid union by the marriage of king Edward and queen Mary—the circumstances being so favourable that the Divine Providence manifestly pointed out the road to amity. In this union of two kingdoms, England was ready "to take the indifferent old name of Britain again, because nothing should be left on our part to be offered. * * * We seek not to take from you your laws nor customs, but we seek to redress your oppressions, which of divers ye do sustain." If eloquent writing could have been more effectual than sturdy blows, such an appeal as this might have prevented the battle of Pinkie: "If we two, being made one by amity, be most able to defend us against all nations, and having the sea for wall, the mutual love for garrison, and God for defence, should make so noble and well-agreeing monarchy, that neither in peace we may be ashamed, nor in war afraid of any worldly or foreign power, why should not you be as desirous of the same, and have as much cause to rejoice at it as we?" * But the words of peace were not hearkened to. The influence of France prevailed. The priests stirred up the Scottish people to resist the English heretics. Knox was a prisoner in France; and the friends of the Reformation were scattered and proscribed.

Somerset advanced from Berwick along the shore, whilst a fleet under lord Clinton kept the sea within view of the coast; and as the army marched

* This letter, given at length in Holinshed, p. 998, is far more interesting than the paraphrase of Hayward, which Hume quotes as his authority.

by Dunbar, the ships were seen sailing into the Frith of Forth. Turning westward the cavalry forded the river Lynn, and the infantry crossed at Linton Bridge. Bands of Scottish horsemen now began to appear; and the earl of Warwick was nearly taken prisoner in a rash advance. On the 8th the English were encamped near Preston-pans; and the fleet was at anchor near Musselburgh. The Scottish army was within a distance of little more than two miles; the ridge of Falside being between the two hosts. On the 9th, after a sharp skirmish, Somerset and Warwick reconnoitred the Scots from this hill. They occupied a strong position, with the sea on their left flank, and a deep marsh on their right. The river Esk protected their front; and the bridge crossing the Esk was held and strongly defended. On the morning of the 10th, when the English army began to move, it was discovered that the Scots had abandoned their strong position, and had crossed the river. They had taken up an opinion that the English were about to retreat to their ships, and would escape unless attacked in their camp. This belief was fatal to them. Although the Scots fought with the most determined valour, and successfully resisted a furious charge of the English cavalry, their rash movement had placed a portion of their force within the ability of the English "to compass them," says one present in the battle, "in that they should no ways escape us; the which by our force and number we were as well able to do as a spinner's web to catch a swarm of bees."* The fight had been very doubtful until this superiority was gained in one portion of the field. A general panic then ensued; and the Scottish army fled before their slaughtering pursuers. We shall not follow Patten, the "Londoner," in his narrative of the horrible traces of this slaughter, by the sands of Leith, by the high road and King's Park to Edinburgh, and through the marsh to Dalkeith. The pursuit was not ended till nightfall; when the victors returned to plunder the Scottish camp. This great victory—the last field, most happily, in which England and Scotland were engaged in a quarrel that could be called national—was without any benefit beyond the unsubstantial glory of the victors. Ten thousand Scots perished, and fifteen hundred were taken prisoners, without any serious loss on the part of the English. Leith was set on fire. Several castles were taken. But in three weeks after the battle of Pinkie, Somerset recrossed the Tweed; and entered London on the 8th of October, declining, however, any triumphant reception. The young king congratulated his uncle in a short and sensible letter written on the 18th of September;† and the successful general received additional grants of landed estates. Some have ascribed the sudden return of Somerset to the necessity of resisting intrigues that were proceeding against him in the English council. It is probable that he trusted more to the gradual effects of his victory upon the minds of the Scottish nation, than to any immediate attempts to control the course of its government. But the spirit of resistance to the English heretics was excited rather than allayed by the disaster of the Black Saturday, as the day of Pinkie was long called. The desired amity was still far distant. There was a young man in the battle whose influence upon the politics of Scotland was ultimately more powerful than the prowess

* Patten's Narrative; in "Dalyell's Fragments of Scottish History."
† Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 148.

of the Protector, of whom he was a confidential servant. In that field the future great minister of Elizabeth "was like to have been slain; but was miraculously saved by one that, putting forth his arm, to thrust Mr. Cecil out of the level of the cannon, had his arm stricken off." *

Before the departure of Somerset for Scotland writs had been issued to summon a parliament. During the seven months which had elapsed of the reign of Edward the intentions of the government as to the reform of religion had been decidedly manifested; and there could be little doubt that a parliament would carry forward the principles of which the archbishop of Canterbury and the Protector were now the open and fearless advocates. Cranmer and his coadjutors in the church sought to prepare a broad and solid foundation for their reforms, in the enlightenment of the people. Vain ceremonies and superstitious observances might be attacked by statutes and proclamations. The ancient rubbish might be cleared away by the strong hand. But a fairer temple could not be built up except by the force of national opinion. The influence of the printing-press and the influence of the pulpit were to be exerted to lead the people to think, and in thinking, to reject the tyranny which had so long kept them in darkness. Cranmer had selected the Paraphrase of the New Testament, by Erasmus, as a fitting book to be translated into English, and set up in churches. It was the work of one of the most moderate of reformers, and contained little that could be offensive to the professors of the old faith. But any mode of enlightening the people was offensive to the anti-reforming party in the church; and Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, attacked this translation with clever bitterness which many a dignified ecclesiastic, even to this day, has been proud to imitate. One objection was made by Gardiner to the circulation of the Paraphrase, which may deserve a passing notice. He says that the injunctions to set up the book "charge the realm for buying rather above 20,000*l.* than under; whereof I have made account by estimate of the number of buyers, and the price of the whole books." The Paraphrase is in two folio volumes. It was translated by several persons; and each portion of the book being separately paged, it was either issued in sections, as it came from the press, or was divided amongst many printers to secure a rapid completion. The cost of this book, thus objected to by Gardiner, was probably as injurious to its circulation as "the arrogant ignorance of the translator," which he unsparingly ridiculed. In the same spirit the bishop of Winchester attacked the Book of Homilies, "appointed by the king's majesty to be declared, and read by all parsons, vicars, or curates, every Sunday in their churches, where they have cure." With all his rancour and prejudice there is a boldness and honesty in Gardiner's remonstrances against the measures of this period, which were ill answered by committing him to the Fleet. His voice was thus silenced before the meeting of parliament. An ecclesiastical visitation, to which Gardiner and Bonner, the bishop of London, were strongly opposed, went forward during the Protector's absence in Scotland. The kingdom was divided into six circuits; and the commissioners in each had to inquire as to the removal of images, when they were abused by pilgrimages and offerings; whether the Scriptures were read, and the Litany sung, in English; whether

* Life of Lord Burghley by a Domestic; in Peck's "Desiderata Curiosa," p. 8.

the clergy declared to their parishioners the articles for the abolition of superfluous holidays; whether they diligently taught their parishioners, and especially the youth, the Pater Noster, the articles of our faith, and the Ten Commandments, in English; whether the Bible, of the largest volume in English, was provided in some convenient place in the church. These, and many other subjects of inquiry, furnished a clear assurance that the government was not disposed to slumber over the work of the Reformation. The commissioners appear to have been armed in some particulars not only with a power of inquiry, but of absolute authority to repress abuses. There was no open resistance to their proceedings. Burnet says, that when the Protector returned from Scotland, "he found the visitors had performed their visitation, and all had given obedience. And those who expounded the secret providences of God with an eye to their own opinions, took great notice of this, —that on the same day on which the visitors removed, and destroyed, most of the images in London, their armies were so successful in Scotland at Pinkie-field."*

The parliament which assembled on the 4th of November, 1547, sat only till the 24th of December; but in those fifty days it passed some measures of the highest importance. The "Act for the repeal of certain statutes concerning treasons, felonies, &c.," swept away the manifold treasons which had been created, by statute after statute, in the reign of Henry VIII. In the reign of Richard II. the same process of making new treasons had been resorted to; and the statute of Henry IV. by which they are abrogated, says that "no man knew how he ought to behave himself, to do, speak, or say, for doubt of such pains of treason." So it was when Edward VI. came to the throne; and the remedy, as in the reign of Henry IV., was to go back to the Statute of Treasons of the 25th of Edward III., and entirely to repeal what Blackstone calls the "new-fangled treasons" of "the bloody reign of Henry VIII."† By this act of the 1st of Edward VI., all "estatutes touching, mentioning, or in any wise concerning religion,"—the statutes of Richard II., of Henry V., and of Henry VIII., "concerning punishment and reformation of heretics and Lollards;" the recent statutes of the Six Articles, and against uttering certain books; and "all and every other act concerning doctrine and matter of religion," were repealed and utterly annulled. All new Felonies made by statute since the 1st of Henry VIII. were also repealed. The penalties for affirming that the king is not supreme head of the Church were, however, retained. In this comprehensive statute, the despotic law of the preceding reign, that the Proclamations of the King in Council should be as valid as acts of parliament, was, further, wholly repealed.‡ Whatever might be the errors of the Protector's administration, this Statute alone furnishes a proof that the detestable spirit of unbridled tyranny which was the characteristic of the second half of the reign of Henry was not to be perpetuated. In the rebellion of 1549, when the insurgents were moved by the enemies of the Reformation to desire that the laws should be placed again on their tyrannous foundation, Somerset, writing in the name of the king, thus adverted to the circumstances

* "Reformation," Part II. book i.
† "Commentaries," book iv. c. 6, p. 82, of Mr. Kerr's edition.
‡ 1 Edward VI. c. 12.

of their repeal: "The Six Articles, and the statutes that made words treason, and other such severe laws, ye seem to require again; the which all our whole parliament almost, on their knees, required us to abolish and put away; and when we condescended thereto, with a whole voice gave us most humble thanks, for they thought before that no man was sure of his life, lands, or goods. And would you have these laws again? Will you that we shall resume the scourge again, and hard snaffle for your mouths?" * In this short parliament an act was passed regarding "the Sacrament of the Altar." It imposed the penalties of fine and imprisonment upon such as by preaching, reading, arguments, talks, rhymes, songs, or plays, "call it by such vile and unseemly words as Christian ears do abhor to hear rehearsed." There can be no doubt that the abuse and ribaldry with which the doctrine of the real presence had been assailed, had seriously tended to bring all religion into contempt, and had nourished a spirit of irreverence wholly opposed to the principles of the Reformation. But coupled with this enactment was a clause that marked the distinction between the Romish and the Reformed Church, by prescribing that the Sacrament should be administered in both kinds—the bread and the wine—thus providing that the cup should not be refused to the laity. The people, according to the usage of the primitive church, were to receive the sacrament with the priest.† By another Statute, bishops were to be elected by the king's letters patent, and process in the ecclesiastical courts was to be in the king's name.‡ Another Act, which indicates a good intention most unrighteously carried out, provides that all the revenues of chauntries, by which vain opinions of purgatory and masses were upheld, should be bestowed upon the crown; considering that "the alteration, change, and amendment of the same, and converting to good and godly uses, as in erecting of Grammar-Schools to the education of youth in virtue and godliness, the further augmenting of the universities, and better provision for the poor and needy," could not be effected in any other way than by committing their disposition to the king and his council.§ Cranmer, who knew the avidity with which the rapacious courtiers seized upon the spoils of the Church, had the honesty to vote against this bill. The great Reformer was in a minority with Bonner, the most intolerant enemy of Reformation.

The parliament had been prorogued till April, 1548; but, the houses having met, it was alleged that the war betwixt England and Scotland had prevented the attendance of many members, and parliament was again prorogued, and did not finally meet till the 2nd of January, 1549. During this interval of legislation the country was in an unsettled state. The Statute against Vagabonds, passed in the first session,—that cruel enactment which Edward in his Journal calls "an extreme law"—had removed none of the evils of this period of transition.‖ The Reformation kept on its steady course; offending the greater number of the people who clung to ancient habits, but gradually winning over the thoughtful and educated to an earnest reception of its principles. In February, 1548, a proclamation went forth to forbid the carrying of candles on Candlemas-day; taking ashes on Ash Wednesday;

* Tytler, "Original Letters," vol. i. p. 180. This is one of the many interesting documents which was first given in Mr. Tytler's collection from the State Paper Office.

† 1 Edward VI. c. 1. ‡ *Ibid.*, c. 2. § *Ibid.*, c. 14.

‖ See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 469.

and bearing palms on Palm Sunday. The commemoration of Christ's entry into Jerusalem was, in some places, burlesqued in the ancient procession of the wooden ass, before which the people prostrated themselves, and strewed their palm-branches. Burnet has described the differences of opinion as to the abolition of these old ceremonies: "The country-people generally loved all these shows, processions, and assemblies, as things of diversion: and judged it a dull business only to come to church for divine worship and the

Palm Sunday; Procession of the Wooden Ass.

hearing of sermons: therefore they were much delighted with the gaiety and cheerfulness of these rites. But others, observing that they kept up all these things just as the heathens did their plays and festivities for their gods, judged them contrary to the gravity and simplicity of the Christian religion, and were earnest to have them removed." * But the Reformers gave the people something of far higher value than the shows and processions which they took away. They gave them an English Liturgy.

* "Reformation," Part II. book i.

The first measure of the Parliament of 1549 was "An Act for the Uniformity of Service," &c. The preamble states that the king having appointed "the archbishop of Canterbury, and certain of the most learned and discreet bishops and other learned men of this realm," that they should "draw and make one convenient and meet order of common and open prayer and administration of the sacraments," they had "by the aid of the Holy Ghost, with one uniform agreement concluded and set forth" the same, "in a book entitled the Book of Common Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the Church, after the use of the Church of England." * This form of service was to be read by all ministers in cathedrals and parish churches, from the ensuing feast of Pentecost, under penalties for refusal; and the book of the said service was to be obtained at the cost of the parishioners, before that festival. The office of the Communion had been previously issued as a separate publication. Of the "Book of the Common Prayer", there were two authorised printers, Richard Grafton and Edward Whitchurch. They appear to have commenced the issue as fast as their presses could produce copies; some having the date of March, 1549; some of May, some of June. The price of a copy was limited, thus, by a notice on the last leaf of the folio volume: "The king's majesty, by the advice of his most dear uncle the Lord-Protector, and other his highness' council, straitly chargeth and commandeth that no manner of person do sell this present book, unbound, above the price of two shillings and twopence the piece; and the same bound in paste or in boards, not above the price of three shillings and eightpence the piece." † With some variations in a subsequent edition of 1552, which was called "the second book," this Liturgy is not essentially different from that of the present day. It was based upon the ancient catholic services, which had been handed down from the primitive ages of the Church; and which the English people had for generations heard sung or said, without comprehending their meaning. In the western insurrection of 1549, the rebels declared, "We will have the mass in Latin, as was before." The answer of Cranmer to this point of their complaints is a logical appeal to the common sense of Englishmen: "The priest is your proctor and attorney, to plead your cause and to speak for you all; and had you rather not know than know what he saith for you? I have heard suitors murmur at the bar, because their attorneys have pleaded their cases in the French tongue, which they understood not. Why then be you offended that the priests, which plead your cause before God, should speak such language as you may understand?" ‡ The resistance to the Act for the Uniformity of Service, to which the people in some places were stimulated by high counsels and examples, was of itself an indication of the fears of the anti-reformers, that the habitual use of a Common Prayer Book, so pure and simple, so earnest and elevated,—so adapted to the universal wants and feelings of mankind—so touching and solemn in its Offices—would establish the reformed worship upon a foundation which no storm of worldly policy could afterwards overthrow. The change in the habits of the people produced by this Book of Common Prayer must indeed have been great. When they

* 2 & 3 Edward VI. c. 1. † Herbert's Ames.
‡ Strype, "Memorials of Cranmer," vol. ii. p. 518. Oxford, 1848.

gathered together in the spacious cathedral or the narrow village church, they no longer heard the Litany sung by the priests in procession; but they joined their own voices to the sacred words which they received into their hearts, with "Spare us good Lord," and "We beseech thee to hear us." This constant feeling that they themselves were to take part in the service, and not be mere listeners to unintelligible though euphonious sentences, was to give a new interest to the reformed worship, far beyond the formal "Amen" of the Latin ritual, and the other routine words which they had been taught to speak, "like pies or parrots."* For a short time it was objected to the new service that "it was like a Christmas game;" but when the people, after a few years, had come to understand this service, in which they took a real part, they could not be readily led back to the "fond play" of their forefathers, "to hear the priest speak aloud to the people in Latin, and the people listen with their ears to hear; and some walking up and down in the church; some saying other prayers in Latin; and none understandeth other."† The English Liturgy, and the constant reading of the Lessons in English, were the corner-stones which held together that Church of England which the reformers had built up. Those who rejected the Liturgy consistently demanded that the English Bible should be called in again. The records of the Printing-press show how vain was such a demand. The art of Gutenburg and Caxton had made a return to the old darkness an impossibility. Not without reason did John Day, one of the printers of the many editions of the Bible that appeared in the reign of Edward VI., take, in allusion to his own name, a device of the sun rising and the sleeper awakened.

* Strype, "Memorials of Cranmer," vol. ii. p. 518. Oxford, 1848. † *Ibid.*, p. 544.

Arundel House. Granted by Edward VI. to Lord Seymour.

CHAPTER II.

Difficulties of the government of the Protector—Proceedings of his brother, Lord Seymour—His arrest—His attainder and execution—Participation of Somerset in Seymour's condemnation—Dangers of the country—Somerset's attempts to resist the oppression of the Commons—Proclamations against inclosures—Insurrections of 1549—The Cornish and Devonshire rebellion against religious innovations—Siege of Exeter—The Norfolk rebellion against inclosures—Encampments on Mousehold-heath—Dispersion of the rebels—The Scottish war continued.

ALTHOUGH the great ecclesiastical policy of the government of Edward VI. had, during the first two years of the reign, gone steadily onward, the evils incidental to a royal minority were rapidly developing themselves. The power of the Protector was to some extent an usurpation. The authority which had been conferred upon him by letters patent was naturally offensive to many of the council. The resistance of Gardiner and others of the higher clergy kept alive the hostility of the great Romish party. The princess Mary, too, as might have been expected from the determination of her character, refused to conform to the change of religion, and maintained that as her father's executors were sworn to his laws, she should defer her obedience to other laws until the king were of sufficient years to enforce them.* This doctrine was openly or covertly upheld by persons of less importance; and the bonds of submission to the ruling powers of the state were thus relaxed, wherever conscience, so called, could be set up against the duty of the subject. The Protector himself, of whose character it is difficult to judge dispassionately amidst a mass of contradictory opinions, was, like all persons whose authority is in any degree questionable, disposed to enforce it beyond the limits of prudence. He gave offence to a proud nobility, by taking precedence in

* Strype, "Eccl. Memorials," II. part I. p. 238.

parliament, and sitting upon an elevated seat on the right hand of the throne. He gave offence by putting his own opinion above the opinions of the council; so that a Spaniard who had visited England, said that Somerset rode upon so strong and big a horse, that the fair goodly animal carried the Protector and the king's council at once upon his back.* His confidential friend, sir William Paget, ventured to remonstrate against his "great choleric fashions;" and mentioning a case in which sir Richard a Lee had complained, with weeping, of the Protector's "handling of him," most wisely says, "a king who shall give men discouragement to say their opinions frankly receiveth thereby great hurt and peril to his realm. But a subject in great authority, as your grace is, using such fashion, is like to fall into great danger and peril of his own person, beside that to the commonwealth."† The first great danger and peril which Somerset encountered came from his own brother.

Admiral sir Thomas Seymour, created by Edward VI. lord Seymour of Sudley, had, within a very short time of the death of Henry VIII., become a suitor to his widow, queen Catherine Parr. In king Edward's Journal, immediately after a notice of the recantation of Dr. Smith, at Paul's Cross, on the 15th of May, there is this significant entry:—"The lord Seymour of Sudley married the queen whose name was Catherine, with which marriage the Lord Protector was much offended." The Protector, after the marriage was avowed, withheld the royal widow's jewels, which she alleged the late king had given her; and he opposed her wish as to the lease of a crown manor. Amiable as she appears to have been, she manifested her indignation in no measured terms, in a letter to her husband:—"This shall be to advertise you that my lord your brother hath this afternoon made me a little warm. It was fortunate we were so much distant; for I suppose else I should have bitten him." ‡ The wife of lord Seymour was not long fated to kindle her husband's wrath against his brother. She gave birth to a daughter on the 1st of September, 1548, and died on the 7th. Seymour had hoped for a son, "trusting," as he writes to his wife in June, that, "if God should give him life to live as long as his father, he will revenge such wrongs as neither you nor I can at this present." § It appears not improbable that what Seymour deemed his wrongs were the results of his brother's sense of his public duty. There is a remarkable letter of the Protector to the lord admiral, dated on the 1st of September, 1548, in which he remonstrates against his brother's conduct in his private relations with his neighbours:—"If you do so behave yourself amongst your poor neighbours, and others the king's subjects, that they may have easily just cause to complain upon you, and so you do make them a way and cause to lament unto us and pray redress, we are most sorry therefore, and would wish very heartily it were otherwise; which were both more honour for you, and quiet and joy and comfort for us. But if you mean it, that for our part we are ready to receive poor men's complaints, that findeth or thinketh themselves injured or grieved, it is our duty and office so to do. And though you be our brother, yet we may not refuse it upon you." ‖

The death of the queen, his wife, opened to the rash and turbulent Seymour, a new prospect for his ambition. If the scandalous stories of that

* Strype, "Eccl. Memorials," II. part I. p. 238. † *Ibid.* part II. p. 427.
‡ Haynes' Burghley Papers. § Tytler, vol. i. p. 103. ‖ Tytler, vol. i. p. 121.

time are to be believed—and they appear in the evidence of the princess Elizabeth's governess—there had been many strange familiarities between the admiral and the princess, then a girl of fifteen, who was residing under the care of queen Catherine.* He now paid secret addresses to the princess; who appears, in that spirit of coquetry which she retained through life, to have given some encouragement to a man who is described as "fierce in courage, courtly in fashion, in personage stately, in voice magnificent, but somewhat empty in matter." † It was one of the charges against him, as set forth in Articles of Treason in the Council Book, that before he married the queen he attempted to marry "the lady Elizabeth, second inheritor in remainder to the crown," but was then prevented by the Lord Protector, and others of the council. The charge then goes on to say, "that you sithence that time, both in the life of the queen continued your old labour and love, and after her death, by secret and crafty means, practised to achieve the said purpose of marrying the said lady Elizabeth, to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and peril of the state, of the same." ‡ In January, 1549, Seymour was arrested and sent to the Tower. The opposition to his designs upon the princess Elizabeth had probably driven him to engage in the rash enterprises which led to his destruction.

The proceedings against Seymour were conducted under that approved instrument of oppression, a bill of attainder. After his committal he had been several times examined; but on the 23rd of February the council proceeded to the Tower, and presented to him thirty-three articles, to which they required his answers. He demanded a trial, and to be confronted with his accusers. This demand was refused; and the articles formed the foundation of the bill of attainder, which was brought into the house of lords. "Then the evidence was brought. Many lords gave it so fully that all the rest with one voice consented to the bill; only the Protector, for natural pity's sake, as is in the Council Book, desired leave to withdraw." § The bill was sent to the Commons; but some of the old constitutional feeling had revived; and it was urged that the admiral should be heard upon a trial. But the Lords who had given evidence went to the House of Commons, and there repeating what they had said, the bill passed. The royal assent was given on the 5th of March; and the unhappy man was executed on the 20th. The warrant for his execution was signed, amongst others of the council, by Somerset and by Cranmer. The historian of Edward VI. says, with regard to the Protector, "Hereupon many of the nobility cried out upon him that he was a blood-sucker, a murderer, a parricide, ‖ a villain, and that it was not fit the king should be under the protection of such a ravenous wolf." ¶ The extent to which a determination to sacrifice private feelings to public duty may carry a statesman, can scarcely be estimated by those who treat of such matters with the natural sympathies for the unfortunate, and the common reverence for the ties of blood. But it is clear that Somerset was not of a cruel nature; and we may readily believe in the record of the

* Burghley Papers. † Hayward, "Life of Edward VI."
‡ Burnet, Records, part II. No. 31. § Burnet.
‖ The term "parricide" was not always restricted to the murderer of a father or mother. Blackstone explains the *parricide* of the Roman Law as "the murder of one's parent or children," b. iv. c. 14. ¶ Hayward.

council, which says that the necessity for his brother's attainder was felt by him to be "heavy, lamentable, and sorrowful." It would appear, also, from a trustworthy evidence, that the sad alternative of a brother's death, or the danger of the State, was in some degree forced upon him. The princess Elizabeth, when she was suspected of being privy to a conspiracy against her sister, queen Mary, earnestly entreated to be admitted to see her; saying, "I have heard in my time of many cast away for want of coming to the presence of their prince; and, in late days, I have heard my lord Somerset say that, if his brother had been suffered to speak with him, he had never suffered; but the persuasions were made to him so great, that he was brought in belief that he could not live safely if the admiral lived, and that made him give his consent to his death." * "He could not live safely if the admiral lived" would seem to make the quarrel between the two brothers a mere personal question. But in this quarrel the tranquillity of the government was involved. The realm was surrounded with dangers. The war with Scotland and France required that the people should be united for defence; but they were greatly divided in religious opinions, and a large proportion of the labouring population were disposed to insurrection. There can be little doubt that, if Seymour had no designs upon the young king's life, he sought to make himself master of his person. He had propitiated the boy by little kindnesses, which contrasted with Somerset's somewhat strict governorship; and he had endeavoured to persuade the king that it was his interest to take the royal authority into his own hands. Edward himself was examined before the Council, and his testimony furnishes a very sufficient example of the public dangers of a minority, under which the executive power does not rest upon well defined constitutional principles. Edward from the first was a puppet in the hands of Somerset; and his name was often affixed to important papers by a stamp which the Protector used. That a quick and intelligent youth should desire to be freed from a somewhat stern control, was an inevitable consequence of his position; and Seymour made an artful use of this discontent, to supplant his brother, and in so doing to convulse the government. It is tolerably clear that Edward regarded his uncle, the Protector, with slight affection. The marquis of Dorset in his examination before the Council said, "The king's majesty hath divers times made his moan unto me; saying that my uncle of Somerset dealeth very hardly with me, and keepeth me so strait that I cannot have money at my will; but my lord admiral both sends me money and gives me money." One sentence of the young king's statement is conclusive as to the effect which had been produced upon his mind by the intrigues of Seymour: "Within this two year at least, he [the admiral] said, ye must take upon yourself to rule, for ye shall be able enough, as well as other kings, and then ye may give your men somewhat; for your uncle is old, and I trust will not live long. I answered, it were better that he should die." † Seymour had fortified Holt Castle; had tampered with sir John Sharrington, the master of the mint at Bristol, to furnish him with a large supply of money, as Sharrington confessed; and had taken measures to embody a large armed force. Unless

* Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 256.

† These curious revelations are in the Burghley Papers, published by Haynes.

we were to refuse our belief to a great body of testimony, however illegally applied to the purpose of attainder, we must believe that Seymour suffered the inevitable, and in many respects just, punishment of those who seek to change a government by craft and violence, and fail in the enterprise. The reformers appear to have associated the designs of Seymour with some covert objects of hostility to the changes of religion. Cranmer signed his death-warrant; "which," says Burnet, "being in a cause of blood was contrary to the canon law." * * * But it seems Cranmer thought his conscience was under no tie from these canons, and so judged it not contrary to his function to sign that order. The act was one of those compliances with power, of which the life of Cranmer furnishes too many proofs. Latimer preached a sermon before the king, in which he said of Seymour that "he died very dangerously, irksomely, horribly." It appears from this sermon, that Latimer was indignant at a characteristic act of the unhappy man, who nourished his revenge at the last hour. He had contrived to write letters to

Process of Coining.

the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, to excite their hatred of the Protector, who was represented therein as their great enemy; and these letters, sewed in a velvet shoe, were to be delivered by his servant after his death, to whom he sent a message that "he should speed the thing that he wot of." Latimer in his sermon exclaimed, "What would he have done, if he had lived still, that went about that gear when he had laid his head on the block?" * In the statute book, the act of attainder of sir John Sharrington precedes that

* Strype, Eccles. Mem. vol. ii. part i. p. 198. This passage of Latimer's Fourth Sermon before King Edward, is only found in the first edition of the Sermons.

of lord Seymour. The charge against him was that he had forged twelve thousand pounds of the king's coin; and had also defrauded the government by clipping and shearing the coin, making false entries in his indentures. This master of the Bristol mint was alleged to have handed over ten thousand pounds of this false coin to the use of Seymour. This was at the period when the money of the State was enormously debased; so that the government which thus cheated its subjects was cheated by its own officer. The clipping and shearing was an easy process when the current money was roughly hammered out; and, having no milled edge, could be slightly reduced in size without detection.* Sharrington was ultimately pardoned, probably because he had betrayed the man who incited him to his offence; and Latimer proclaimed that his fervent repentance warranted his being forgiven.

The circumstances under which Somerset was placed in supreme power, although carrying on the government in the name of the young king, were such as to demand the union of the highest qualities of the statesman. The rule of Henry VIII. had been of the most arbitrary nature; putting down all opposition of the great by a system of terror; and repressing the crimes and disorders of the humble by the sternest administration of sanguinary laws. Somerset was, by nature, and out of the necessity of his position, opposed to harsh courses. The preamble of the statute for the repeal of the new laws of treason says, that, although these laws of Henry VIII. were "expedient and necessary," they might appear "very strait, sore, extreme, and terrible;" but as in tempest or winter, one garment is convenient, and in calm or warm weather a lighter garment may be worn, so the sore laws of one time may be taken away in a calmer and quieter reign.† This belief in a coming halcyon season, when men by diligent teaching should be won to the knowledge of the truth—when all should be contented to live under the reign of clemency and love—was doubtless the foundation of Somerset's policy. But he stood apart from the men who had been trained to administer the rough discipline of Henry's tyranny; and who had no sympathy with the great mass of the people. Somerset really saw that a State was something more than a king, a nobility, a church, an army;—that there were other interests to be regarded besides those of property; and that, to use the words of one of his confidential officers, "if the poorest sort of the people, which be members of the same body as well as the rich, be not provided and cherished in their degree, it cannot but be a great trouble of the body, and a decay of the strength of the realm." ‡ But Somerset had not those rare qualities of firmness and prudence which can make a mild government safe in unsettled times. He saw oppression everywhere around him—the powerful assailing the weak by open tyranny, or under the forms of law—the judges venal—the courts of justice practically closed to the needy suitor; and he attempted to redress these evils by his own personal vigilance. He opened a Court of Requests, where he himself heard complaints, and interfered with the regular tribunals to prescribe equitable remedies. This is the oriental system of justice, which looks so beautiful in a

* See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 474.

† 1 Edw. VI. c. 12.

‡ The charge of John Hales for redress of inclosures. Strype, Eccles. Mem. vol. ii. part ii. p. 356.

Haroun Alraschid, but which is simply an indication of a general corruption too powerful for the laws. Paget, an acute and honest adviser, wrote to Somerset, "meddle no more with private suits, but remit them to ordinary courses." 'Somerset would feel that the ordinary courses were evil, and beyond his power legally to remedy. Latimer preached that Cambyses was a great emperor who flayed a judge alive, and laid his skin in his chair of judgment, for that the judge was "a briber, a gift-taker, a gratifier of rich men." Latimer cried out, "I pray God we may once see the sign of the skin in England." * But if the official system were too dangerous for Somerset to meddle with by constitutional methods, so were the oppressions of tenants by landlords, and of labourers by masters. The evils of society were of too complicated a nature to be dealt with by any one bold measure for the redress of grievances. Even if the government could have seen how vain were all attempts to regulate prices—how impossible to prevent men applying capital to land in the way most profitable—the Protector could scarcely have forborne yielding to the popular clamour. Proclamations were issued "for the speedy reformation of the unreasonable prices of victuals in markets;" and "against inclosures, and taking in of fields and commons that were accustomed to lie open for the behoof of the inhabitants dwelling near to the same." † Of course these proclamations were wholly ineffectual. There was a general scarcity throughout Europe; and the nominal prices of commodities were raised in England by the tampering with the coin. Those who were commanded by the proclamation against inclosures to throw open their parks and pastures by a certain day, held the order in contempt; for in the country districts they were the sole administrators of local authority. But there was a spirit in the English people against which Paget had warned Somerset when he first took the reins of government. "What is the matter troweth your grace? By my faith, sir, even that which I said to your grace in the gallery at the Tower, the next day after the king's first coming there—Liberty, Liberty." ‡ The old Saxon temper had not been trodden out. The government was powerless to redress the complaints of the masses, and they rushed into insurrection. There had been a partial rising in Cornwall in 1548; for which a general pardon was granted to all, with the exception of the leaders. In the summer of 1549 half of England was in a state of rebellion. Somerset promised pardons, and Cranmer sent forth exhortations. Paget, who looked at any tumult of the people as only to be met in one way, called upon his friend to "do like a king, in this matter especially; take a noble courage to you for your proceedings; wherein take example at other kings; and you need not seek further for the matter—go no further than to him who died last, of most noble memory, king Henry VIII." § The people of England were never reduced to a healthful condition of obedience to power by the assertion of the principle of terror if separated from justice. The dreaded spirit of "Liberty, Liberty," might be kept down when it was abused; but it had never been extinguished; and subsequent experience demonstrated that it would always survive even its own licentiousness.

* Third Sermon before Edward VI.

† Holinshed, p. 1002. ‡ Paget to Somerset. Strype, vol. ii. part ii. p. 432.

§ Strype, Eccles. Memorials, vol. ii. part ii. p. 434

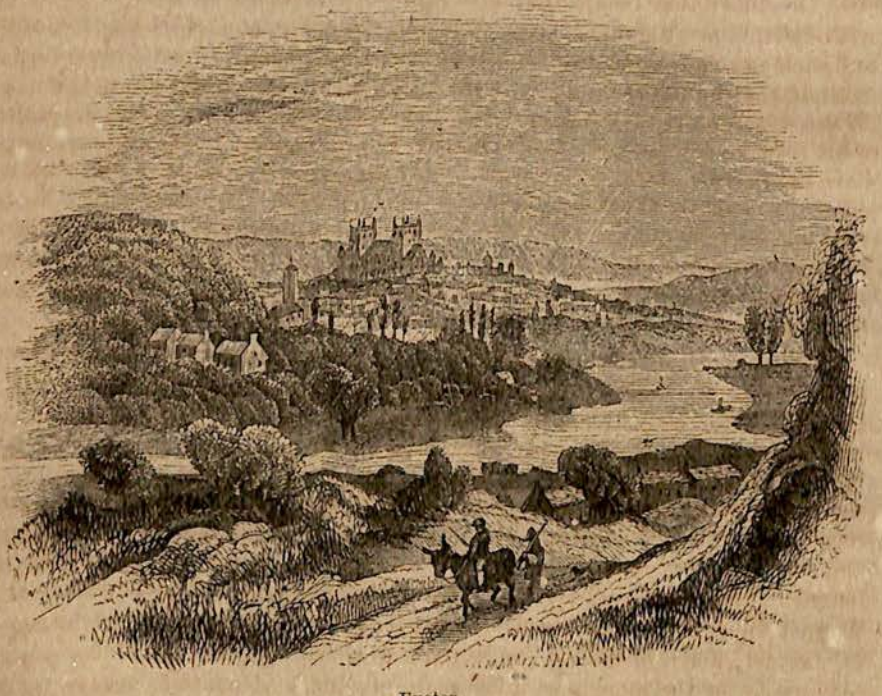
The Cornish and Devonshire insurrection, and that of Norfolk, form one of the most striking passages of our history of the sixteenth century. This simultaneous revolt was essentially different in its character from either of the great insurrections of the two previous centuries. The rebellion of Wat Tyler was a protest against the oppressions of the labourers, who belonged to a period when slavery retained many of its severities without its accompanying protection. The insurrection of Jack Cade was in its essential elements political. But the rebellion that came exactly a century after that of 1450, was a democratic or social movement, stimulated by, and mixed up with, hostility to the change of religion. The government was embarrassed by the complexity of the motives upon which these insurrections were founded. Somerset himself thus described them in August, while they were raging in the west, the east, and the north: "The causes and pretences of their uproars and risings are divers and uncertain; and so full of variety almost in every camp, as they call them, that it is hard to write what it is; as ye know is like to be of people without head and rule, and would have that they know not what. Some cry, pluck down inclosures and parks; some for their commons; others pretend religion; a number would rule and direct things as gentlemen have done; and indeed, all have conceived a wonderful hate against gentlemen, and take them all as their enemies. The ruffians among them, and soldiers cashiered, which be the chief-doers, look for spoil; so that it seems no other thing but a plague and a fury among the vilest and worst sort of men." * The "vilest and worst sort of men" always impart the most marked character to insurrections; but Somerset's own account shows that "those who look for spoil" did not constitute the majority of the insurgents. A brief narrative of these extraordinary proceedings, of which Exeter and Norwich were the chief seats, will best show the nature of these outbreaks, and furnish illustrations of the condition of society.

On Whit-Sunday, the 19th of June, divine service had been performed at the parish-church of Sampford Courtenay, about sixteen miles from Exeter. On that day the Act for Uniformity of Service came into operation. The village congregation had listened to the prayers in the English tongue, and had departed to their homes. In their Sunday groups for gossip and recreation they had discussed this innovation upon their old customs, and it was not satisfactory to them. On the Whit-Monday, the day of church-ales and morris-dances, some of the parishioners, headed by a tailor and a labourer, went to the priest, as he was preparing for the morning service, and told him, "they would keep the old and ancient religion as their forefathers before them had done;" and he yielded to their wills, and forthwith arrayed himself "in his old popish attire," and said mass, as in times past.† The justices of the peace interfered, but without effect; and in a short time the example spread through Devonshire and Cornwall, and the people began to assemble in great companies. At Crediton there was a forcible resistance to sir Peter Carew, and other gentlemen; and again at Cliff. In a short time the highways were stopped by cutting trenches and throwing down trees; and the multitude, continuing to increase, on the 2nd of July commenced a regular

* Somerset to Hoby, ambassador to the emperor. Strype, Eccles. Mem., v. ii. part ii. p. 425.

† We are following as an authority the very curious narrative of John Vowell, the chamberlain of Exeter, printed in Holinshed.

siege of Exeter, the gates of which city were closed against them. Their captains were originally a tailor, a shoemaker, a labourer, and a fishmonger; but as they marched forward, carrying the cross, they were joined by a few gentlemen and yeomen. When they had set down before the city, their numbers daily swelled so that they completely surrounded it, and cut off all supplies from the neighbouring districts. They burnt the gates; they destroyed the conduits which supplied the water of the town; they undermined the walls. They had ordnance and ammunition; and "soldiers cashiered" taught them how to use them. But the majority of the Exeter citizens, under the guidance of the mayor, bravely resisted, although many were inclined to favour the designs of the insurgents. There were contests among themselves; but the greater number were stedfast, even though they began to suffer the usual miseries of a beleaguered town. For five weeks this contest went on.



Exeter.

The government was issuing proclamations to the rebels, and distributing Cranmer's wise and gentle replies to their demands. The news of the commotions soon went forth to foreign lands. The prime minister of Charles V. told Paget that he had heard of the "*grand barbularye*" of the English commons; "but it is nothing if Monsieur Protector step to it betimes, and travail in person as the emperor himself did, with the sword of justice in his hand."* On the 16th of July martial law was proclaimed; and all were forbidden, under pain of death, "by drum, tabret, pipe, or any other instrument

* Tytler, vol. i. p. 184.

striking or sounding, bell or bells ringing,—by opening, crying, posting, riding, running,—or by any news, rumours, or tales, divulging and spreading, or by any other device or token whatsoever,—to call together or muster any number of people." * Lord Russell had gathered a small force at the commencement of these troubles; but he looked in vain for aid of men or money from the government. At length some merchants of Exeter who were in his camp, having pledged their credit, obtained for him a supply of money; and he marched forward with reinforcements. After an engagement with a band of the insurgents, he at length was joined by lord Grey, who had opportunely arrived with a troop of horse and three hundred Italian infantry. A more fierce encounter took place at Cliff, where the rebels were routed with great slaughter. The prisoners who had been taken in a previous engagement were here put to the sword. The besiegers of Exeter now boldly marched to encounter the king's troops; and upon Cliff heath a bloody battle took place, with the inevitable result that attends the contest of an armed multitude with disciplined troops. "Great was the slaughter, and cruel was the fight; and such was the valour and stoutness of these men, that the lord Grey reported, himself, that he never in all the wars that he had been in did know the like." When Exeter was relieved, and the insurgents dispersed or slain, executions went forward to an extent which even the minister of the emperor might have approved. One of these tragedies was perpetrated in a way not calculated to appease the religious hatreds of the period. The vicar of St. Thomas, who had encouraged the rebellion, was hanged upon the top of the tower of his own church "in his popish apparel, and had a holy-water bucket and sprinkle, a sacring-bell, a pair of beads, and such other like popish trash hanging about him." †

The Norfolk rebellion appears to have been of a wholly different character from that of the west of England. The Devonshire rising commenced in a church. The Norfolk rising commenced in a fair. On the 6th of July a large number of people were assembled at Wymondham, at a "public play which had been accustomed yearly to be kept in that town, continuing for the space of one night and one day at the least." The itinerant players had repeated their interlude again and again. The Vice had flourished his dagger, and the Fool his bauble. In the uncouth rhymes to which the peasants listened there were probably some incentives to disorder; for on the 6th of August following, a Proclamation was issued prohibiting such performances in London and elsewhere, for a limited time; for, it says, "the common players do for the most part play such interludes as contain matter tending to sedition and contemning of sundry good orders and laws, whereupon are grown, and daily are like to grow and cause much disquiet, division, tumults," &c.‡ From gaping at the play the clowns proceeded to break down hedges. John Flowerdew, gentleman, and Robert Ket, tanner, dwelling near Wymondham, had some private grievances, and each instigated the mob to destroy the inclosures of the other. Ket, "being a man hardy and forward to any desperate attempt," thought this pastime might be carried further. He put himself at their head, calling upon them "to follow him in defence

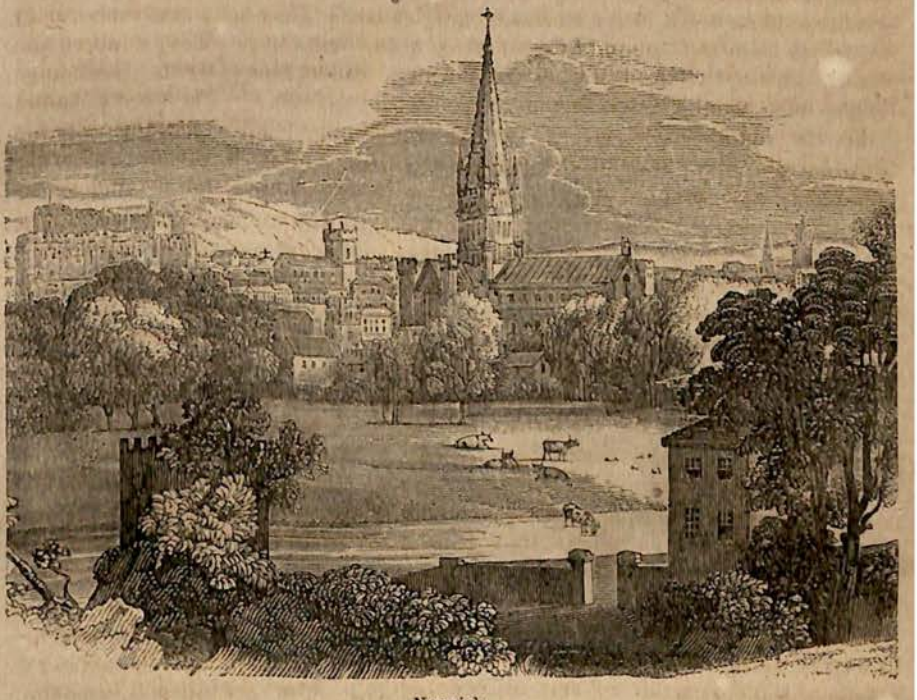
* Strype, Eccles. Mem., vol. ii. part i. p. 267. † Vowell, in Holinshed, p. 1026.
‡ The Proclamation is given in Collier's "Annals of the Stage," vol. i. p. 114.

of their common liberty." People continued to join this band in great numbers; and supplies of weapons, armour, and artillery were brought to them out of Norwich. At a short distance from the city is an elevated ground called Mousehold-heath. Holinshed, whose narrative we are following, says, they "got them to Mousehold; and coming to St. Leonard's hill, on which the earl of Surrey had built a stately house called Mount Surrey, they inkenneled themselves there on the same hill, and in the woods adjoining that lie on the west and the south side of the same hill, as the commons or pasture called Mousehold-heath lieth on the east side." This formidable band was at first kept in some order by their bold leader. They sent for the vicar of one of the Norwich parishes to say prayers in their camp. They suffered the mayor of Norwich to come amongst them without molestation. Ket gave judgment against evil-doers, sitting in state under an oak which was called "the tree of reformation." It was a time of feasting and holiday for this thoughtless multitude, who revelled in the spoils of the neighbouring deer-parks, and brought in the fat sheep by thousands from the inclosures which they had broken down. By the advice of a citizen of Norwich the council sent a herald to the camp at Mousehold, who, in his coat of arms, standing under the tree of reformation, proclaimed the king's pardon to all who would depart to their homes. The multitude shouted "God save the king!" and some fell on their knees and wept. But Ket cried out that pardon was for those who had done amiss; and commanded them not to forsake him. The herald then proclaimed him a traitor, and departed. Matters soon came to a more serious issue. The rebels entered Norwich, and carried the mayor and many of the principal citizens prisoners to their camp. It was time for the government to bestir itself; and the royal letters were sent forth to the nobility and gentlemen throughout the country to assemble in arms; for that "one Ket, a tanner, supported by a great many of vile and idle persons, hath taken upon him our royal power and dignity, and calleth himself master and king of Norfolk and Suffolk." *

When the royal herald returned to London this extraordinary encampment on Mousehold-heath had lasted a full month. Out of the verbose details of the chronicler we may collect enough of exact description to enable us to form a conception of this wonderful scene. In the height of summer a vast assemblage of peasants and artisans is collected, as if for some great festival, on a broad eminence overlooking one of the wealthiest, because one of the most industrious, cities of England. Beneath them is the lofty cathedral, its noble spire rising above the low timber houses, and o'ertopping the many towers of the surrounding churches. They hear the matin and the evening bells of the sacred edifices. They are not indifferent to the offices of religion, and have prayers in their camp,—"so religiously rebellious are they;"† and they listen patiently to preachers who exhort them to disperse. They look upon the great baronial castle, at a short distance, in the days of whose mighty lords yeoman and peasant were equally serfs; and they wonder if those were better times in England when the collar on the neck ensured abundance for the stomach. They had abundance just now. Their leader sends out his orders to bring in provisions, with all the authority

* Strype, Eccles. Mem., vol. ii. part i. p. 272. † Fuller.

of a victorious general arranging his commissariat: "We, the king's friends and deputies do grant licence to all men to provide and bring into the camp at Mousehold all manner of cattle, and provision of victuals, in what place soever they may find the same, so that no violence or injury be done to any honest or poor man; commanding all persons as they tender the king's honour and royal majesty, and the relief of the commonwealth, to be obedient to us the governors, and to those whose names ensue."* The multitude that obeyed the tanner of Wymondham was a body far more formidable than



Norwich.

the rabble with which the fisherman of Naples enforced submission to his decrees. The greater number of this host were peasants—but they were accustomed to the use of arms. They were confederated for a purpose which they understood, and not for vague political changes. They believed themselves oppressed; and they thought that their grievances would be remedied by the mere act of assembling together in such vast crowds. Without such a conviction amongst them, it is impossible to understand how so many thousand men should have slept upon the ground for seven weeks, with uncertain supplies of food; and when they went forth to seek supplies, constantly exposed to the attacks of the surrounding gentry, who were collecting their retainers in every quarter. At last, a force of fifteen hundred horsemen, led by the marquis of Northampton, arrived to give them some active occupation. At this juncture the mayor of Norwich was in the

* Holinshed, p. 1030.

hands of the insurgents; and the citizens were in daily dread of attack and plunder. The royal forces marched into Norwich; and their leader and the panic-stricken authorities held a consultation how the city should be best defended. The walls and gates were guarded; and "the residue of the soldiers making a mighty large fire in the market-place, so as all the streets were full of light, they remained there all that night in their armour." Before daybreak a fierce attack was made on the walls and gates; and after a fight of three hours the insurgents were driven back. The next day the marquis despatched Norroy king-at-arms to the camp, with an offer of pardon. The terms were despised, and Norroy was told "that they would either restore the commonwealth from decay, into the which it was fallen, being oppressed through the covetousness and tyranny of the gentlemen; either else would they, like men, die in the quarrel." The herald had no time to report his answer; for the whole multitude came furiously on; entered the city; fought with the royal troops in the streets; slew lord Sheffield, one of the chief captains; took many prisoners; and caused Northampton to flee hastily to London. The earl of Warwick was preparing to march with an army to Scotland, when these commotions in the eastern districts became so alarming. The rebels had now complete possession of Norwich. Many of the citizens had fled; and had met Warwick upon his march from Cambridge, who had reproved them for their remissness in not resisting the outbreak in its early stages. The army reached Norwich; and again the herald was instructed to proclaim the king's pardon if the rebels would disperse. Ket was proceeding with the herald to confer with the earl; but his purpose was interrupted by his own men, who rejected the pacific offers. Hostilities were resumed; and such was the courage and endurance of this multitude that Warwick was repulsed in several attempts to gain the city. His ammunition waggons were interrupted; some of his pieces of ordnance were seized; his affairs became so desperate that many of his officers advised his abandonment of the enterprise against such a huge multitude. Then ensued a scene, familiar enough in dramatic representations, but not common in real warfare. Warwick, protesting that he would rather lose his life than be so dishonoured, drew his sword. The action was followed by his captains; and he commanded "that each one should kiss other's sword, according to an ancient custom used amongst men of war in time of great danger." They swore upon their swords never to depart, but to vanquish or to fall. While Warwick was at this extremity, Somerset, deceived or deceiving, was writing thus to sir Philip Hoby, ambassador to the emperor. "The earl of Warwick lieth near to the rebels in Norfolk; which fain now would have grace gladly, so that all might be pardoned. Ket, and

Armed knight, temp. Edward VI. From the Tower Armoury.

the other arch-traitors in the number, upon that is at a stay; and they daily shrink so fast away that there is great hope that they will leave their captains destitute, and alone to receive their worthy reward; the which is the thing we most desire, to spare as much as may be the effusion of blood, and, namely, that of our own nation." * It appears from the royal letter of the 6th of August that Somerset was originally appointed to proceed with an army to the suppression of the Norfolk rebellion. Had he been the commander, the spirit of the soldier would have perhaps extinguished some of the merciful feeling of the statesman; and he would have cared as little for "the effusion of blood" as in his Scottish campaigns. The fortunes of Somerset and Warwick were in some measure determined by the contrast between the final suppressor of a rebellion, and one who had indirectly encouraged the principle upon which it was commenced. The issue was soon put beyond doubt. On the 26th of August Warwick received an accession to his force, of fourteen hundred cavalry. The stirring scene of the oath on the swords had taken place the day previous. The camp of Ket was not so easily provided with food as in the preceding seven weeks when he sent out his purveyors to scour the country. Warwick had possession of the roads to Mousehold-heath; and the cabins of bushes had now hungry inmates. On the 27th the rebels resolved to break up their encampment. There were old prophecies current amongst them, one of which gave a direction to their march:—

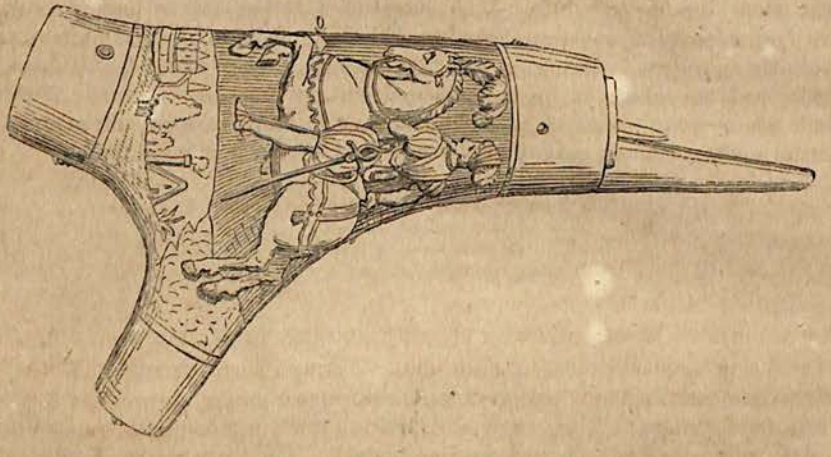
"The country chuffs, Hob, Dick, and Hick,
With clubs and clouted shoon,
Shall fill up Dussin-dale with blood
Of slaughtered bodies soon."

They set fire to their cabins; and, with ensigns flying, marched down from their strong position into Dussin-dale. Here they formed a rampart of stakes; and setting their prisoners in the foremost ranks, waited the approach of the royal troops. They came, still holding out pardon to the general body. It was refused; and the battle commenced. The insurgents fought with their pikes and pitchforks; and they were not without fire-arms. Both at Norwich and at Exeter we hear nothing of the old English prowess of the bow. The chronicler speaks of ordnance, and firing with guns, and mining with gunpowder on the part of the rebels. The forces that came against them were, doubtless, far better armed, with the wheel-lock pistols of the time for the horsemen, and the harquebuss for the infantry. Dussin-dale was soon filled with the "slaughtered bodies," not of the English harquebussiers and German lance-knights of Warwick's army, but of the wretched country chuffs. After the flight of the main body of the insurgents, many held out long, "so inclosed with their carts, carriages, trenches, and stakes pitched in the ground," that it was dangerous to attack them. They at first refused the offered pardon; for they maintained that the promise was "a subtle practice to bring them into the hands of their adversaries, the gentlemen." Warwick at last offered to go himself amongst them, and give his word that they should receive pardon; and at length they threw down their weapons, and cried, "God save king Edward." Robert Ket and his

* Strype, Eccles. Mem., vol. ii. part ii. p. 424.

brother were conveyed to London; and being convicted of treason, were hanged at Norwich. Others were hanged upon the oak of reformation. But more were spared than was agreeable to the terror-stricken landlords of East-Anglia. Warwick answered their exhortations to revenge with a sagacious reference to their own interests: "Is there no place for pardon? What shall we do? Shall we hold the plough ourselves; play the carters and labour the ground with our own hands?" Hob and Dick were to be accounted as of some value in the commonwealth.

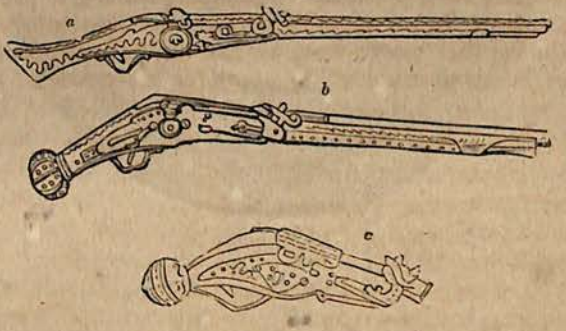
After Somerset had gained the battle of Pinkie, in the autumn of 1547, he returned, as we have seen, suddenly to London, leaving to others to reap the harvest of his victory, if any were to be reaped. The results of that great scattering of the Scottish power were not favourable to the English influence. The nobility of Scotland resolved to apply for assistance to France; and at



Sculptured Powder-flask. From the Meyrick Collection.

the instigation of the queen-dowager, the young queen Mary was offered in marriage to the Dauphin of France. In 1548 Haddington was taken by the English under lord Gray of Wilton; and several other minor successes were accomplished. But in June a large force, partly French and partly German, arrived at Leith; and an army of Scots, with these auxiliaries, marched to recover Haddington. A parliament, or convention, that was hastily assembled, ratified the treaty for the marriage; and the child-queen was received at Dunbarton on board a French vessel which had entered the Clyde and then sailed to France. In August, Mary was solemnly contracted to the Dauphin. The war was continued with various success; but on the whole was unfavourable to the English. Haddington was relieved, after the garrison had endured the greatest suffering by famine. The English fleet was repulsed by the peasantry in several attacks upon the Scottish coast. At the time of the insurrections of 1549, the government of Somerset was preparing to carry on the contest with renewed vigour. The French

auxiliaries who remained in Scotland had become distasteful to the people, and the king of France was more intent upon recovering Boulogne than of aiding his Scotch allies. The war with Scotland was, however, too burdensome to be vigorously pursued by England; the Scots recovered many of their strong places; and even Haddington was evacuated on the 1st of October, in the year of England's domestic troubles.



a, dag; *b*, pistol; time of Edward VI.
c, pocket-pistol, time of Mary.

Great Seal of Edward VI.

CHAPTER III.

Position of domestic affairs after the suppression of the insurrections—Somerset accused of lenity—Confederacy against the power of Somerset—Edward carried from Hampton Court to Windsor—Somerset deserted—Lord Russell with the army of the West takes part against him—He is conveyed to the Tower—Articles exhibited against him—His humiliation and release—Parliament assembled—Law against unlawful assemblies—Anabaptists excepted from a general pardon—Burning of Joan Bocher—Cranmer and the king—Articles of belief—Canon law—Bonner, Gardiner, and other bishops deprived and imprisoned—Resistance of the Princess Mary to the new Services—Release of Somerset—His second fall—His execution—Foreign Churches in England—Peace with France and Scotland—Power of Northumberland—Illness of king Edward—Marriage of Northumberland's son to Lady Jane Grey—Edward determines to alter the succession—His death.

Warwick has returned to London. The slaughter of Dussin-dale has given him political power as well as military renown. If Somerset had listened to the advice of Paget to go himself against the rebels with four thousand Almain horsemen—to give them no good words or promises—to hang the disaffected in every shire without redemption—he might have held his office in safety. But Paget knew the nature of the man: "Your grace may say, I shall lose the hearts of the people." Somerset clung to his popularity—and fell from his high place, on the first assault of a faction that he had mortally offended by the "lenity" and "softness" with which Paget reproaches him. This frank monitor imputes to these qualities that the king's subjects were "out of all discipline, out of obedience, caring neither for Protector nor king, and much less for any other mean officer. And what is the cause? Your own lenity, your softness, your opinion to be good to the poor; the opinion of such as saith to your grace, oh, sir, there was never man had the hearts of the poor as you have. Oh, the commons pray for you, sir; they say, God save your life. I know your gentle heart right well, and that

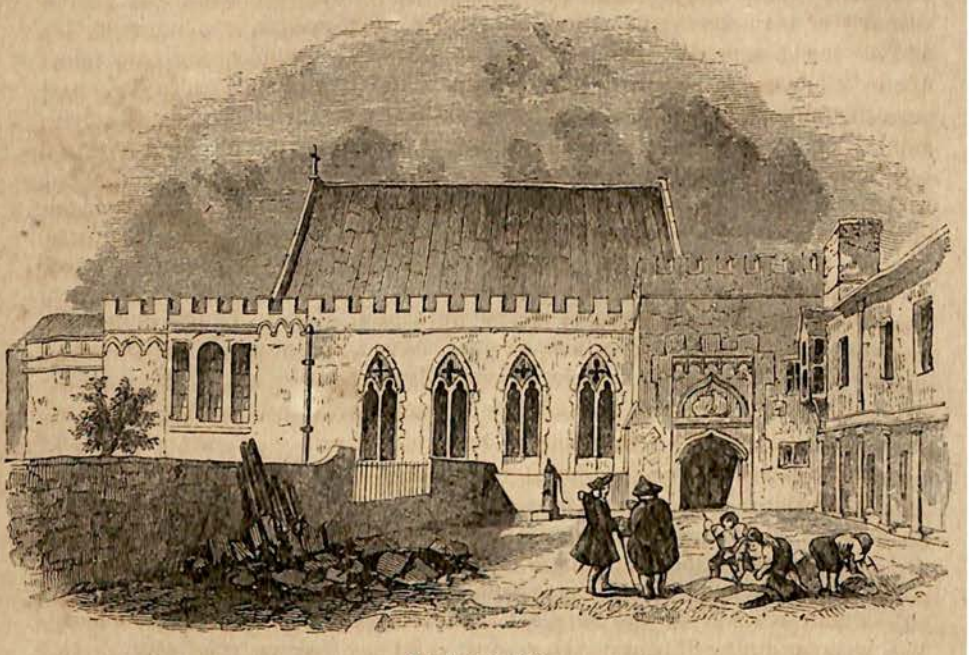
your meaning is good and godly; however some evil men list to prate here, that you have some greater enterprize in your head that lean so much to the multitude." * Strype observes upon this letter,—"Paget's temper, naturally disposed to severity, and confirmed therein by the methods he had observed in bishop Gardiner, under whom he had been bred, led him to principles of government perhaps too rigorous, and by some wise men in those days disliked; as thinking it not safe to hold such a strait hand over the commons, and to press and keep them under in a kind of slavery, which English spirits would not, nor could, digest." † The temper thus imputed to Paget is one that has always found favour amongst the large class who see, or affect to see, nothing but evil in strengthening the influence of the democratic principles of our English constitution; and thus it has been somewhat the fashion, even with historians who write without a strong religious bias, to impugn the character of Somerset. But in an age in which the humblest were trampled upon without mercy or justice, it is something to find one in the highest place earning the hatred of the great by his desire to have "the hearts of the poor." The rarity of the example ought to make us examine with a charitable caution the motives and actions of a man who almost stood alone in the attempt, however impolitic, to build up the state upon a broader foundation than the interests of the privileged classes. The favourite doctrine which was inculcated upon the young king was that "the ambition and tyranny of the nobility were much more tolerable than the insolence, inconstancy, peril, and ignorance of the multitude . . . . . In the monarchy or estate of a prince, if the prince be good, like as he keepeth his commons void of power, even so he preserveth them from the tyranny of the nobility . . . . . If the tyranny of the nobility be more tolerable than the insolence of the multitude, much more tolerable then is the prince's tyranny than the commons' power." These maxims are from a discourse made by William Thomas, clerk of the council, "for the king's use." ‡ They were the maxims which had been gradually raising up the ancient limited monarchy of England into a despotism; after the organised power of the feudal nobility, which had held the monarchy in check, had been destroyed. They were the maxims which endured for a century longer, till the other dreaded power had become organised; and a terrible experience of their fallacy became a warning for all after ages.

The record in Edward's Journal of this period of his reign is evidently retrospective. It was written after the power of his uncle had passed away; and when the king was under opposite influences. The coldness with which he speaks of the transactions of 1549 is very remarkable; and if this does not manifest the truth of Mr. Hallam's suspicion that he had "not a good heart," it somewhat establishes the other belief that he had "too much Tudor blood in his veins." § Edward's narrative is very compact; and we may as well follow it, giving illustrations as we proceed.

"In the mean season in England rose great stirs, like to increase much if it had not been well foreseen. The council, about nineteen of them, were gathered in London, thinking to meet with the Lord Protector, and to make

* Strype, Eccles. Mem., vol. ii. part ii. p. 431. † *Ibid.*, vol. ii. part i. p. 285.
‡ Strype, vol. ii. part ii. p. 376. § "Constitutional History," ed. 1855, vol. i. p. 85, note.

him amend some of his disorders." Holinshed has related in what manner the council were gathered in London: "Many of the lords, as well counsellors as others, misliking the government of the Protector, began to withdraw themselves from the court; and, resorting to London, fell to secret consultation for redress of things, but namely for the displacing of the Lord Protector. And suddenly, upon what occasion many marvelled but few knew, every lord and counsellor went through the city weaponed; and had their servants likewise weaponed, attending upon them in new liveries, to the great wondering of many. And at the last a great assembly of the said counsellors was made at the earl of Warwick's lodging, which was then at Ely-place in



Ely Palace, 1772.

Holborn, whither all the confederates in this matter came privily armed." * After this demonstration the rival powers instantly came into collision. The documents in the State-paper Office connected with this story, bearing date from the 1st to the 14th of October, are no less than forty-six in number.† In these is to be traced the authentic history of the most rapid and complete revolution that was ever effected in the government—a revolution which was accomplished with consummate boldness, and with an equal amount of craft and treachery. Before the publication of the more interesting of these papers, very little precise information of this event was "to be found in our most popular general historians, or even in the pages of Burnet, Strype, or Fuller." ‡ On

* Chronicle, p. 1057. † See the List, analysed in "Calendar of State Papers."
‡ Tytler, vol. i. p 252. Mr. Tytler justly claims the merit of thus opening the historical truth "in the original letters of the times."

the 1st of October a proclamation appeared with the signature of Somerset, commanding all the king's subjects with all haste to repair to Hampton Court, "in most defensible array, with harness and weapons, to defend his most royal person, and his most entirely beloved uncle, the Lord Protector, against whom certain hath attempted a most dangerous conspiracy." The king and Somerset were at Hampton Court; and with them were Cranmer and Paget; Petre and Smith, the two secretaries of state; and Cecil, the private secretary of the Protector. Warwick and his associates obtained possession of the Tower of London, removed the lieutenant, and placed one of their own friends in his place. The Journal of Edward relates the counter-movement on the part of the Protector: "The next morning, being the 6th of October and Saturday, he commanded the armour to be brought down out of the armoury of Hampton Court, about five hundred harnesses, to arm both his and my men; with all the gates of the house to be rampier'd—people to be raised." From Hampton Court on that day the Protector wrote to lord Russell, the privy seal, who had the command of the army in the west of England, and required him to hasten with his power "to the defence of the king's majesty." The answer must have been a death-blow to Somerset's reliance upon any effectual support in the hour of his necessity. Lord Russell and sir William Herbert replied, in a joint letter, in which they say that, "having this day received advertisement from the lords, whereby it is given us to understand that no hurt nor displeasure is meant towards the king's majesty, and that it doth plainly appear unto us that they are his highness's most true and loving subjects, meaning no otherwise than as to their duties of allegiance may appertain; so, as in conclusion, it doth also appear to us, that this great extremity proceedeth only upon private causes between your grace and them." They therefore declare that they have levied a power to ensure the safety of the king, and the preservation of the State, "which, whilst this contention endureth, by factions between your grace and them, may be in much peril and danger." There is one sentence in this letter which shows the extreme imprudence of Somerset, in appealing from the hostility of the nobility to the support of the people: "Your grace's proclamation and billets sent abroad for the raising of the commons we mislike very much. The wicked and evil disposed persons shall stir, as well as the faithful subjects." Warwick and his confederates had endeavoured to obtain the countenance of an organised body, the aldermen and common-council of London; and had demanded from them the aid of two thousand men. Somerset had sought to move in his favour the scattered population,—slow to move except under bold leaders, and difficult to control when set in motion. A copy of one of the billets sent abroad has been preserved:* "Good people—In the name of God and king Edward, let us rise with all our power to defend him and the Lord Protector against certain lords and gentlemen, and chief masters, which would depose the Lord Protector, and so endanger the king's royal person; because we, the poor commons, being injured by the extortion of gentlemen, had our pardon this year by the mercy of the king and the goodness of the Lord Protector; for whom let us fight, for he loveth all just and true gentlemen which do no extortion, and also the poor com-

* No. 12, vol. ix. in State Paper Office.

monalty of England. God save the king and my Lord Protector, and all true lords and gentlemen, and us the poor commonalty." There was another handbill, dropped in the streets of London, inscribed on the back, "Read it, and give it forth." Thus was it sought to move the public opinion, in days when it was of small avail; and could produce little but riot and disorder, if stirred into action. But even these rude attempts to create a public voice were not without their effect. In a letter to the lords of the Council at London, dated the 9th of October, Russell and Herbert say, that in their journey towards London, "the countries were everywhere in a roar that no man wist what to do."

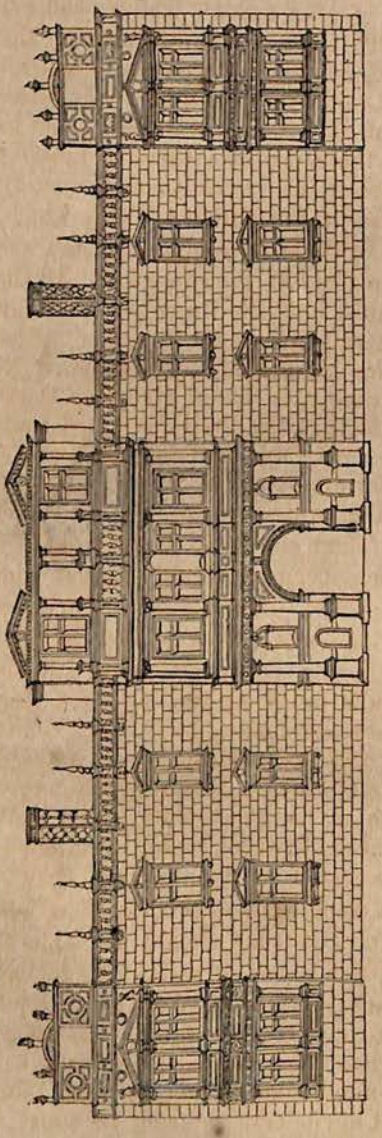
On the night of the 6th of October Edward was moved to Windsor Castle: "That night," he says in his Journal, "with all the people, at nine or ten o'clock of the night, I went to Windsor; and there was watch and ward kept every night." The proclamation of Somerset, that all loving subjects should repair to the king in most defensible array, had been neutralised by the decision of Russell and Herbert—no doubt a previous arrangement—to take part with the enemies of the Protector. In their letter of the 9th from Andover, they say, "God was the guide of our journey; for if we had not been here at this time, there had been raised five or six thousand men at the least, to have gone to Windsor; besides the uncertain rage that the commons might have taken upon this occasion. But, as God would, the gentlemen of these parts, hearing of our being here, have stayed upon our setting forwards, and divers of them have sent to us for our opinions, wherewith we have satisfied them." Somerset, the day after he removed the king to Windsor, wrote a letter of conciliation to the lords at London, in which he said, "ye shall find us agreeable to any reasonable conditions that you will require; for we do esteem the king, and the wealth and tranquillity of this realm, more than all other worldly things,—yea, than our own life." On that day, the 7th, these lords addressed a letter to those few of the council who were at Windsor, in which they say, "if the said duke will, as becometh a good subject, absent himself from his majesty, be contented to be ordered according to justice and reason, and disperse that force which is levied by him, we will gladly commune with you. . . . . Otherwise, if we shall see that you mind more the maintainance of that one man's ill-doings than the execution of his majesty's laws and common order, we must make other account of you than we trust we shall have cause." The threat worked its intended effect. The king, writing no doubt under direction, on the 8th, pleads for his uncle in these words: "We pray you, good cousins and counsellors, to consider, as in times past you have every of you in his degree served us honestly at sundry times, so hath our said uncle, as you all know; and by God's grace may, by your good advices, serve us full well hereafter. Each man hath his faults; he his, and you yours; and if we shall hereafter as rigorously weigh yours as we hear that you intend with cruelty to purge his, which of you shall all be able to stand before us?" If these were Somerset's words, he must have known that they would be wasted upon Rich, the crafty chancellor; upon Southampton, expelled by himself from that office; upon Warwick, his deadly rival. They had with them St. John, Northampton, Arundel, Shrewsbury—powerful nobles, some of whom hated Somerset as much for his support of the innovations in religion, as for

his hasty temper; but most especially for his popularity. Cranmer, Paget, and Smith were still around the falling man. They made one more effort to break his fall. They wrote, that he was indifferent about his office, provided the king and the realm were well served; but that as he was called to the place, by their advice, and the consent of the nobles of the realm, it was not reasonable that he should be thrust out in violent sort. They add, "Marry, to put himself simply into your hands, having heard as he and we have, without knowing upon what conditions, is not reasonable. Life is sweet, my lords, and they say you seek his blood and his death." The one friend who remained to him, "faithful found among the faithless,"—Sir Thomas Smith,—exhorted them to moderation: "I trust no man seeketh his blood, who hath, as ye know, rather been too easy than cruel to others." He has a touching allusion to the death of Somerset's brother, as if he would infer that the Protector had not to bear the odium of that state-necessity—by praying to them "that this realm be not made in one year a double tragedy." All these appeals were in vain. The power was in the hands of those who could command a military force far outnumbering those who wore "the armour brought down out of the armoury at Hampton Court." They wrote two secret letters. One to the young king was calculated to flatter him into the belief that the exercise of his authority would restore the realm to perfect quiet, by the removal of Somerset from his protectorship and governorship: "These titles and special trust were committed to him during your majesty's pleasure; and upon condition that he should do all things by advice of your council." The other letter to Cranmer, Paget, and Smith, was intended to terrify them into obedience to a secret message which was sent to them by sir Philip Hoby, who had recommended himself to the lords in London by playing false. Sir Philip Hoby was also the bearer of a public message to Somerset and the council at Windsor, that the lords meant no ill to the duke, either to his person or his goods. Sir Thomas Smith, who is the authority for this, says that, "upon this, all the aforenamed there present wept for joy, and thanked God, and prayed for the lords. Mr. Comptroller [sir William Paget] fell down on his knees, and clasped the duke about the knees, and weeping, said, 'Oh, my lord, ye see now what my lords be.'" * Upon this, Somerset consented that his guards should be removed, and his servants dismissed. The next day he was arrested, with the one honest friend of the council, sir Thomas Smith, and his secretary Cecil. It is one of the painful passages of Cranmer's life that his name is signed, with that of Paget, to the exulting communication to the lords that their victim is secured;—"and, for because his chamber was hard adjoining to the king's bed-chamber, he is removed to the tower which is called the lieutenant's, which is the high tower next adjoining to the gate of the middle ward—a very high tower: and a strong and good watch shall be had about the same."

"On Monday, the 13th of October, the duke was brought to London as if he had been a captive, carried in triumph." Thus Hayward writes. In the "Chronicle of the Grey Friars" there is a bitter record of the fall of this champion of the Reformation: "Item, the 14th day at after-noon was

* Harleian MS. quoted in Tytler, vol. i. p. 239.

brought the traitor from Windsor, with a great company of lords and gentlemen, and many horses, with their men with weapons: and came in at St. Giles' in the Field, at his desire; for because he would not come by the place that he had begun; and pulled down divers churches and the cloister in Paul's, to build it withal." *



Somerset House. (From the original collection of drawings, by John Thorpe, in the Library of Sir John Soane's Museum.)

"The place that he had begun" was Somerset House. In the proclamation issued by the council against the Protector, it was alleged, "that he was ambitious, and sought his own glory, as appeared by his building of most sumptuous and costly buildings." † The accusers of Somerset had themselves desecrated too many churches and cloisters, to object to the fallen man that he had committed the spoliation in which every courtier had been engaged from the first hour of the suppression of the abbeys. But in the eyes of the people, especially of those who clung to the ancient faith, his destruction of the charnel-house of St. Paul's—although it was an abomination in the heart of a populous city—would be held as sacrilege; and the removal of the great cloister, covered with pictures of "the Dance of Death," would excite the indignation of many who had gazed upon "the loathly figures of our dead bony bodies," as More describes them, there painted in the time of Henry VI.; and had read "the metres or poesy of the Dance," by John Lydgate. But with us of the present day, who lament over what we regard as a wanton destruction of a curious work of art, it must not be forgotten that these pictures were opposed not only to the puritanic feelings of the Reformers, but, like many other matters belonging to the ancient Church, were not consistent with a strict morality. The verses of Lydgate were founded upon what Warton calls "a sort of spiritual masquerade, anciently celebrated in churches;" and some of the figures, as handed down in exquisite wood-cuts, ill accorded with serious ideas, and

* Publication of the Camden Society, p. 65.

† Holinshed, p. 1058.

occasionally overleaped the bounds of decency.* Nevertheless the statesmen of the Reformation too often outraged the better feelings of our nature in their zeal against what they called superstition; and Somerset, armed with his brief authority, did not play more fantastic tricks than any other great man would have played in the same office. Putting aside these tokens of an irreverent rapacity, there is little to be found in the Articles exhibited against him which calls for the indignation of after times. The law-officers would complain that he had interfered with their delays of justice; the members of the council that he had insisted too strongly on his own opinions; the nobles and gentry that he had said "that the avarice of gentlemen gave occasion for the people to rise, and that it was better for them to die than to perish for want." † But in these Articles there is nothing objected to Somerset that could be construed into treason; and scarcely anything that could be proved as an abuse of the authority with which, wrongly or rightly, he had been invested. In those days the sovereign was his own minister; and Somerset stood in the place of the sovereign. In the very heat and turmoil of the movement against him, the Protector sends out an order to the governor of Calais to dispatch gunners to Boulogne, which was threatened by the French. The order is, indeed, countersigned by Cranmer, and three other counsellors that were with him at Hampton Court on the 4th of October; but we cannot doubt that the Protector acted upon his own responsibility in this matter, as he must have done in every case of emergency. On the 13th of October, the letters patent to Somerset, for the governorship of the king's person and the protectorship, were revoked. His almost regal authority was at an end. There can be no doubt that if the shadow of a charge of treason could have been preferred against him, Somerset's head would then have been forfeited. He remained a prisoner in the Tower till the 6th of February, 1550; when he was released upon payment of a fine of ten thousand pounds; having signed articles of submission, humiliating in the extreme. Life was sweet to the degraded man. Cecil, Smith, and others of his friends, were also released.

On the 4th of November the parliament assembled. Such outrages as had occurred in the summer were to be restrained in future by the terrors of the law; and a statute, fearful enough in its enactments, was rapidly passed. All persons assembling to the number of twelve, having an intention to offer violence to members of the privy council, or to alter the laws for religion or any other statutes, who did not disperse upon proclamation, were to be held guilty of high treason. If twelve persons should assemble for attempts to break down the fences of any inclosure; or unlawfully to have common way in any inclosed ground or park; or to destroy deer; or to pull down houses; or to abate rents,—such attempts were declared to be felony, without benefit of clergy. Forty persons assembling for such acts were held to be traitors. Any persons under the number of twelve, so assembling, were liable to fine and imprisonment. Copyholders refusing to assist in dispersing such assemblies were to forfeit a life interest in their copyholds; and farmers were to forfeit their farms to the landlords.‡ A proclamation

* Douce, "Illustrations of Shakspeare," vol i. p. 131.

† See the Articles in Burnet. No. 46 of 'Records.'

‡ 3 & 4 Ed. VI. c. 5.

to disperse, under the Riot Act of the present day, is in nearly the same terms as those of the proclamation given in this statute of Edward VI. The gradual but certain operation of the system of inclosures, in promoting the employment of profitable labour in the place of the old modes of chance subsistence upon uncultivated wastes, produced a disposition to tranquillity far more certain than statutory enactments. The riots for the restoration of the old services and ceremonies of religion were equally appeased by the growing prevalence of the reformed doctrines. The government must have felt itself strong in the support of a majority of the people, when they procured an Act to be passed for all images to be removed from churches, and all missals to be delivered up.* The Statute of Vagabonds was repealed in this parliament, as wholly inoperative from its severity. A statute that made his fellow-man a slave was not likely to be enforced by the English gentleman or yeoman.† A Subsidy was granted; and a General Pardon declared for all offenders, especially those concerned in the late rebellions, with the usual exceptions. But there was one special exception, which is remarkable—an exception of those who had offended in certain heresies and erroneous opinions, namely,—"that infants ought not to be baptised, and if they be baptised they ought to be re-baptised when they come to lawful age: that it is not lawful for a Christian man to bear office or rule in the commonwealth: that no man's law ought to be obeyed: that it is not lawful for a Christian man to take an oath before any judge: that Christ took no bodily substance of our blessed Lady: that sinners after baptism cannot be restored by repentance: that all things be, or ought to be, common and nothing several." ‡ These were the alleged doctrines of the Anabaptists, whose sect had been so relentlessly persecuted in 1535. At the time of this Act of General Pardon, there were several such persons in prison. The repeal of the statutes against heretical opinions was not held to exempt them. The most famous instance of the renewed severity against the holders of these opinions is that of Joan Bocher. Her fate is thus recorded in king Edward's Journal: "May 2. Joan Bocher, otherwise called Joan of Kent, was burnt, for holding that Christ was not incarnate of the Virgin Mary; being condemned the year before, but kept in hope of conversion. And the 30th of April, the bishop of London and the bishop of Ely were to persuade her; but she withstood them, and reviled the preacher that preached at her death." The statement of Fox, with reference to the conduct of the young king and Cranmer in determining the fate of this resolved woman, has found a place in almost every history. It is thus presented to us by one of the most unprejudiced of historians: "The execution was delayed for a year by the compassionate scruples of Edward, who refused to sign it [the warrant]. It must be owned with regret that his conscientious hesitation was borne down by the authority and importunity of Cranmer; though the reasons of that prelate rather silenced than satisfied the boy, who, as he set his hand to the warrant, said, with tears in his eyes, to the archbishop, 'If I do wrong, since it was in submission to your authority, you must answer for it to God.'" § Many statements that the later historians have been accustomed to receive from

* 3 & 4 Ed. VI. c. 10. † See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 469. ‡ 3 & 4 Ed. VI. c. 24.
§ Mackintosh, "History of England," vol. ii. p. 273.

the elder, without the means of disproof—and many which future writers will continue to receive and transmit—rest upon evidence as unsatisfactory as this "stain upon Cranmer's memory, which nothing but his own death could have lightened." * We owe to the sagacity as well as the diligence of antiquarian inquirers of our own time that many apocryphal statements have been exploded, and many historic doubts cleared up. If the allegation against Cranmer that he pressed the execution of the sentence against Joan Bocher be not wholly removed by the following statement, it is perfectly clear that the touching contrast between the king and the archbishop must no longer be related: "Amongst the minutes of the business transacted by the council on the 27th of April, 1550, is the following: 'A warrant to the lord chauncellor to make out a writt to the shireff of London for the execucon of Johan of Kent, condempned to be burned for certein detestable opinions of heresie.' It appears from these words, that, in conformity with the ordinary legal practice of the period, Joan Bocher was executed upon a writ *de hæretico comburendo*, addressed to the sheriff of London, and issued out of chancery, upon the authority of a warrant signed, not by the king, but by the council. It would have been contrary to constitutional custom for the king to have signed any such document; it is quite clear, from the entry quoted, that, in point of fact, he did not sign it; and the narrative which the worthy martyrologist was misled into inserting, and Cranmer's difficulty to cause the king to 'put to his hand,' and the tears, by which subsequent writers have declared that his submission to the stern pleading of his spiritual father were accompanied, all vanish. That no doubt may remain upon the subject I will add,—I. That it was not customary for the king to attend meetings of the council. II. That whenever the council desired that the king should be consulted or communicated with, an entry was made upon the council-book similar to the following, which occurs on the same day as the preceding: 'It is agreed by the whole counsaill, that the king's majestie should be moved for the restitution of the duke of Somersett unto all his goods, his debts, and his leases yet ungiven.'" The third point in the defence of Cranmer as to this special charge, is that, on the 27th of April, when the warrant was issued, the archbishop was not present at the council, which was attended by the lord chancellor, and twelve other members.† But to believe that either Cranmer, or Ridley, or Latimer were opposed to the execution of Joan Bocher, the anabaptist, or George van Paris, the Arian (who was burnt at the same period), is to imagine that they had reached that enlargement of opinion which belongs to a different state of society. Mr. Hallam has truly said, "Tolerance in religion, it is well known, so unanimously admitted (at least verbally) even by theologians in the present century, was seldom considered as practicable, much less as a matter of right, during the period of the Reformation." ‡ But we must bear in mind that intolerance was the very opposite of indifference; and that when we look back upon the errors and crimes, either of catholic or protestant, we must make some allowance for an earnestness that saw only one way to truth.

* Hallam, "Constitutional Hist." vol. i. c. 2.

† This interesting statement is given by Mr. Bruce, in his Preface to an edition of Roger Hutchinson's Works, 1842.

‡ "Constitutional Hist." vol i. p. 95.

There can be nothing more signally illustrative of the difficulties which the earlier Reformers had to contend with, when they departed from the canons and traditions of an infallible Church, than the questions attempted by them to be regulated and settled which yet remain matters of difference amongst zealous and learned Christians. It is no part of our duty to enter upon an examination of these controversial points. But in the sixteenth century, as now, they furnished occasion for heats and animosities which the pious and peaceable would desire to have separated from the religion of love. The forty-two Articles of Belief set forth in the reign of Edward VI., were conceived in a spirit of compromise, which was well calculated to establish a Protestant Church as opposed to a Roman Catholic, by bringing men of opposite opinions upon metaphysical points within its fold. But when the broad distinctions between the old and the new doctrines came to be of less practical importance than the diversity of opinions between Protestants themselves, the Articles, however revised and explained, became stumbling-blocks to the conscientious; and went on, from age to age, interrupting that unity of the Anglican Church for which good men ought to pray. Again, the material forms and symbols of the Church were lasting points of fierce dispute. Hooper, one of the more strict Reformers, who had lived much abroad, and who testified to the strength of his general convictions by perishing at the stake in the reign of Mary, very early raised a schism by refusing to be consecrated in the usual episcopal robe; which strictness went forward in a subsequent period, into a fierce contest about the use of the surplice. Questions more affecting the civil interests of society were raised by the statute for appointing commissioners to compile a new body of ecclesiastical laws; the ancient canon law "having not of long time been put in ure [use], nor exercised by the reason of the usurped authority of the bishop of Rome." * A book was compiled by Cranmer, which never became law, but is of authority as pointing to the principles of the first Reformers. The Law of Divorce is one of the most important of the subjects of which this code treats. The proposed law did not regard marriage as indissoluble. Divorce for adultery might be pronounced by the ecclesiastical courts, with liberty to marry again by the party sinned against and not sinning. Divorce was also held lawful in cases of mortal enmities, the desertion of a husband, his lasting cruelty, or his prolonged absence. In our own day it is one of the laudable objects of legislation to carry out some of the principles which were thus promulgated, if the change can be accomplished without making the dissolution of marriage a cloak for licentiousness, or weakening the force of parental duties by making the relations of husband and wife too easy of relaxation. The system of a special act of parliament, in individual cases, to be preceded by an action at law, is the barbarous expedient of a century and a half after the Reformation, which long remained a crying disgrace amongst us.

Bonner, the bishop of London, was deprived of his see at the time when Somerset and the council became at mortal variance. He was committed to the Marshalsea, where he was a prisoner during the remainder of Edward's reign. Ridley was subsequently appointed to the bishopric. Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, who had been a prisoner for some time in the Fleet,

* 3 & 4 Ed. VI. c. 11.

was released in 1549, and ordered to preach before the king at Paul's Cross. He preached so boldly and offensively that he was committed to the Tower. In 1550 he was examined by the council, and we find Somerset amongst those who were to probe his opinions. The history of these discussions, in which Gardiner conducted himself with his usual spirit and ability, will be found in the ecclesiastical historians.* In the end, he was deprived of his bishopric, and was confined in the Tower till the accession of queen Mary. The order of the council for his final imprisonment, in 1551, is not of a magnanimous complexion. It is alleged that he had called his judges "heretics and sacramentarians;" and it was therefore resolved that he should be removed to a meaner lodging in the Tower; that he should send to no man, and hear from no man; that his books and papers be taken from him; "and that from henceforth he have neither pen, ink, nor paper to write his detestable purposes." It would have been more honourable to the free spirit of Protestantism if Gardiner had been allowed to continue his paper war with Cranmer, without this cowardly suppression of his opinions. He was secluded for four years from all intercourse with the outward world, or the slightest knowledge of passing affairs. Heath, the bishop of Worcester, and Day, the bishop of Chichester, had objected to the removal of altars; and they were committed to prison and deprived. Tonstall, the bishop of Durham, was sent to the Tower upon a charge of misprision of treason. There is some slight justification for these courses. The severities of the government against religious opponents present this difference between the proceedings of the previous and of the subsequent reign—they stopped short of bloodshed. No Roman Catholic was put to death in the time of Edward VI. The offences of the deprived bishops were political offences; and under a more despotic system the penalties of treason would assuredly have fallen upon them. The position of domestic affairs was one of extreme danger and difficulty; and in no point was it more dangerous than in the firm determination of the king's elder sister not to conform to the changes of religion. The inflexible character of Mary presented an embarrassment that could not be grappled with by any ordinary means. An entry in Edward's Journal in 1551, shows how painful and delicate was the position of the youthful king: "March 18th. The lady Mary, my sister, came to me at Westminster, where, after salutations, she was called, with my council, into a chamber; where was declared how long I had suffered her mass, in hope of her reconciliation, and how, now being no hope, which I perceived by her letters, except I saw some short amendments I could not bear it. She answered, that her soul was God's, and her faith she would not change, nor dissemble her opinion with contrary doings. It was said, I constrained not her faith; but willed her not as a king to rule, but as a subject to obey; and that her example might breed too much inconvenience." The entry in the Journal of the next day, shows how Mary was fortified in the bold avowal of her opinions: "The emperor's ambassador came with a short message from his master, of war, if I would not suffer his cousin, the princess, to use her mass." An English ambassador was sent to the emperor to remonstrate against his interference; but Mary relaxed nothing of her determination. Her comptroller, and other officers of her

* See particularly Strype, "Memorials of Cranmer," vol. i. c. 19.

household, in August, 1551, were sent to her residence, Copt Hall, in Essex, to forbid her servants hearing mass. They returned, bringing a most characteristic letter from the princess to the king, of which one paragraph will show the tone: "And now I beseech your highness to give me leave to write what I think touching your majesty's letters. In deed they be signed with your own hand; and nevertheless in my opinion not your majesty's in effect; because it is well known (as heretofore I have declared in the presence of your highness) that although, our Lord be praised, your majesty hath far more knowledge and greater gifts than others of your years, yet it is not possible that your highness can at these years be a judge in matters of religion. And, therefore, I take it that the matter in your letter proceedeth from such as do wish those things to take place which be most agreeable to themselves; by whose doings (your majesty not offended) I intend not to rule my conscience." * Four days after this letter had been received by the king, the lord chancellor and two others of the council were sent to Mary; and a full report of their mission is extant. The princess did not abate a jot of her resolution, or of her contempt for the ministers of her brother. She would obey all the king's commandments, her conscience saved; "but rather than she will agree to use any other service than was used at the death of the late king, her father, she would lay her head on a block and suffer death." † There was a bitter sarcasm in her deportment, mixed with this solemn stedfastness. As the members of the council were leaving her house, she called out of a window, desiring that they would send back her comptroller. "For," said she, "since his departing, I take the accounts myself of my expenses, and learned how many loaves of bread be made of a bushel of wheat; and I wis my father and my mother never brought me up with baking and brewing."

On the 31st of March, 1550, there is this entry in king Edward's Journal, "My lord Somerset was delivered of his bonds, and came to court." On the 10th of April, Somerset was restored to a place in the council. On the 3rd of June, lord Lisle, the son of Warwick, was married at Shene to Ann, the daughter of Somerset; and the king was present at the bridal. And yet, within a few weeks of this alliance, we find that a jealousy of Somerset's influence in public affairs is beginning to manifest itself. In a letter from Richard Whalley to Cecil, dated 26th June, 1550,‡ the writer details a conversation with "my lord of Warwick," in which Warwick "showed most plainly the inward grief of his heart, with not a few tears," at Somerset's proceedings in attempting to procure the release of the bishop of Winchester and lord Arundel; and expressed his suspicion that he desired the same authority as when he was Protector. "And further he said, alas! Mr. Whalley, what meaneth my lord in this wise to discredit himself, and why will he not see his own decay therein? Thinks he to rule and direct the whole council as he will, considering how his late governance is yet misliked? neither is he in that credit and best opinion with the king's majesty, as he believeth, and is by some fondly persuaded." During the early part of June,

* Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 177. † *Ibid.*, p. 182.

‡ Mr. Tytler gives this letter under the date of 1551. From the "Calendar of State Papers" we find that it is bound up in vol. x. of Edward's reign, in its chronological order, amongst papers ranging from February 21 to October 26, 1550. The variation is material.

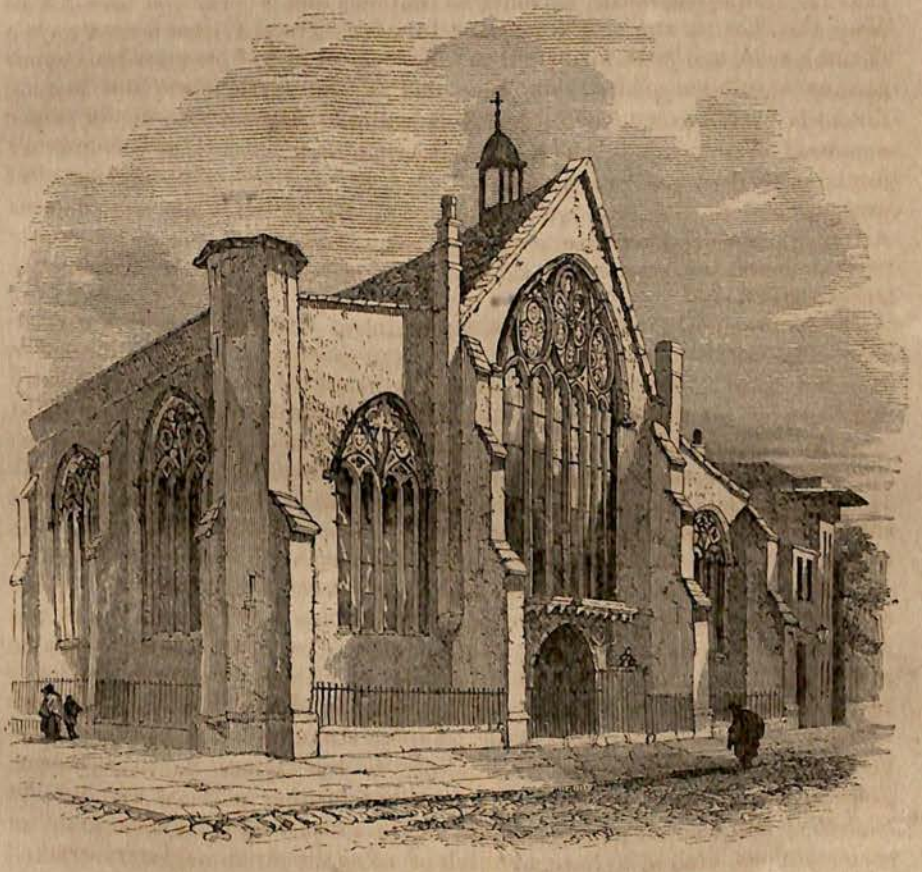
1550, the bishop of Winchester had been repeatedly examined by the council, Somerset being always present; and on the 14th we have this entry in Edward's Journal: "The duke of Somerset, with five others of the council, went to the bishop of Winchester; to whom he made this answer: 'I having deliberately seen the Book of Common Prayer, although I would not have made it so myself, yet I find such things in it as satisfieth my conscience, and therefore I will both execute it myself, and also see other, my parishioners, to do it.'" Upon this submission of Gardiner we may well believe that Somerset, inclined as he was to moderate proceedings, might attempt to procure his release. During 1550 Somerset appears to have been re-establishing his power. In December he has a hundred guards assigned him, although Warwick and other nobles have only fifty. But in February, 1551, a storm is gathering, as we learn from this brief entry in Edward's Journal: "Mr. Whalley was examined, for persuading divers nobles of the realm to make the duke of Somerset Protector at the next parliament, and stood to the denial, the earl of Rutland affirming it manifestly." The jealousies of the retainers of Somerset and Warwick began to manifest themselves in open conflicts; and some of Somerset's servants were sent to the Tower. These symptoms of disquiet appear to have subsided for six months; and Somerset was to be found in council and about the person of the king. On the 11th of October, the marquis of Dorset was created duke of Suffolk, and the earl of Warwick was created duke of Northumberland. On the 16th of October, Somerset, having that day taken his seat at the council, was arrested and sent to the Tower, with his duchess, and many of his friends. The charges against him were that, on the 20th of April, he conspired to depose the king, to seize the government, and to imprison the earl of Warwick; and the indictment also alleges a second plot of a similar nature, to be executed on the 20th of May. The long interval between the concoction of this plot and its discovery would alone induce a suspicion that the evidence, as it was called, was manufactured by him who had a decided interest in removing Somerset, to carry forward the bold conceptions of his own ambition. On the 1st of December Somerset was brought to trial before the lord-steward and twenty-seven peers, on a charge of high treason, by conspiring to seize the king; and of felony, under the Act of the preceding session against unlawful assemblies, in purposing, with others, to imprison the earl of Warwick, a privy councillor. He was acquitted of the treason, and found guilty of the felony. In the king's Journal many details of the progress of the discovery of this alleged plot are given, but they furnish little help to the elucidation of a mysterious struggle between two political rivals, which, in happier times, would have ended in a change of ministry. This Journal, however, furnishes a proof of the popular love for Somerset. Being acquitted of treason he went out of Westminster Hall, "without the axe of the Tower. The people, not knowing the matter, shouted half-a-dozen of times so loud, that from the hall-door it was heard at Charing Cross plainly, and rumours went that he was quit of all." That Christmas Somerset spent drearily in the Tower; whilst his nephew was diverted from the thoughts of the prisoner by every courtly amusement in his palace of Greenwich—tilts, tournaments, fights at barriers, masques, banquets. On the 22nd of January there is this business-like entry in the royal day-book: "The duke of

Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower-hill, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning." The details of this execution have been preserved by an eye-witness. The duke addressed the assembly in a short speech; and was preparing for death, when "the people espy sir Anthony Brown upon a little nag, riding towards the scaffold, and therewith they burst out crying in a voice, 'Pardon, pardon, pardon,' hurling up their caps and cloaks with these words, saying, 'God save the king, God save the king.' The good duke all this while stayed, and with his cap in his hand waited the people to come together, saying these words to their words of pardon, 'There is no such thing, good people, there is no such thing, it is the ordinance of God thus for to die, wherewith we must be content; and I pray you now let us pray together for the king's majesty, to whose grace I have been always a faithful, true, and most loving subject, desirous always of his most prosperous success in all his affairs; and ever glad of the furtherance and helping forwards of the commonwealth of this realm.' At which words the people answered 'Yea, yea, yea,' and some said with a loud voice, 'that is found now too true.' 'To whose grace I beseech God to send and grant to reign most prosperously to the pleasure of God.'" * Sir Ralph Vane, sir Thomas Arundel, sir Miles Partridge, and sir Michael Stanhope, were subsequently tried and executed, on a charge of having instigated the duke of Somerset to treason and felony.

The biographer of Cranmer says, "the violent death of Somerset exceedingly grieved the good archbishop." † In the great work of the Reformation it is not easy to determine the particular merit of the labourers; but we incline to believe that Somerset was sincere and consistent in his attempts to establish the new doctrines upon a broad foundation of charitable principle. Nor was he altogether so worldly-minded as his adversaries have represented. Hearne, in the narrow spirit of a past generation of antiquaries, says that the abbey of Glastonbury was granted to Somerset on the 4th of June, 1550, by king Edward; but he enjoyed it only for a year, seven months, and twenty-one days—"so little did this and his other sacrileges thrive with him." The use which the fallen Protector made of Glastonbury, at a time when he was deprived of his office and heavily fined, might have called for a more charitable mention. England was then, as it has been in many later periods, the home of foreigners fleeing from oppression, religious or political. It was the merit of the Protector's government to receive these strangers. He gave encouragement, before his first removal from power, to the famous Polish nobleman, John a Lasco, who had become a preacher of the reformed religion, at Embden; and whose congregation, living in great insecurity on account of their opinions, desired to have a church of some dissolved monastery granted to them in England, where they might transplant themselves, exercising their faith and pursuing their skilful industry. The church of Austin Friars, in London, was eventually granted to them; and the circumstance is recorded in Edward's Journal, of 1550: "June 29. It was appointed that the Germans should have the Austin Friars for their church, to have their service in, for avoiding of all sects of Anabaptists, and such like." Somerset carried his encouragement of such settlers still further. A congregation of French

* Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 216. † Strype, "Memorials of Cranmer." i. 340.

and Walloons, under the ministry of a learned reformer, Valerandus Pollanus, in 1550, petitioned the council of England, "that they might be permitted to form themselves into a church for the free exercise of religion, and to follow peaceably their calling of weaving." Somerset immediately established this colony in Glastonbury Abbey. He entered into formal conditions to provide them houses for their occupation, and an allotment of pasture land for each family; and that until the allotments were made they should enjoy the park in common. The settlers came. The duke lent them money to buy wool; and for some time they went on prosperously. But when



Dutch Church, Austin Friars.

Somerset fell, their affairs became disordered. In December, while the duke was under sentence of death, the receiver of his revenues was ordered by the council to pay 340*l.* to these refugees, for provision of wool.* But they had lost their great patron, and struggled with difficulties for a year or two to establish their manufacture. When Mary came to the crown all

* "Calendar of State Papers," p. 37.

strangers of their opinions were driven from the realm. The poor congregation of Glastonbury removed to Frankfurt; and they, in their turn, gave succour to Englishmen who fled for conscience-sake.

The ill-success of the English policy in Scotland, and the defenceless state of Boulogne, in 1549, were amongst the evils that were attributed to the rule of Somerset. His successors in power wisely concluded a peace with France, though under humiliating conditions. By the treaty of March, 1550, it was agreed that Boulogne should be restored to France, upon the payment of one-fifth of the sum which Francis I. had agreed to pay on the expiration of eight years. The demand arising out of the treaty of marriage between Edward and Mary of Scotland was abandoned. The pension which Henry VIII. had accepted for the surrender of his claim to the crown of France was virtually set aside. This ridiculous pretension entered no longer into the diplomacy or the wars of the English government, though an empty title continued, for two centuries and a half longer, to be a practical satire upon a claim which the nation had long repudiated with other absurdities of the days of feudality. By this treaty the pretensions of England as regarded Scotland and France, and of France and Scotland as regarded England, were suspended. The reservation was a practical abandonment of causes of hostility, which the growth of a higher power than the personal ambition of kings would speedily over-ride.

The duke of Northumberland, though invested with no special power as that of protector or governor of the king, was now the directing authority of the realm. He had removed his great rival. He had summoned a parliament from which he expected the accustomed subserviency. The Lords passed a more stringent law of treason than that of Edward III. The Commons modified many of its clauses; and, from a feeling that trials for treason had been conducted with the most flagrant injustice, it was enacted that no person should be arraigned or convicted of treasonable offences, except by the testimony of two witnesses, to be produced at the time of his arraignment. This law, like many others which interfered with the powers of the crown, was often disregarded in evil times, when, as in more barbarous periods, to be accused of treason, and to be condemned to its fearful penalties, were almost convertible terms. But the law of Edward VI. shows that a spirit of justice was growing up in the minds of the representatives of the people. The parliament of 1552 was, in other respects, not a mere register of the decrees of the executive; and it was speedily dissolved. Meanwhile, Northumberland had obtained the most lavish grants of estates from the crown, and was proceeding in a career of high-handed despotism. Commissions were issued for the seizure of all the remaining plate and ornaments of the churches, with the exception of such chalices as were necessary for the administration of the Sacrament. Tonstall, bishop of Durham, had been deprived of his see, which was a great object with Northumberland, for he proposed and carried a plan to divide the bishopric into two sees, with a moderate income for each bishop, and its great revenues to be vested in the king—in other words, in himself. A new parliament was called in 1553, and especial care was taken that the sheriffs should attend, in their returns, to the nominations of the crown, and the recommendations of the privy counsellors. In the beginning of the year the king became seriously ill; and

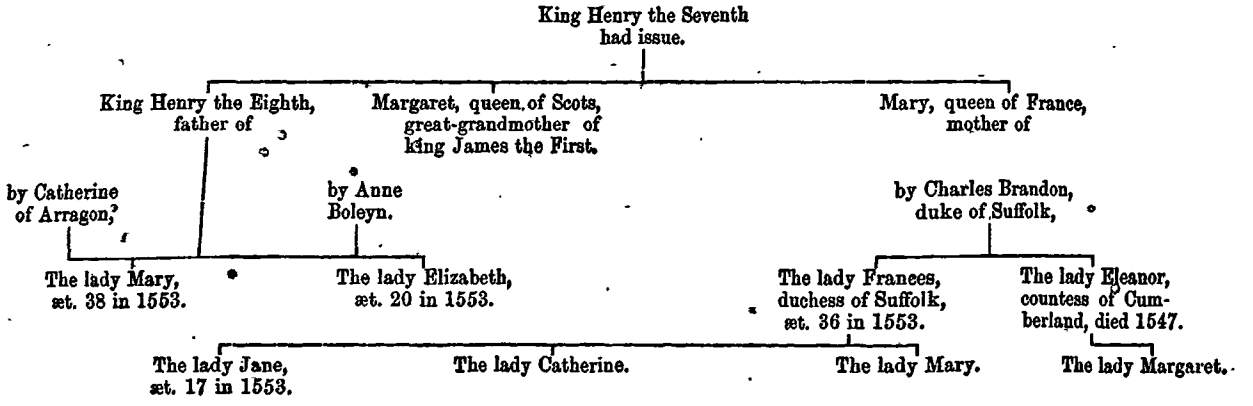
when the parliament met on the 1st of March, the two houses were assembled at Whitehall, his weakness preventing him opening the session except in his own palace. The policy of Northumberland now assumed a bolder shape. The king partially recovered in May; and that period was chosen to accomplish three marriages, by which the power of the ambitious duke was not only consolidated, but one of which was to be associated with a project so daring as to look like insanity. Northumberland's fourth son, lord Guilford Dudley, was married to the lady Jane Grey; the lady Catherine Grey was betrothed to lord Herbert, the son of the earl of Pembroke, who was his devoted adherent; and his daughter, Catherine Dudley, was united to lord Hastings, eldest son of the earl of Huntingdon. The marriage of lord Guilford Dudley to the lady Jane was very soon followed by the most startling consequences. By the Will of Henry VIII. the crown was to devolve—1, on his son Edward; 2, on his own heir (if any) by Catherine Parr, or other queen; 3, on his daughter Mary; 4, on his daughter Elizabeth; 5, on the heirs of the lady Frances, his niece; 6, on those of her sister, the lady Eleanor. By this Will the descendants of his sister, Margaret, the queen of Scotland, were passed over. On the 11th of June, the lord chief justice Montague, with other law officers, was commanded to attend upon the king at Greenwich. Edward, in presence of some members of the council, then declared to them that his sickness had led him to think seriously of the state of the realm; that he had prepared notes of an intended new settlement of the crown; and that he desired they should be reduced into letters-patent. The notes are extant in Edward's handwriting. They were in effect to set aside the devise of Henry to his daughters Mary and Elizabeth, and to give the crown to the heirs of the lady Frances, who was the living duchess of Suffolk, but who was herself passed over. The lady Jane Grey was the eldest of her three daughters. She had no male heir. The judge hesitated; remonstrated with the sick boy; and pointed out that the succession according to Henry's Will was confirmed by an act of parliament. His representations were made in vain. The next day Montague went to the council, and declared that he and his colleagues could not assist in a measure which would be treasonable. Northumberland then came in, and terrified the chief justice by the most violent denunciations. On the 14th Montague and the other lawyers were again summoned to Greenwich; and there Edward received them "with sharp words and angry countenance." Montague subsequently related that being "a weak old man and without comfort," he consented, Edward promising that a parliament should be called to ratify the letters-patent. Fifteen lords of the council, nine judges, and other officers, then signed a paper agreeing to maintain the succession as contained in the king's notes, delivered to the judges. King Edward died on the 6th of July, twenty-two days after he had thus solemnly excluded his sisters from the throne. The letters-patent, dated the 21st of June, set forth the following reasons for this exclusion:—That they were illegitimate, in consequence of the divorces of their mothers; that they were only of half-blood to king Edward, and therefore were by ancient laws not inheritable, although they had been legitimate; and that they might marry strangers out of the realm, and thus endanger the commonwealth.

In looking at the imperfectly developed character of Edward VI., as

exhibited in his public actions and his private Journal, we can scarcely fail to be impressed with its more than youthful proportion of the coldness and pertinacity of his race. The stoical indifference with which he records the unhappy deaths of his two uncles is not more remarkable than the egoism with which he discards his sisters from the succession. They are "unto us but of the half-blood." The daughters of the lady Frances are "very nigh of our whole blood, of the part of our father's side." His enthusiastic adherence to the doctrines and usages of the Reformed Church had made him, to a certain extent, as intolerant as education and long habit had rendered his sister Mary. He was no doubt worked upon to this unjust resolve—unjust, even upon his own principles, in the corresponding exclusion of his sister Elizabeth—by the influence of Northumberland, who appears to have possessed an extraordinary control over his actions. But, under the guidance of his own sense of religious duty, Edward manifested a desire to repair some of the injustice attendant upon the destruction of the ancient church. Ridley, in a sermon before him, exhorted the rich to be merciful to the poor, and by charitable works to comfort and relieve them. The noble institutions of St. Thomas's Hospital, of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and of Christ's Hospital, sprung out of the practical effect of these words upon the mind of the young king. When the chantries were swept away, the intention to apply their revenues to purposes of education was set aside. But from 1551 to 1553 Edward founded twelve grammar-schools; of which those of Birmingham, Shrewsbury, Macclesfield, Bedford, are especial examples of the lasting good of such endowments. His dying prayer is a proof of his earnest and abiding love for the faith which had made such rapid progress during his brief reign: "O Lord God, save thy chosen people of England. O my Lord God, defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion."

Statue of Edward VI. at Christ's Hospital.

TABLE SHOWING THE HEIRS FEMALE IN REMAINDER TO THE CROWN, NAMED IN THE WILL OF HENRY VIII. AND THE DEVISE OF EDWARD VI.*


King Henry the Seventh had issue.
King Henry the Eighth, father of
Margaret, queen of Scots, great-grandmother of king James the First.
Mary, queen of France, mother of
by Catherine of Arragon,
by Anne Boleyn.
by Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk,
The lady Mary, æt. 38 in 1553.
The lady Elizabeth, æt. 20 in 1553.
The lady Frances, duchess of Suffolk, æt. 36 in 1553.
The lady Eleanor, countess of Cumberland, died 1547.
The lady Jane, æt. 17 in 1553.
The lady Catherine.
The lady Mary.
The lady Margaret.

*** Queen Elizabeth, when she died in 1603, was the survivor of all these ladies.

The descendants of Margaret, queen of Scots, who were passed over by Henry and Edward, were:—Her granddaughter, Mary, queen of Scotland, affianced to the Dauphin of France, she being in 1553 eleven years old; Margaret's daughter, the countess of Lennox; and Henry Darnley, the son of the countess.

* We have taken the liberty of extracting this Table from the interesting documents given by Mr. Nichols in the "Chronicle of Queen Jane."

Lady Jane Grey.

CHAPTER IV.

The Lady Jane proclaimed Queen—Northumberland leaves London—Queen Mary proclaimed in London—Northumberland and others tried—Northumberland's execution and apostasy—Lady Jane Grey in the Tower—Coronation of Mary—Her person and qualities—Parliament—Sweeping changes in religion—Proposed marriage with Philip—Popular hatred of the marriage—Ambassadors arrive to arrange a treaty—Insurrection of Wyat—Conduct of the Queen—Wyat's march to London—The insurrection defeated.

A CONTEMPORARY chronicler of the events that filled the anxious days from the 7th to the 17th of July, 1553, heads his brief account, JANA REGINA."* Edward died on the evening of Thursday, the 6th. It had been intended to keep the event strictly secret, till the persons of the princesses Mary and Elizabeth had been secured. Nevertheless, the Council could not shut themselves up within the palace of Greenwich, without some indirect

* "Chronicle of the Grey Friars," p. 78.

demonstration of the real circumstances. The French ambassador, Noailles, wrote to his government on the 8th, that on the day following the death of the king, being Friday, the marquis of Northampton and others took possession of the Tower, at two o'clock in the morning. The princess Mary was at Hunsdon in Hertfordshire; and there were not wanting friends to apprise her of the position of affairs, and of her consequent danger. She hastily took horse for her manor of Kenninghall, from which place she addressed a letter to the Council, dated the 9th, in which she expresses her surprise that information of her brother's death, of which she has received sure advertisement, was not communicated to her; and calls upon them, on their allegiance, immediately to proclaim her right and title to the crown. The Council on the 8th had sent for the lord mayor and six aldermen and other citizens of London, and had read to them the letters-patent, and sworn them to abide by the same. Having answered the letter of Mary, declaring that Jane was invested with the true title to the crown, and recommending to the princess to be "quiet and obedient," the Council caused queen Jane to be proclaimed on the 10th. Some historians have recorded the circumstances of an interview between Northumberland, Suffolk, and their daughter; her surprise at their unusual homage; her tears; and her scruples to accept the crown. This is the dramatic decoration of a few bare facts. The most charming of all usurpers, was, in all likelihood, an unwilling instrument for the ambition of a few; and the only fact that we certainly know at this point of her story is, that she came by water to the Tower on the day when she was proclaimed. The people in anxious silence saw her pass. It was in every mouth that the young king had been poisoned. "He was poisoned, as everybody says." * Northumberland was odious to the people. The ragged bear is glad of the king's death, they said. Gilbert Pot, a vintner's drawer, had his ears cut off in the pillory, "for words speaking at time of proclamation of lady Jane." † Cecil, the secretary of state, and other crafty counsellors, saw the signs of the time; and as we learn from Cecil's own confession of his double dealing, left Northumberland, and his few daring friends, to perform the more obnoxious acts of these nine days. "I eschewed," says Cecil, "the writing of the queen's highness bastard, and therefore the duke wrote the letter himself which was sent abroad in the realm." ‡ This letter, in the writing of Northumberland, is in existence; and is signed "Jane the queene." §

On the 12th of July the Council, who surrounded the lady Jane in the Tower, received intelligence that Mary had been joined at Kenninghall by the earl of Bath, and other leading men; and that the earl of Sussex and his son were marching to her aid. It was determined, upon the first receipt of this intelligence, that the duke of Suffolk should set forward, "to fetch her up to London." The forebodings of the lady Jane led to another determination. She, "taking the matter heavily, with weeping tears made request to the whole Council that her father might tarry at home in her company; whereupon the Council persuaded with the duke of Northumberland to take that voyage upon him." ‖ There is a spirited narrative of the proceedings of this

* Mostyn's Diary, p. 35. Also "Grey Friars' Chronicle."
† Holinshed. ‡ Landsdowne MS., quoted in Tytler, ii. p. 193.
§ "Queen Jane and Queen Mary," Camden Society, p. 103. ‖ Stow.

interesting time, in a "Chronicle of Queen Jane," written by a resident in the Tower of London, which was formerly in the possession of Stow, and of which he made liberal use. Holinshed followed Stow, as "from the report of an eye-witness."* The setting forth of the duke is minutely described. He made a strong appeal to the fidelity of the Council in these words:—

"'Now upon the only trust and faithfulness of your honours, whereof we think ourselves most assured, we do hazard and jeopard our lives; which trust and promise if ye shall violate, hoping thereby of life and promotion, yet shall not God count you innocent of our bloods, neither acquit you of the sacred and holy oath of allegiance made freely by you to this virtuous lady, the queen's highness, who by your and our enticement is rather of force placed therein than by her own seeking and request. Consider also that God's cause, which is the preferment of His word, and the fear of papist's re-entrance, hath been as ye have herebefore always said, the original ground whereupon ye even at the first motion granted your good wills and consents thereunto, as by your handwriting evidently appeareth. And think not the contrary, but if ye mean deceit, though not forthwith yet hereafter God will revenge the same. I can say no more; but in this troublesome time wish you to use constant hearts, abandoning all malice, envy, and private affections.' Therewith-all the first course for the lords came up. Then the duke did knit up his talk with these words: 'I have not spoken to you on this sort upon any distrust I have of your truth, of the which always I have ever hitherto conceived a trusty confidence; but I have put you in remembrance thereof, what chance of variance soever might grow amongst you in my absence; and this I pray you, wish me no worse good-speed in this journey than ye would have to yourselves.' 'My lord (saith one of them) if ye mistrust any of us in this matter, your grace is far deceived; for which of us can wipe his hands clean thereof? And if we should shrink from you as one that were culpable, which of us can excuse himself as guiltless? Therefore herein your doubt is too far cast.' 'I pray God it be so (quoth the duke); let us go to dinner. And so they sate down.'"

Northumberland received from queen Jane the commission for the lieutenantship of the army, "sealed." The earl of Arundel "prayed God be with his grace; saying, he was very sorry it was not his chance to go with him and bear him company, in whose presence he could find in his heart to spend his blood, even at his foot." The next morning Northumberland departed, with six hundred men. "And as they went through Shoreditch, sayeth the duke to one that rid by him, the people press to see us, but not one sayeth God speed us." He was to have received succour at Northampton, but the promised aid of men and munition never arrived. Meanwhile the cause of Mary was prospering in every quarter. At Yarmouth the crews of six ships that had been sent to intercept her expected flight to the continent, declared that their captains should go to the bottom of the sea unless they would serve queen Mary. "After once the submission of the ships was known in the Tower, each man then begun to pluck in his horns; and, over that, word of a great mischief was brought to the Tower—the noblemen's tenants refused to serve their lords against queen Mary." Suspicion began to prevail amongst

* Harl. MS., reprinted by the Camden Society, edited by J. G. Nichols.

the few who remained faithful to the authority they had most imprudently set up. On the 16th, at seven o'clock in the evening, "the gates of the Tower upon a sudden were shut, and the keys carried up to the queen Jane." Her supposed friends were fast deserting her. Cecil was practising with the Lord Privy Seal to cause Windsor Castle to serve the queen Mary. He was opening himself to the lord Arundel. He purposed to have stolen down to the queen's highness. He was ready with what he calls "the pardonable lie." * Arundel, who prayed God to speed Northumberland, desired Cecil and others to remove out of the Tower, for frank speech to be had in council, saying that he liked not the air; and thereupon they went to Baynard's Castle. So the lady Jane was left almost alone with her mock-royalty; and the keys of the Tower-gates were carried to her—a precaution against open force, but none against hidden treachery. Ridley was preaching in her favour at Paul's Cross on that day; but Arundel and Cecil were more effectually conspiring against her at Baynard's Castle.

Framlingham is about twenty miles from Kenninghall, from which house Mary wrote to the Council on the 9th. She determined to move to a place of strength, and was soon in comparative safety within the strong walls and deep moats of Framlingham. This castle of the Howards' had been forfeited to the crown upon the attainder of the duke of Norfolk, who, at this time, was still a prisoner in the Tower. Here Mary remained till the last day of July. She entered the gates of Framlingham after a hurried ride of secresy and fear. She went forth, surrounded with armed thousands, in the state of a queen. The termination of the march of Northumberland to the eastern counties is a pitiable exhibition of the unhonoured fall of inordinate ambition. He had retreated to Cambridge with his small army. Letters of discomfort had reached him. On the 19th, at night, he heard that Queen Mary had been proclaimed at London. "The next morning he called for a herald and proclaimed her himself." A letter of the period describes the proclamation of Mary in London:—

"Great was the triumph here at London; for my part I never saw the like, and by the report of others the like was never seen. The number of caps that were thrown up at the proclamation were not to be told. The earl of Pembroke threw away his cap full of angelletes. I saw myself money was thrown out at windows for joy. The bonfires were without number, and what with shouting and crying of the people, and ringing of the bells, there could no one hear almost what another said, besides banquettings and singing in the street for joy. There was present at the proclamation the earl of Pembroke, the earl of Shrewsbury, the earl of Arundel, my lord warden, my lord mayor, sir John Mason, sir John Cheeke, and divers others; and after the proclamation made in Cheapside, they all went to Paul's to even-song. The duke of Suffolk being at the Tower, at the making of the proclamation, and, as some say, did not know of it, but so soon as he heard of it, he came himself out of the Tower, and commanded his men to leave their weapons behind them, saying that he himself was but one man, and himself proclaimed my lady Mary's grace queen on the Tower-hill, and so came into London, leaving the lieutenant in the Tower."

* See "A Brief Note of my Submission," the paper which he sent to Queen Mary; Tytler, vol. ii. p. 192.

Where was the lady Jane? Did she go with her father to some place of refuge? Did she return to her old retirement at Sion? Or did she remain within those walls to gaze upon ghastly sights, and shadow out her own fate? For a few weeks history drops her as a forgotten thing; and then takes her up again, "looking through the window" to see Northumberland going to the church within the Tower to perform one more act of dissimulation. His fate was very speedily sealed. The mayor of Cambridge arrested him after the proclamation, but upon his remonstrance let him go free. He stayed at Cambridge one night. Though his son Warwick was "booted," they did not carry out their purpose to ride in the morning.

"Then came the earl of Arundel, who had been with the queen, to the duke into his chamber; and when the duke knew thereof he came out to meet him; and as soon as ever he saw the earl of Arundel, he fell down on his knees and desired him to be good to him, for the love of God. 'And consider (saith he), I have done nothing but by the consent of you and all the whole council.' 'My lord (quoth he), I am sent hither by the queen's majesty, and in her name I do arrest you.' 'And I obey it my lord (quoth he), and I beseech you my lord of Arundel (quoth the duke), use mercy towards me, knowing the case as it is.' 'My lord (quoth the earl), ye should have sought for mercy sooner; I must do according to my commandment.' And therewith he committed the charge of him to divers of the guard and gentlemen that stood by."

Queen Mary arrived triumphantly in London, at the head of a great band of friends, on the 3rd of August. Her sister Elizabeth had joined her on her progress, having most wisely determined, from the first, to make common cause against those who sought to set aside their inheritance under the Act of Succession. The queen went to the Tower, where the aged duke of Norfolk, the bishop of Winchester, and the dowager-duchess of Somerset welcomed her to the place of their captivity. Mary raised them from their knees, with the words "These are all my own prisoners;" and they were immediately set free. The prison had soon many new tenants. The duke of Northumberland and his son the earl of Warwick, the earl of Northampton, sir Andrew Dudley, sir John Gates, sir Henry Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer were tried and convicted of high-treason on the 18th and 19th of August. On the 22nd, Northumberland, sir John Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer were executed. An extraordinary scene took place on the 21st, which is thus related by the Resident in the Tower: "Note, on Monday the xxist of August, it was appointed the duke with others should have suffered, and all the guard were at the Tower; but howsoever it chanced he did not; but he desired to hear mass and to receive the sacrament according to the old accustomed manner. So about ix of the clock the altar in the chapel was arranged, and each thing prepared for the purpose; then Mr. Gage went and fetched the duke; and sir John Abridges and Mr. John Abridges did fetch the marquis of Northampton, sir Andrew Dudley, sir Henry Gates, and sir Thomas Palmer to mass, which was said both with elevation over the head, the peace-giving, blessing, and crossing on the crown, breathing, turning about, and all the other rites and incidents of old time appertaining. And when the time came the prisoners should receive the sacrament, the duke turned himself to the people and said first these words, or such like, 'My masters, I let you

all to understand that I do most faithfully believe this is the very right and true way, out of the which true religion you and I have been seduced these xvi years past, by the false and erroneous preaching of the new preachers, the which is the only cause of the great plague and vengeance which hath light upon the whole realm of England, and now likewise worthily fallen upon me and others here present for our unfaithfulness. And I do believe the holy sacrament here most assuredly to be our Saviour and Redeemer, Jesus Christ; and this I pray you all to testify, and pray for me.' After which words he kneeled down and asked all men forgiveness, and likewise forgave all men. Amongst others standing by, were the duke of Somerset's sons. Then all the rest confessed the declaration aforesaid, and so received the sacrament most humbly. Note, that a little before mass was begun, there was sent for into London for divers of the best commoners and common-council of the city to come and hear the conversion of the duke, amongst whom one Hartop, a goldsmith, and one Baskerfield were there.—The lady Jane looking through the window saw the duke and the rest going to the church."

A week after the execution of Northumberland we find, in the curious diary from which we have quoted several passages, the following picture of lady Jane Grey in her prison. Her father had been set free, and she herself had some liberty within the Tower precincts. The conversation here recorded not only illustrates her character, but shows what was her own feeling of the attempt at usurpation of which she had been made the unwilling instrument:* "Note, that on Tuesday, the xxixth of August, I dined at Partridge's house with my lady Jane, being there present, she sitting at the board's end, Partridge, his wife, Jacob, my lady's gentleman, and her man. She commanding Partridge and me to put on our caps, amongst our communication at the dinner, this was to be noted: after she had once or twice drunk to me and bade me heartily welcome, saith she, 'The queen's majesty is a merciful princess; I beseech God she may long continue, and send his bountiful grace upon her.' After that we fell in [discourse of] matters of religion; and she asked what he was that preached at Paul's on Sunday before; and so it was told to be one [blank in MS.] 'I pray you,' quoth she, 'have they mass in London?' 'Yea, forsooth,' quoth I, 'in some places.' 'It may be so,' quoth she, 'it is not so strange as the sudden conversion of the late duke; for who would have thought,' said she, 'he would have so done?' It was answered her, 'Perchance he thereby hoped to have had his pardon.' 'Pardon?' quoth she; 'woe worth him! he hath brought me and our stock in most miserable calamity and misery by his exceeding ambition. But for the answering that he hoped for life by his turning, though other men be of that opinion, I utterly am not; for what man is there living, I pray you, although he had been innocent, that would hope of life in that case; being in the field against the queen in person as general, and after his taking so hated and evil-spoken of by the commons? and at his coming into prison so wondered at, as the like was never heard by any man's time. Who was judge that he should hope for pardon, whose life was odious to all men? But what will ye more? like as

* This extract was printed by Sir Simonds d'Ewes; but, as the editor of the "Chronicle of Queen Jane" remarks, has been unknown to her biographers. Who the writer of the Diary was, is not ascertained; nor what office Master Partridge held.

his life was wicked and full of dissimulation, so was his end thereafter. I pray God, I nor no friends of mine die so. Should I, who [am] young and in my few years, forsake my faith for the love of life? Nay, God forbid. Much more he should not, whose fatal course, although he had lived his just number of years, could not have long continued. But life was sweet, it appeared: so he might have lived, you will say, he did [not] care how. Indeed the reason is good; for he that would have lived in chains to have had his life, by like would leave no other mean attempted. But God be merciful to us, for he sayeth, Whoso denieth him before men, he will not know him in his Father's kingdom.' With this and much like talk the dinner passed away; which ended, I thanked her ladyship that she would vouchsafe accept me in her company; and she thanked me likewise, and said I was welcome. She thanked Partridge also for bringing me to dinner. 'Madam,' said he, 'we were somewhat bold, not knowing that your ladyship dined below until we found your ladyship there.' And so Partridge and I departed."

The enthusiasm with which the bloodless revolution in favour of queen Mary was hailed by the people, has been considered as a proof that the majority were Roman Catholic, and would gladly lay aside all the doctrine and discipline of the Church which had been so completely settled in the reign of Edward. We are inclined to receive this notion with considerable doubt. Another theory was set forth in the bitter satire of the Venetian ambassador, Micheli, that the English "would be full as zealous followers of the Mahometan or Jewish religion did the king profess either of them, or commanded his subjects to do so; that, in short, they will accommodate themselves to any religious persuasion, but most readily to one that promises to minister to licentiousness and profit." * At the accession of Mary the English were neither wholly devoted to Catholicism, nor indifferent to all religion. They accepted Mary with joy because, without entering into the subtleties of the divorce question of her mother, they knew that she was the direct heir to the crown, and that the attempt to set her aside was the unjust act of a few ambitious and unscrupulous men. There were many decided Protestants amongst her first adherents. They could not doubt that she would firmly cleave to the Mass and to the ceremonies of the Church, as in the time of her father; but they could not assume that she would venture to force the papal domination again upon England, or think it possible to take away the Bible from the people which her father had consented to give them. Mary herself saw the necessity of proceeding with great caution. The news of her accession was received in Rome with exultation; and the pope resolved to send cardinal Pole as legate to England. That measure was determined in a consistory as early as the 5th of August. But Pole was too discreet to risk such a demonstration before the temper of the people had been farther tried. Mary herself received a secret agent of Rome, Francis Commendone; and to him she professed her attachment to the Romish Church, and her desire to

* Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii.

bring back its worship. But she implored him to be cautious; for much was still unsettled. Mary, however, sent letters to the pope by this agent, which were so acceptable to Julius III., that he wept for joy, that his pontificate should be honoured by the restoration of England to its ancient obedience.

The coronation of Mary took place on the 1st of October. The old chroniclers, who are abundantly diffuse in their relations of these pageants, describe her appearance as she passed on the previous day, in procession from Westminster to the Tower, sitting in a chariot of tissue, drawn by six horses. "She sate in a gown of blue velvet, furred with powdered ermine, hanging on her head a cloth of tinsel beset with pearl and stone, and about the same upon her head a round circlet of gold, much like a hooped garland, beset so richly with many precious stones that their value was inestimable; the said caul and circle being so massy and ponderous that she was fain to bear up her head with her hands." The person of this queen and her qualities were described, four years later, by the Venetian ambassador: "She is of short stature, well made, thin and delicate, and moderately pretty; her eyes are so lively, that she inspires reverence and respect, and even fear, wherever she turns them; nevertheless she is very short sighted. Her voice is deep, almost like that of a man. She understands five languages, English, Latin, French, Spanish, and Italian, in which last, however, she does not venture to converse. She is also much skilled in ladies' work,—such as producing all sorts of embroidery with the needle. She has a knowledge of music, chiefly on the lute, on which she plays exceedingly well. As to the qualities of her mind, it may be said of her that she is rash, disdainful, and parsimonious rather than liberal. She is endowed with great humility and patience, but withal high spirited, courageous, and resolute; having during the whole course of her adversity been guiltless of any the least approach to meanness of comportment; she is, moreover, devout and staunch in the defence of her religion. Some personal infirmities under which she labours are the causes to her of both public and private affliction; to remedy these recourse is had to frequent blood-letting, and this is the real cause of her paleness, and the general weakness of her frame." In this coronation procession there was a remarkable memento of the past, in the presence of Anne of Cleves, who rode in a chariot with the princess Elizabeth.

The first parliament of Mary met on the 5th of October, Gardiner being lord chancellor. The first session was a very short one, and the only public Act was that for repealing certain treasons and felonies, and all offences within the case of premunire. The object of this Act was to sweep away the penalties for denying the king's supremacy, and especially to relieve cardinal Pole from his dangers under the laws of Henry VIII. The people might dimly see from this measure how the course of the government was tending; if they could have doubted of it, after Latimer had been committed to the Tower on the 13th of November, and Cranmer on the 14th, and when the deprived bishops were restored to their sees. The second parliamentary session commenced on the 24th of October. The anti-reformers now went more boldly to work. "An Act concerning the queen's highness to have been born in a most just and lawful matrimony, and also repealing all Acts of parliament and sentences of divorce had and made to the contrary," might be soothing to the feelings of the queen; but the

declaring void so much of the statute of Henry VIII. as illegitimates queen Mary, and indeed the whole tenour of the Act, confirmed the illegitimacy of the princess Elizabeth, as also declared by that statute. That this was a deep offence to Elizabeth, and to those protestants who looked to her as their future hope, was a consequence of this unnecessary insult. Mary had resolved on marriage with Philip, the son of Charles V., and she flattered

Philip of Spain. From a painting by Titian.

herself that with a Catholic husband, and with successors to be bred up in the ancient faith, the nation would soon abandon its heresies. The second Act of this session, "for the repeal of certain statutes made in the time of the reign of king Edward the Sixth," deals in a very summary manner with the labours of the preceding six years. The act for administering the Sacrament in two kinds; for the election of bishops; for legalising priest's marriages; for uniformity of service; for putting away divers books and images; and for regulating holy-days and fasting-days, are all annihilated by one comprehensive clause.* But something connected with the Reformation was retained. Divine service is to be performed as in the last year of Henry VIII. This was a concession to the prudence of Gardiner and others, who were not prepared to drive the reformers into open resistance by venturing upon too much in the outset of this ecclesiastical reaction. The queen still retained the title of Supreme Head of the Church; the name of

* 1 Mariæ, st. 2, c. 2.

the Pope was carefully kept out of view. Cardinal Pole, who was earnest and conscientious, pointed out the anomaly between the act repealing the Divorce and the retention of the Supremacy. The emperor recommended prudence and moderation.

On the 13th of November, a special commission was held at Guildhall for the trial of prisoners under charges of high-treason. These were the lady Jane Grey, her husband and his two brothers, and archbishop Cranmer. Another Dudley was arraigned in the following January. They all pleaded "guilty,"—Cranmer having originally pleaded "not guilty" and then withdrew the plea. The hope of mercy in thus pleading had probably been held out to all. But there were personal considerations working upon the queen which left the fate of the Dudleys still uncertain. In the Diary of the Resident in the Tower, we find it recorded, on the 18th December, "the lady Jane had the liberty of the Tower, so that she might walk in the queen's garden and on the hill; and the lord Robert and lord Guildford the liberty of the leads in the Bell Tower." But in a very short time the people, who had borne patiently enough the sudden change in the offices of religion, and who had heard the proclamation for the re-establishment of the mass, without any expression of general dislike, began to be stirred about the Spanish marriage. The emperor Charles V. proceeded in this matter with his accustomed caution. His minister, Renard, had hinted to the queen, in September, how desirable an alliance would be with the prince of Spain; and she said that whatever she should do would only be for the public good. It was hinted in the next reign, by sir Thomas Smith, that "a certain lady, having the picture sent unto her of one whom she never saw, who should be her husband, was so enamoured thereon and so ravished, that she languished for love, and was in a measure out of her wits for his long tarrying and absence." * Her faithful Commons represented the temper of the people when they resolved upon a petition to the queen that she would marry, but that she would select one of her own nation. The queen manifested most strikingly her own disposition when, on the evening of the 30th of October, she sent for the Spanish ambassador into her chamber, and having repeated the "Veni Creator," she knelt before the host, and gave him her sacred promise that she would marry no other man but the prince of Spain. She dismissed the Commons with a short answer when they came with their petition, saying that she should only look to God for counsel in a matter so important; and the ambassador of Charles soothed many scruples by a liberal distribution of eloquent gold. But the people were not so easily satisfied. They abhorred the notion of a Spanish alliance. "The Spaniards," they said, "were coming into the realm with harness and hand-guns. * * * * This realm should be brought to bondage by them as it was never afore, but should be utterly conquered." So ran the talk at a Kentish farrier's shop.† There was a political instinct in this discontent, which has often guided the English people rightly in difficult cases. An embassy departed from Brussels in December, to make a solemn tender of Philip's hand to the queen. Wotton, our ambassador to France, thus writes at this time to the Council, to communicate the opinion of Montmorency, the constable. The sagacious statesman and the English mob were of the same

* Strype.

† State Paper, quoted in Tytler, vol. ii. p. 278.

belief. "Because," quoth the constable, "that I have used to talk ever frankly with you, I cannot but say unto you as I think, that I do much lament your state of England." "Why so, sir?" quoth I,—"Why so?" quoth the constable. "You are a man that hath travelled abroad, and you know in what state all countries are where Spaniards bear any rule. Sicily, Naples, Lombardy, Sienna when they had it, and all other places where they have had any authority, do you not know how they are oppressed by the Spaniards? in what a bondage and misery they live? Even so must you look to be in England; for at the beginning, as they do everywhere, they will speak fair and genteely unto you, till the time they have made themselves somewhat strong in the realm, and won to them some great men of the realm; and then will they begin to get your ships into their hands, and likewise those few forts which you have, yea, and will build in new places meet for their purpose: and so a little and a little usurp still more and more, till they have all at their commandment."*

The reception of the embassy to arrange the terms of the marriage is quaintly recorded in the Diary of the Resident in the Tower. The ambassador was the famous count of Egmont, the Flemish noble, whose subsequent career has furnished so striking a theme for history and poetry. The count and other personages landed at the Tower-wharf; and "the lord of Devonshire, giving him the right-hand, brought him through Cheapside, and so forth to Westminster; the people, nothing rejoicing, held down their heads sorrowfully. The day before his coming in, as his retinue and harbingers came riding through London, the boys pelted at them with snow-balls; so hateful was the sight of their coming in to them." The "boys" of London who have ever been a peculiar race in intelligence and boldness, made a still more marked demonstration of popular disgust. After the terms of the treaty of marriage had been promulgated by the lord chancellor in a solemn assembly at Westminster, the boys had their games of English and Spaniards, in which one unlucky wight of their number, personating the prince of Spain, was hanged by his comrades, and narrowly escaped with his life.

The terms of the marriage treaty, which were assiduously promulgated, were in some degree calculated to diminish the public jealousy of the Spanish alliance. But few had received the benefit of a share in the million two hundred thousand crowns with which Charles V. had resolved the doubts of the Lords and Commons. The sceptical populace did not believe that all offices would be conferred upon English-born subjects; that the national laws and privileges would be preserved; that the English language would be used in the direction of English affairs; that the queen should not be taken out of the realm, nor her children; that in the case of the queen's death Philip should take no part in the government of the country; that England, at peace with France, should not be compromised by hostility of the house of Austria to that kingdom. The nation would not be satisfied with elaborate writings. A sturdy member of parliament asked, if the bond be violated, who is to sue upon the bond. The people knew the vast power of the emperor, and they dreaded that England might become a province of Spain. The insurrection of sir Thomas Wyat was the exposition of the feeling of a great number of

* Tytler, Vol. II., p. 269.

the English nation, who felt that their enthusiasm for a legitimate successor to the crown was involving them in evils that could only be redressed by an appeal to arms. The insurrection, although it was deliberately organised and boldly conducted, was a failure. The evil to be resisted was not imminent enough; public opinion was too divided, to give an open attack upon the government a chance of success. It is fortunate for the cause of order, that established legal authority has a natural superiority over those who seek its overthrow; and that the remedy of grievances by violence is never obtained till the grievance becomes intolerable and the resistance universal.

In January, 1554, sir Thomas Carew and a band of friends "were up in Devonshire, resisting the prince of Spain's coming." Carew failed in his demonstration, and fled to France. The precipitancy of Carew forced his confederate, sir Thomas Wyat, to take the field without full preparation. On the news arriving in London on the 25th of January, that Wyat was up in Kent, the duke of Suffolk fled from his house at Sheen; and in Leicester, and other places, caused proclamation to be made against the queen's match. Those who follow bishop Cooper in the assertion that the duke again proclaimed his daughter as queen are contradicted by Holinshed and Stow. He was betrayed by his own park-keeper at Astley, near Coventry, and conducted to London as a prisoner. The rising of Wyat was not so easily put down. He was in arms in the neighbourhood of Rochester when the duke of Norfolk, who had been fighting from the day of Flodden in intervals of his long life, was again sent to march against rebels, as he marched in 1536. Norfolk arrived at Rochester-bridge with the queen's guard, and a band of five hundred men hastily raised in London, of whom one Alexander Brett was the Captain. A herald proclaimed the queen's pardon, which the insurgents refused. Norfolk was about to attack their position, when Brett cried out, "Masters, we go to fight against our native countrymen of England and our friends,"—and then set forth how those against whom they were led were in arms to resist the coming in of the proud Spaniards. The Londoners then cried. "A Wyat—A Wyat;" and forthwith the duke, and the earl of Ormond, and the captain of the guards, fled; and Brett and his men, and three-fourths of the duke's retinue, went into the camp of the Kentishmen. Some of the guards came home, their bows without strings, their arrows gone. The cannon and ammunition of Norfolk were left behind in his flight. On the 1st of February, Wyat reached Deptford; and the same day the queen, who conducted herself with the self-command and determination of her race, went to the Guildhall, and demanded the assistance of the city in a spirited speech, which was sure to produce a stirring effect, coming from a woman's lips: "I am come unto you in mine own person, to tell you that which already you do see and know, that is, how traitorously and seditiously a number of Kentish rebels have assembled themselves together against both us and you. Their pretence, as they said at the first, was only to resist a marriage determined between us and the prince of Spain. To the which pretended quarrel, and to all the rest of their evil contrived articles ye have been made privy. Since which time, we have caused divers of our privy council to resort eftsoons to the said rebels, and to demand of them the cause of their continuance in their seditious enterprise. By whose answers made again to our said council, it appeared that the marriage is found to be the least of

their quarrel. For they now swerving from their former articles, have betrayed the inward treason of their hearts, as most arrogantly demanding the possession of our person, the keeping of our Tower, and not only the placing and displacing of our councillors, but also to use them and us at their pleasures. Now, loving subjects, what I am, you right well know. I am your queen, to whom at my coronation when I was wedded to the realm, and to the laws of the same (the spousal ring whereof I have on my finger, which never hitherto was, nor hereafter shall be left off) ye promised your obedience unto me. And that I[1] am the right and true inheritor to the crown of this realm of England, I not only take all christendom to witness, but also your Acts of parliament confirming the same. . . . . And certainly, if I either did know or think, that this marriage should either turn to the danger or loss of any of you my loving subjects, or to the detriment or impairing of any part or parcel of the royal estate of this realm of England, I would never consent thereunto, neither would I ever marry while I lived. And in the word of a queen, I promise and assure you, that if it shall not probably appear before the nobility and commons in the high court of parliament, that this marriage shall be for the singular benefit and commodity of all the whole realm; that then I will abstain, not only from this marriage, but also from any other, whereof peril may ensue to this most noble realm. Wherefore now as good faithful subjects pluck up your hearts, and like true men stand fast with your lawful prince against these rebels, both our enemies and yours, and fear them not."

Of this speech, which Fox has preserved as well as Holinshed, the martyrologist says, it is given "as near out of her own mouth as could be penned." The people of London were strangely moved by her courage and address. Protestant was as ready for her defence as catholic. The day after the queen went to Guildhall, the householders of London were in armour in the streets; "yea," says Stow, "this day and other days, the justices, serjeants-at-the-law, and other lawyers in Westminster-hall, pleaded in harness." On the 3rd of February, Wyat marched from Deptford with two thousand men, and as they passed on the Surrey side, ordnance was discharged at them out of the White Tower. They passed on without injury from the unskilful cannoneers. The gates of London-bridge were closed; its drawbridge cut down; the shops in the city were shut; there was running up and down for weapons and harness; with aged men astonished and women weeping. At Southwark the rebels were favourably received; and bands from the country, raised by lord William Howard, took part with them. Wyat issued a proclamation that no soldier should take anything without payment, and that he came only to resist the bringing in of the Spanish king. When he heard that it was proclaimed that whoever took him should have a thousand pounds, he set his name of Thomas Wyat, fair written, on his cap. He lingered in Southwark till Shrove Tuesday, the sixth of February, finding it impossible to gain a passage at London-bridge; and all boats being forbidden to be taken to the Surrey side of the Thames, under pain of death. He then marched to Kingston, which he reached at night-fall. There was then no bridge over the Thames between London-bridge and Kingston-bridge. That bridge was broken down; but Wyat dispersed the men who disputed his passage, and crossed in boats. The weary and hungry band kept

on their march to Brentford, and halted not till they reached Knightsbridge. Here they were detained by the dismantling of a gun-carriage, and their object of a night attack on Whitehall was defeated. When the news reached Westminster that the rebels had passed Brentford, drums went through the streets at four o'clock in the morning, warning all to arm themselves and repair to Charing-cross. It was broad day when, after this march through a cold February night, the Kentish men reached the west end of what we now call Piccadilly, but which was then known as "The way to Reading"—a highway amidst fields and trees. The first houses of the western suburb were a scattered few about the Mews—now Trafalgar-square—and one or two at the south end of the Haymarket, a country road. St. James's palace stood in St. James's Field, where, on that eventful morning, horse and foot had assembled. The movements of the royal forces and of the rebels are minutely described in the Diary of the Resident in the Tower, from which Stow has copied his narrative. "By ten of the clock, or somewhat later, the earl of Pembroke had set his troop of horsemen on the hill in the highway about the new bridge over against St. James's; his footmen were set in two battalions somewhat lower, and nearer Charing-cross. At the lane turning down by the brick-wall from Islington-ward, he had set also certain other horsemen, and he had planted his ordnance upon the hill-side. In the mean season Wyat and his company planted his ordnance upon the hill beyond St. James's, almost over against the park corner; and himself, after a few words spoken to his soldiers, came down the old lane on foot, hard by the court gate at St. James's, with four or five ancients, his men marching in good array." This is not difficult to understand if we picture to ourselves that "the hill in the highway above the new bridge over against St. James's," where the earl of Pembroke "had set his troop of horsemen," was the elevated ground of "the way to Reading" at the upper end of the present St. James's-street; and the "new bridge" was over a stream in the Green Park: that "the lane turning down by the brick-wall from Islington-ward" near Charing-cross, where the earl's footmen were, was St. Martin's-lane, and that "the brick-wall" was the wall of the Convent Garden, which was a great inclosure extending from St. Martin's-lane far along the Strand.* Wyat's men marched by St. James's Palace, by the road called "the old lane." The earl of Pembroke's horsemen hovered about them, but made no bold attempt to stop their march. Great ordnance were fired on both sides with little damage. The rebels passed on to Charing-cross, where was the lord chamberlain with the guard; but onward the rebels went towards the city, by the highway of the Strand. Amidst this little fighting, "the noise of women and children, while the conflict was at Charing-cross, was so great and shrill, that it was heard to the top of the White Tower." The queen seems to have been the only person of the whole court endowed with sense and courage. There was a party of Wyat's force that separated from him by St. James's Palace, and went towards Westminster to attack Whitehall, and when they came suddenly through the gate-house, says another relater of these events, "Sir John Gage, and three of the judges that were meanly armed in old brigantines, were so frightened that they fled in at the gates in such haste that old

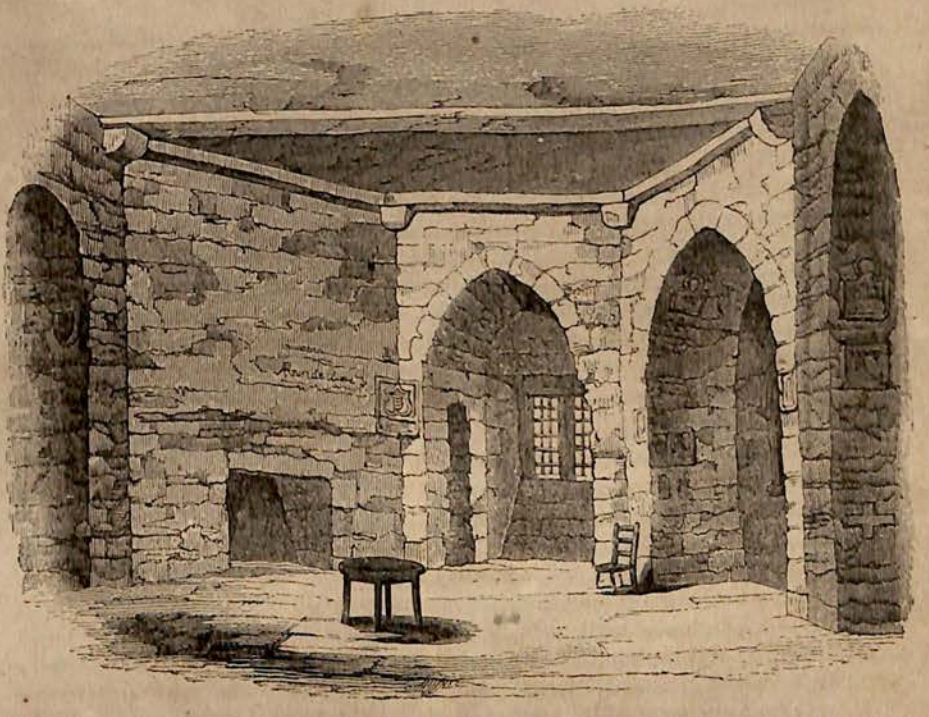
* See the plan of London by Aggas, 1578.

Gage fell down in the dirt, and was foul arrayed; and so shut the gates, whereat the rebels shot many arrows." * When "divers timorous and cold-hearted soldiers came to the queen, crying 'all is lost—away, away; a barge, a barge,' her grace never changed her cheer, nor would remove one foot of the house." † Her women were shrieking and hiding in helpless terror. Wyat continued his march, unresisted, though his men were in a disordered condition, on through Temple-bar and Fleet-street, till they came to Ludgate. He knocked at the gate; but was refused admittance by lord William Howard, with the words, "Avaunt, traitor! thou shalt not come in here." He rested awhile at the Bell-Savage gate; and then turned back, purposeless. After a skirmish at Temple-bar, a herald persuaded him to yield; and sir Maurice Berkeley received his submission, and carried him behind him on his horse to court. From Whitehall to the Tower was his last journey.

* Underhill's Narrative. Appendix to "Chronicle of Queen Jane."
† Proctor's Narrative, in Holinshed.

St. James's Palace and City of Westminster (Temp. James I.) Viewed from the Village of Charing.

BURLEIGH
DRAKE
RALEIGH
GRESHAM



Interior of the Beauchamp Tower.

CHAPTER V.

Gardiner's sermon before the queen—Execution of Lady Jane Grey and her husband—The gallows in every London street—Suffolk beheaded—Acquittal of Throckmorton—Elizabeth summoned to the Court—Elizabeth sent to the Tower—Her letter to Mary—Her death urged upon the queen—Her release from the Tower—Unquiet condition of the country—Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley at Oxford—Arrival of Philip—Marriage of Philip and Mary—Seditious books—Protestant exiles—Cardinal Pole and the Parliament—Pole's absolution of the kingdom—All the Statutes against heretics revived.

It was the 7th of February when the insurrection of Wyat thus completely failed. Prisoner after prisoner continued to arrive at the Tower; and on Saturday, the 10th, the duke of Suffolk and lord John Grey were brought thither from Coventry. On Sunday, the 11th, Gardiner preached before the queen; and "he asked a boon of the queen's highness," that, like as she had beforetime extended her mercy, particularly and privately, through which lenity and gentleness conspiracy and open rebellion had grown, "she would now be merciful to the body of the commonwealth, and conservation thereof, which could not be unless the rotten and hurtful members thereof were cut off and consumed." From this exhortation, adds the chronicler, "all the

audience did gather there should follow sharp and cruel execution." * The audience were not deceived in their belief. On Monday, the 12th, lord Guilford Dudley, the young husband of lady Jane Grey, was led out of his prison walls to die on Tower-hill at ten o'clock. Out of the window of "Partridge's house" did Jane, whose own hour of final release was fast approaching, see him walk to the scaffold; and, long before the bell had again sounded the hour, she saw his body taken out of a cart, with his head in a cloth. On the green against the White Tower had a scaffold been erected, on which the lady Jane was to die. This tragedy was to have been completed on the Friday previous, but was then postponed for some unknown cause. When Gardiner begged his boon of the queen, some desire to spare two persons so young and so innocent—one, so fair, so accomplished,—might have lingered in her breast. The insurrection of Wyat no doubt made their fate almost certain; but probably the unshaken constancy of this heroic woman was too deep an offence for bigotry to forgive. She was not likely to be pardoned who could boldly say to the priest sent to examine her, four days before her death, "I ground my faith upon God's Word, and not upon the Church. For if the Church be a good Church, the faith of the Church must be tried by God's Word, and not God's Word by the Church." † And so she went forth to die, at eleven o'clock on that "black Monday," as Strype calls the day, "her countenance nothing abashed, neither her eyes anything moisted with tears." ‡ And in her hand she held a book, whereon she prayed all the way till she came to the scaffold. That book she gave to Master Brydges, the lieutenant's brother. In the British Museum is a Manual of Prayers, in English, which contains three remarkable notes; one, addressed by Guilford Dudley to his father, the duke of Suffolk; the second, a note, signed "Jane Duddeley," also addressed to the duke; the third, a note from Jane to sir John Brydges, the lieutenant of the Tower, to whom it is supposed the book belonged. The note to the duke from Jane Dudley was probably written on the last morning of her life,—perhaps in the very hour when she saw her Guilford's head taken out of the cart. It is worth extracting:—"The Lord comfort your grace, and that in his Word, wherein all creatures only are to be comforted. And though it has pleased God to take away two of your children, yet think not, I most humbly beseech your grace, that you have lost them, but trust that we, by leasing this mortal life, have won an immortal life. And I, for my part, as I have honoured your grace in this life, will pray for you in another life." For three hundred years the simplest recital of the fate of this victim of ambition has stirred the sympathy of all true hearts; and we need not add a word to the sentences with which the ancient narrative of her execution terminates:—"She tied the kercher about her eyes; then, feeling for the block, said, 'What shall I do? Where is it?' One of the standers-by guiding her thereto, she laid her head down upon the block, and stretched forth her body, and said, 'Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit.' And so she ended." § On the wall of the Beauchamp Tower, in which the Dudleys were imprisoned, is carved the word JANE; and there

* "Queen Jane and Queen Mary," p. 54.

† "Communication between the Lady Jane and Master Feckenham."—Harleian Miscellany vol. i. p. 369, ed. 1808.

‡ "Queen Jane and Queen Mary," p. 56.

§ *Ibid*, p. 59.

was formerly a second inscription of the same name. May this record be kept as a sacred memorial of the noble creature to whom one of the earnest puritan race has paid an eloquent tribute:—"How justly may the masculine constancy of this excellent lady, whose many virtues the pens of her very enemies have acknowledged, rise up in judgment against all such poor spirits who, for fear of death, or other outward motives, shall deny God and his truth." *

Queen Mary appearing unquestionably sincere in her opinions; having, during the lives of her father and her brother, borne many griefs with fortitude; not open to any charge of licentiousness; and possessing courage and intellect; it has become a fashion not only to extenuate her evil actions, but to hold her up as a model of female sovereigns. We shall not attempt to rebut the exaggerations of her panegyrists, male or female; or continue our narrative with any desire to uphold the *sobriquet* which tradition has handed down. Nevertheless, we believe that the six scarlet letters attached to the name of Mary will not be obliterated by any historic solvent. The punishments which followed Wyat's rebellion are considered by some moderns to have been mild. Mary's contemporaries thought them severe. On the day that Guilford and Jane Dudley were beheaded, the gallows was set up at every gate, and in every great thoroughfare of London. There is a brief catalogue of the use to which these machines were applied on the 13th, when, from Billingsgate to Hyde Park-corner, there were forty-eight men hanged at nineteen public places. On the 17th, certain captains, and twenty-two of the common rebels, were sent into Kent to suffer death.† Simon Renard, the ambassador from the emperor, writes to his master, on the 24th of February: "The queen has granted a general pardon to a multitude of people in Kent, after having caused about five score of the most guilty to be executed." Such executions were made under martial law; although Wyat and some other leaders were reserved for trial by a jury. According to Renard, Mary was bent on severity:—"Numerous are the petitions presented to her majesty to have the pains of death exchanged for perpetual imprisonment, but to this she will not listen." ‡ The duke of Suffolk was tried on the 17th, and beheaded on the 23rd. Wyat and others pleaded guilty. Sir Nicholas Throckmorton was tried on the 17th of April; which trial is one of the more remarkable in our criminal jurisprudence. It is chiefly remarkable for the boldness and ability with which Throckmorton defended himself for hours against the system then pursued by judges and counsel, of heaping accusation upon accusation upon a prisoner; of perplexing him with questions and urgent exhortations to confess his guilt; of reading over garbled evidence, not taken in open court, and requiring him to answer each separate charge as produced. The talent and energy of Throckmorton produced a most surprising result. He was acquitted. Of this rare event the ambassador of the emperor writes that the jury were "all heretics;" and adds, "When they carried him back to the Tower after his acquittal, the people with great joy raised shouts, and threw their caps in the air; which has so displeased the queen that she has

* Sir Simonds D'Ewes; "Queen Jane and Queen Mary," p. 24.
† The details are in Machyn's "Diary," p. 55.
‡ Tytler, vol. ii. p. 309. The original has, "ne veult condescendre ny prester l'oreille.

been ill for three days." The Court, immediately after the trial, committed the jury to prison. Four made a submission and were released. Eight remained in confinement for many months; and when brought before the Council in the Star Chamber, were sentenced to the payment of enormous fines. It was more than a century before the infamous system was discontinued of punishing juries for verdicts in state prosecutions that were not agreeable to the crown.*

The execution of Wyat was delayed till the 11th of April. He was reserved, that, out of some direct confession or indirect admission, one far higher in rank might be implicated in the crime of treason. Another suspected person was Courtenay, earl of Devonshire, who had been released from the Tower on the accession of Mary, and was now brought back to the prison in which he had been confined from his earliest years, after his father, the marquis of Exeter, had been beheaded.† Before Mary declared for her marriage with the prince of Spain, it was considered that Courtenay was her favoured suitor. For our times, the historical interest of this period of suspicion and alarm centres upon the princess Elizabeth. The future great queen of England was within a hair's breadth of the block upon which Jane Grey had perished.

On the 26th of January, the day after Wyat made his armed demonstration at Maidstone, queen Mary wrote a letter from St. James's to the lady Elizabeth, who was at Ashridge, informing her of attempts to excite rebellion; and saying, "We, tendering the surety of your person, which might chance to be in some peril if any sudden tumult should arise, where you now be, or about Donnington, whither, as we understand, you are minded shortly to remove, do therefore think expedient you should put yourself in good readiness, with all convenient speed, to make your repair hither to us." ‡ Elizabeth was seriously ill, and begged for delay. On the 10th of February, lord William Howard, sir Edward Hastings, and sir Thomas Cornwallis, arrived at Ashridge, and "required to have access upon my lady Elizabeth's grace; which obtained, we delivered unto her your highness's letter,"—so the three commissioners write to the queen on the 11th. Howard adds, "I, the lord admiral, declared the effect of your highness's pleasure, according to the credence given to us, being before advertised of her estate by your highness's physicians; by whom we did perceive the estate of her body to be such that, without danger to her person, we might well proceed to require her in your majesty's name, all excuses set apart, to repair to your highness with all convenient speed and diligence." § The generally received statement that the commissioners, after Elizabeth had gone to rest, entered her chamber rudely, and told her that their orders were to bring her "quick or dead," does not agree with the tone of this official letter to the queen. It is clear that Elizabeth's journey from Ashridge to London was not a hurried one; although she might have been refused, when "she desired some longer respite until she had better recovered her strength." It was arranged that she should take five days to perform this journey of thirty-three miles, in a horse litter. She did not arrive at Westminster till the 22nd or 23rd of February, for the accounts vary. Machyn, the London funeral furnisher, thus records

* See Jardine's "Criminal Trials," vol. i.

† See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 423.

‡ Strype, "Memorials," vol. iii. p. 126.

§ State Papers; Tytler, p. 426.

the entry of Elizabeth, in his formal style:—"Between four and five of the clock, at night, my lady Elizabeth's grace came riding to London through Smithfield unto Westminster, with a hundred velvet coats afore her grace. And her grace rode in a chariot open on both sides." * Elizabeth had rested a night and a day at Highgate. At this time, Noailles, the French ambassador, writes to his court:—"While the city was covered with gibbets, and the public buildings were crowded with the heads of the bravest men in the kingdom, the princess Elizabeth, for whom no better lot is foreseen, is lying ill about seven or eight miles from hence, so swoln and disfigured that her death is expected." The emperor's ambassador exhibits another picture of the high-minded woman, struggling with sickness and apprehension of danger:—"The lady Elizabeth arrived here yesterday, clad completely in white, surrounded by a great assemblage of the servants of the queen, besides her own people. She caused her litter to be uncovered, that she might show herself to the people. Her countenance was pale; her look, proud, lofty, and superbly disdainful; an expression which she assumed to disguise the mortification she felt." The queen would not see her; and kept her in the palace under guard.

We have several glimpses of the secret agencies that were working to hurry on a terrible catastrophe, and of the counteracting influences. The queen tells the emperor's ambassador that the Council were labouring to discover the truth against Courtenay and Elizabeth; that Courtenay had corresponded in cypher with Carew, who was endeavouring to forward a marriage between him and Elizabeth; that proof of an overt act of treason was still wanting; that the Council had found by the confession of the son of the Lord Privy Seal, that he had received letters from Wyat, during the rebellion, addressed to Elizabeth, which he had delivered to her. This ambassador was evidently urging the most violent proceedings; and constantly enforcing upon the queen that it was not safe for the prince of Spain to come to England whilst traitors were not brought to trial, and whilst mercy was shown to rebels. At first, Gardiner appears to have been disposed to shield Elizabeth from the fate which seemed impending over her. His latter conduct fully bears out the suspicion that he urged some desperate measure against the sister for whose blood Mary is said to have thirsted.† At length Elizabeth, on the 18th of March, was removed to the Tower. She was to have been conveyed to her prison; by water, on Saturday, the 17th. At the hour when the tide served, she earnestly sought an interview with the queen; but this was denied her. She then implored that she might take a little time to write to her sister. One of the lords who had her in charge refused this favour; but the earl of Sussex insisted that it should be granted, and said that he, as a true man, would deliver the letter. Whilst Elizabeth was writing, the tide had ebbed so far that the barge waiting to convey the prisoner could not have passed below the bridge; and she remained at Whitehall another day. Mary was incensed at this delay; and said that the lords "dared not have done such a thing in her father's life-time, and she wished he were alive again, but for a month." ‡ This letter is one of the most characteristic documents of

* Machyn's "Diary," p. 57.

† Elizabeth affirmed to a French minister, after she came to the throne, that Mary "thirsted for her blood."

‡ Renard to the Emperor.

Elizabeth's history—earnest and solemn, bold and impassioned. In that dark hour few could have collected their thoughts to write such words as these:—"If any ever did try this old saying, that a king's word was more than another man's oath, I most humbly beseech your majesty to verify it in me, and to remember your last promise and my last demand, that I be not condemned without answer and due proof; which it seems that now I am, for that, without cause proved, I am, by your Council, from you commanded to go to the Tower, a place more wonted for a false traitor than a true subject. . . . To this present hour I protest afore God, who shall judge my truth, whatso-

The Traitor's Gate.

ever malice shall devise, that I never practised, counselled, nor consented to anything that might be prejudicial to your person any way, or dangerous to the state by any mean. . . . I most humbly beseech your highness to pardon this my boldness, which innocency procures me to do, together with hope of your natural kindness, which I trust will not see me cast away without desert. . . . As for the traitor Wyat, he might peradventure write me a letter; but, on my faith, I never received any from him. And as for the copy of my letter sent to the French king, I pray God confound me eternally, if ever I sent him word, message, token, or letter, by any means; and to this my truth I will stand in to my death." * These solemn asseverations, the gushings forth of an agonised soul, have been most unfairly stigmatised as "oaths and curses."† It was Palm Sunday, the 18th of March, when Elizabeth was conveyed to the Tower. When she landed, "she said to the warders and soldiers, looking

* The letter is printed in Ellis, second series, vol. ii. p. 254.

† "She maintained with oaths and curses that she had never received any letter from Wyat," &c.—Lingard, vol. vii. p. 227.

up to heaven, 'O Lord! I never thought to have come in here as a prisoner; and I pray you all, good friends and fellows, bear me witness, that I come in no traitor, but as true a woman to the queen's majesty as any is now living; and thereon will I take my death.'" * On the 3rd of April, Renard wrote to the emperor, that he had told the queen "that it was of the utmost consequence the trials and execution of the criminals, especially of Courtenay and of the lady Elizabeth, should be concluded before the arrival of his highness" [the prince of Spain]. The ferocious ambassador was seconded by the crafty chancellor, who now said, "that as long as Elizabeth was alive, there would be no hope that the kingdom would be tranquil." Urged thus to put her sister to death, one cannot help believing that "natural kindness" saved Mary from the perpetration of this atrocity. Elizabeth herself expected death as the only release from her prison. In May, she asked "whether the lady Jane's scaffold were taken down, or no?" On the nineteenth of that month, she was removed from the Tower, and conveyed to Woodstock, where

Woodstock, as it appeared before 1714.

she long remained a prisoner; and, as the chronicler quaintly records, "hearing upon a time out of her garden a certain milkmaid singing pleasantly, she wished herself to be a milkmaid, as she was; saying that her case was better, and life more merrier, than was hers in that state she was." † Courtenay was

* "Queen Jane and Queen Mary," p. 71.

† Holinshed.

taken to Fotheringay castle; and was ultimately released, and sent to Germany.

The unquiet condition of the country during the spring of 1554 is shadowed forth in many an anxious expression of the letters of the period. Renard laments over the confusions in religion, the differences of the privy counsellors, "the intestine hatred between the nobility and the people." Imposture availed itself of the prevailing disquiet to stimulate the superstitious by a pretended Voice in a Wall, which was silent when "God save queen Mary" was uttered; but which cried "So be it" when "God save the lady Elizabeth" was pronounced. More than seventeen thousand persons were collected round this house, according to Renard. The queen dreaded another insurrection, and declared that she had rather never have been born than that any outrage should happen to the prince of Spain. Paget, the ardent supporter of the Reformation under Edward, held that "it was vain to think of remedying the affairs of the kingdom without the re-establishment of religion; this, however, he said, would be difficult if one were to follow the opinion of the chancellor, who was anxious to carry through the matter by "fire and blood." This he said to Renard; to whom the queen averred "that the whole danger lay in London and the parts around it, as in Essex, where they had within these few days burnt a church, and would not have the mass back again." The remedy for these discontents was sought in a parliament, which might give its sanction to the chancellor's prescription of "fire and blood." This parliament met on the second of April. The Lords were not yet won

over to an abject submission to Gardiner's fiery creed, as Renard tells. "The Act for the punishment of heretics with death has passed in the Lower House, but I learn that the Peers will not consent that there should be in it any capital clause." * Paget, it seems, used his influence to oppose this bill;

* Renard to the Emperor, 28th April.

and when it was thrown out, Renard expressed his indignation against him; and says of this unlooked-for independence in the Peers, "the Council and all state affairs here are much embarrassed, the heretics encouraged, and the catholics thrown into alarm." The parliament, having passed an Act for vesting the regal power in the queen as fully as in any king, an Act for establishing the provisions of the queen's marriage contract, and an Act for the re-establishment of the bishopric of Durham, was dissolved on the 5th of May.

During these agitations the ecclesiastical policy of the advisers of Mary was sufficiently developed. The married clergy were expelled from their livings, although the laws of Edward VI., which allowed their marriage, remained unrepealed; "which act," says Strype, "was horridly severe and unnatural, and turned some thousands of men, women, and children, a begging." * Their benefices were filled by Popish priests, who renewed all the ceremonial observances that had been swept away; and sang masses for souls as in the past time. Seven bishops were deprived of their sees; one resigned; and six new bishops were consecrated by Gardiner on the 1st of April. In March, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were taken out of the Tower; and on the 16th of April the memorable disputations at Oxford commenced, upon the articles which Convocation had agreed upon, "of the sacrament of the altar, of transubstantiation, of the adoration of the eucharist, and of the reservation of the sacrament of the church." † In St. Mary's church the thirty-three commissioners sit before the altar. Cranmer is first brought before them, guarded by bill-men. He stands with his staff in his hand; and, desiring a copy of the articles, postpones his answer, offering to proceed to a public disputation. Ridley follows, making the same request. Latimer comes, but declines to dispute, on account of his age. That venerable preacher is strangely equipped, with a kerchief and nightcap on his head, and a great cap, such as townsmen used, with two broad flaps to button under his chin; an old Bristow frieze gown, girded to his body with a penny leather girdle, from which hung his Testament; and his spectacles, without case, hanging about his neck. The disputations were conducted amidst the hissings, clappings, and taunts of the opposing divines, with an inevitable result. On the 20th, Cranmer and his two brethren were brought again before the commissioners; and Weston, the moderator, told the archbishop that he was overcome in disputation, which Cranmer denied, complaining of the brawlings and interruptions to which he had been subjected. They each refused to subscribe the articles, and were condemned as heretics. Then Cranmer said, "From this your judgment and sentence I appeal to the just judgment of the Almighty; trusting to be present with him in Heaven; for whose presence in the altar I am thus condemned." ‡

At the beginning of June, 1554, the Londoners are busy in preparations for the reception of the Spanish prince who is to be called king of England. They are gilding the Cross in Cheap; and they are pulling down every gallows from east to west on which Wyat's rebels had been rotting. On the 19th of July the Spanish squadron, with Philip, and a gorgeous train of Castilian

* "Ecclesiastical Memorials," vol. iii. p. 171.
† Strype, "Mem. of Cranmer," vol. ii. p. 108.
‡ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

and Flemish nobles, came to anchor at Southampton. The queen had arrived at Winchester; and thither the prince proceeded with his retinue, after having rested three days. He was scrupulously careful to avoid exciting the English jealousy. The attendants of his court were not allowed to land; and he exhorted his nobles to forget the Spanish customs, and adopt those of England, even to the drinking of its beer. On the 23rd he set out on horseback to Winchester, in a drenching rain; accompanied by thousands who gathered round him in his progress. That evening he saw his expectant betrothed, who had sent him a ring to greet him on his journey. Philip at this interview, interpreted one of the English customs very liberally, by kissing not only the queen but all her attendant ladies. At a public meeting the next day, Mary saluted Philip with a loving kiss. They were married on

King Philip.

the 25th, the festival of Saint James, the patron saint of Spain. Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, performed the ceremony. Cranmer, the archbishop, was in his prison at Oxford. Previous to the marriage an instrument was read by one of the Council of Charles V., declaring that the emperor had

bestowed upon his son the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan, so that queen Mary might marry a sovereign like herself. At the banquet, Gardiner was the only person permitted to sit upon the dais with the king and queen.* After a few days of banqueting, Philip and Mary proceeded to Windsor, where the king was installed as a knight of the garter; "at which time," says Holinshed, "a herald took down the arms of England at Windsor, and in the place of them would have set the arms of Spain, but he was commanded to set them up again by certain lords." This was one sign of the times. Another, of a different complexion, was not less significant. At the solemn entry of the king and queen into London, on the 18th of August, amongst other decorations of the public places, the conduit in Gracechurch Street was painted with devices of the Nine Worthies, and of Henry VIII. and Edward VI. Henry was represented with a Bible in his hand, on which was written Verbum Dei. "The bishop of Winchester, noting the book in Henry VIII.'s hand, shortly afterwards called the painter before him, and with vile words calling him traitor, asked why, and who bade him describe king Henry with a book in his hand, as is aforesaid, threatening him therefore to go to the Fleet." The painter humbly apologised, and said he thought he had done well. "Nay, said the bishop, it is against the queen's catholic proceedings. And so he painted him shortly after, in the stead of the book of Verbum Dei, to have in his hands a new pair of gloves." * During this summer and autumn the streets of London were filled with Spaniards, much to the displeasure of the citizens. But they were consoled in the autumn by seeing some of the wealth of the New World poured into our island; for twenty cars paraded through the streets to the Tower, containing fourscore and seventeen chests of silver.

But wedding-feasts, and pageants, and even twenty cars of silver to the Tower, could not divert serious men from looking with disgust and alarm at the change which was symbolised by the obliteration of the Bible from the painting of Henry VIII. Fox has a curious record of this unquiet time: "About the fifth day of October, and within a fortnight following, were divers, as well householders as servants and prentices, apprehended and taken, and committed to sundry prisons, for the having and selling of certain books which were sent into England by the preachers that fled into Germany and other countries; which books nipped a great number so near, that within one fortnight there were little less than threescore imprisoned for this matter." These preachers that fled from persecution were certainly not nice in their language. Bale, a great master of epithets, reviled "gagling Gardiner, butcherly Bonner, and trifling Tunstall." The exiled bishop Ponet calls Gardiner "the great devil and cut-throat of England." The politics of these exiles, too, were somewhat of a revolutionary nature, in holding that power was derived from the people, and that Mary was disqualified from ruling, by reason of her sex. They set forth, moreover, various strong arguments against the Spaniards, besides the one great grievance of the change in religion.† Knox, and Goodman, and Becon, and Aylmer, wanderers in foreign lands,

* "Queen Jane and Queen Mary," p. 79.

† See Dr. Maitland's curious papers on "Puritan Style," and "Puritan Politics," in "Essays on the Reformation."

wrote with the violence that few who hold themselves oppressed have wisdom to restrain. We may lament over the bitter and reviling spirit of these earnest men; but even if we should see with Dr. Maitland, "as a mere matter of fact, in how great a degree the persecution of the Protestants in England was caused by the conduct of their brethren who were in exile," we should not accept their coarseness and rashness as a justification of this persecution. Let us endeavour to relate this fearful story with a full sense of the severe, uncompromising, and even unchristian spirit that belonged to some of the leaders in the English and Scottish Reformation; but let us not compromise our hatred of ferocious bigotry by accepting as apology for it the provocations to be found in unique black-letter tracts. When we are asked, after carefully reading the copious extracts from these books, "What kindled and fanned the fires of Smithfield?" * we shall still answer, the bigotry of an arrogant church, carried to excess by cruel and crafty men. If the Gardiners and Bonners revenged the insults they had received from Protestants abroad by burning Protestants at home, the greater their guilt and their shame.

Before the meeting of the parliament that refused to make heresy a capital crime, Renard wrote to the emperor: "Assuredly, sire, if the pensions had been given before this, and previous to the arrival of his highness, it would have been the way to bring them [the parliament] over to our wishes, being a people over whom we should obtain influence by liberality and gifts." † When his highness was king of England he showed his policy in remedying this omission. The fourscore and seventeen chests of silver were not conveyed to the Tower to lie idle in its vaults. With a transparent simplicity, Micheli, the Venetian ambassador, says of Philip, "He allows pensions, amounting to upwards of fifty-four thousand scudi in gold, to some Englishmen who remained faithful to the queen in the conspiracy of Wyat, without receiving any farther service from them." It was a common exclamation with Philip, "Better not reign at all than reign over heretics." He had great projects in view. The heretical island was to be reconciled to Rome. The papal legate was again to hold a divided sway with the temporal sovereign. Cardinal Pole was coming to threaten or to absolve. The parliament was to meet in November. Pole, a far nobler spirit than the rapacious courtiers and the apostate bishops who were waiting to lick the dust off his shoes, came up the Thames on the 14th of November, in a gorgeous barge, with a silver cross at its prow. Parliament had met two days before, well prepared now for unlimited obedience. On the 27th the great legate met that parliament at Whitehall, where he sat under a canopy with Philip and Mary. He returned thanks to the king and queen, who had restored him, a banished man, to be a member of the commonwealth; he went over the history of the connection of this island with the apostolic see, from the earliest times; he pointed out the miseries which the realm had suffered by swerving from that unity; they were now under a queen whom God had raised up, to reign for the restitution of true religion, and the extirpation of all errors and sects, and had joined in marriage with a prince of like religion; he had himself come, having full and ample commission, to

* See Dr. Maitland's "Essays on the Reformation," p. 41.
† Tytler, vol. ii. p. 369.

reconcile and to forgive, provided all laws and statutes which interfered with the exercise of his commission should be revoked and repealed. After this oration, the Lords and Commons went before the king and queen and humbly desired that their majesties would intercede with the cardinal for absolution, and that the whole people of the realm should be received into the bosom of the Church as children repentant. And then all the parliament went on their knees, and the legate absolved. How utterly the Lords and Commons of England were abased before the power of Rome, may be seen in the preamble to the Act "repealing all statutes, articles, and provisions made against the See Apostolic of Rome, since the twentieth year of king Henry VIII."

"We the Lords spiritual and temporal and the Commons assembled in this present parliament, representing the whole body of the realm of England and the dominions of the same. In the name of ourselves particularly, and also of the said body universally, in this our supplication directed to your majesties with the most humble suit, that it may by your graces' intercession and means be exhibited to the most reverend father in God, the Lord Cardinal Pole, Legate, sent especially hither from our most Holy Father the Pope, Julius the third, and the See Apostolic of Rome, Do declare ourselves very sorry and repentant of the schism and disobedience committed in this realm and dominions aforesaid, against the said See Apostolic, either by making, agreeing, or executing any laws, ordinances, or commandments against the supremacy of the said see, or otherwise doing or speaking that might impugn the same; offering ourselves, and promising by this our supplication that for a token and knowledge of our said repentance we be, and shall be always ready, under and with the authority of your majesties, to the utmost of our powers, to do that shall lie in us, for the abrogation and repealing of the said laws and ordinances in this present parliament, as well for ourselves as for the whole body whom we represent." *

That Statute of submission explains, in its second title, how the great difficulty had been smoothed over—not of a change of religion, for that was a trifling matter—the difficulty of dealing with the plunder of the church. The Act is "also for the establishment of all spiritual and ecclesiastical possessions and hereditaments conveyed to the laity." From this degraded parliament thirty-seven members of the House of Commons voluntarily seceded; for which demonstration of independence they were indicted. All was now easy. A new statute of treason was passed against those who preached or openly spoke against the title of the king and queen and their issue. The existence of "profane and schismatical conventicles" was recognised, in a law which declared it treason to pray for the queen's death, as there said to be practised. But the crowning glory of this parliament was the revival of all the statutes against heretics. Without this, the great work of Mary's reign could not have been accomplished. The Statute is a short one; but it was thoroughly efficient.

"An Act for the renewing of three Statutes made for the punishment of Heresies: For the eschewing and avoiding of errors and heresies which of late years have risen, grown, and much increased within this realm, for that the

* 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8.

ordinaries have wanted authority to proceed against those that were infected therewith: Be it therefore ordained and enacted by the authority of this present parliament, that the Statute made in the fifth year of the reign of king Richard the Second, concerning the arresting and apprehension of erroneous and heretical preachers, and one other Statute made in the second year of the reign of king Henry the Fourth concerning the repressing of heresies and punishment of heretics, and also one other Statute made in the second year of king Henry the Fifth, concerning the suppression of heresy and Lollardy, and every article, branch, and sentence contained in the same three several Acts, and every of them, shall from the 20th day of January next coming be revived and be in full force, strength, and effect, to all intents, constructions, and purposes, for ever." *

* 1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. 6.

Stone at Hadleigh, to the memory of Dr. Taylor.

CHAPTER VI.

The Marian persecution—Summary of the victims—Commission to try preachers and heretics—Hooper, and four others, condemned—Martyrdom of Hooper—Rowland Taylor—His martyrdom at Hadleigh—Married clergymen especially persecuted—Thomas Hawkes and bishop Bonner—Philpot—Toleration not practised by Reformers—The spy-system for discovery of heresy—Martyrdom of Latimer and Ridley—Cranmer's recantation—His repentance, and last exhortation—His martyrdom.

The Act of 1555, for the renewing of the Statutes for the punishment of heretics,—which statutes had been repealed in 1547,—was not to sleep. Gardiner and Bonner were not to play the part of "fond fathers," who had "bound up the threatening twigs of birch," only to stick the rod "in their children's sight for terror, not to use." With exquisite candour we are told,—"One knows perfectly, and is tired of being told over and over again, that the law for burning heretics was a very bad law, and ought never to have existed. But, in fact, it did exist, and it was the law of the country." * On the 19th of January, 1555, that law was not in force. On the 20th of January it came into full operation. On the 4th of February, John Rogers was burnt in Smithfield under the Act for the renewal of the Statutes "concerning punishment and reformation of heretics and Lollards." On the 8th of February, Laurence Saunders was burnt at Coventry. On the 9th, John Hooper was burnt at Gloucester. On the same day, Rowland Taylor was

* Dr. Maitland, "Essays," p. 420.

burnt at Hadleigh. Previous to the enactment which came into force on the 20th of January, the Ordinaries had "wanted authority to proceed" against those who were infected with "errors and heresies which of late have arisen, grown, and much increased within this realm;"* and thus these four of the first Protestant martyrs could not have been burnt until a new law was passed. The meaning of the law was made perfectly intelligible to all England from the 4th of February, 1555, to the 10th of November, 1558,—that crowning offering of five heretics at Canterbury, of whom two were women, having taken place one week before the death of queen Mary. These executions were not sharp and passionate outbursts of ecclesiastical power, exasperated by popular fury; or of regal tyranny, hurried into extremities by dread of rebellion. They were the calm and deliberate exposition of the principles by which England was to be governed under its Roman Catholic church and sovereigns. The appetite for blood was to be sustained in healthful energy, and not sickened by inordinate meals. In 1555, seventy-one heretics were executed; in 1556, eighty-three;† in 1557, eighty-eight; in 1558, forty. There was also a nice adjustment of the number of victims to the local demand. We are accustomed to talk of "the fires of Smithfield," as if London had a very undue proportion of the instruction of such sights. But in these four years, during which London and Middlesex saw fifty-eight executions, Kent had fifty-four, Essex fifty-one, Sussex forty-one, Suffolk and Norfolk thirty-one, Gloucester nine, Warwick six, whilst thirty-two were distributed over thirteen other districts. Nor was the lesson of the fagot confined to bishops and priests. Strype makes a total of the burnings to be 288; Speed, 277; and he classifies them as five bishops, twenty-one divines, eight gentlemen, eighty-four artificers, a hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, twenty-six wives, twenty widows, nine unmarried women, two boys, and two infants. No selection could have been more impartial.

On the 1st of January, 1555, the work was actively commenced that, in the end, was to make England thoroughly Protestant. Many of the leading divines were in prison; but smaller birds were to be taken in the fowler's net. On that day Thomas Rose, a man whose somewhat extravagant zeal had brought him into trouble in the days of king Henry, was arrested with thirty of his congregation, at a sheerman's house in Bow Church-yard. Driven from the use of the English service book which was banished from the churches; offended with the doctrines and ceremonial observances which had again become universal;—they prayed in secret, and often changed their places of meeting. They assembled in ships lying in the Thames; in empty lofts; in the fields. They held correspondence with those in exile; they made collections for those in prison. When men are oppressed for conscience sake no dread of imprisonment or death can prevent their combination. In the meetings of these impassioned men, the English spirit of hatred of tyranny was probably as strong as the Christian spirit of patience; and thus it has been a reproach to the sufferers in the Marian persecution that, smitten on one cheek they did not invariably turn the other cheek to the smiter. In all this terrible history there is nothing more remarkable than the boldness with

* 1 Philip and Mary, c. 6.

† Strype gives the total for 1556 as eighty-nine; but in his local divisions of that year the aggregate is only eighty-three.

which the reproofs and scoffs of their judges were often met by defiance and contempt from learned and ignorant. These men knew that they were set upon a stage, to fight or to yield. There was only one of two courses open to them,—to apostatise or to die. When they made up their minds to die, they were not likely to show any especial reverence to the persons, or the offices, of the chancellor or the bishop whom they knew to be the instigators of their persecution. The men of the conventicle in Bow Churchyard went to join many of the same minds in the Marshalsea, the Fleet, and the Clink; and Hooper, the deprived bishop of Gloucester, wrote to them from his own prison a letter of consolation, in which he says, "Dear brethren and sisters, continually fight the fight of the Lord. Your cause is most just and godly. . . . . The adversaries' weapons against you be nothing but flesh, blood, and tyranny. . . . . Boldly withstand them, though it cost you the price of your life." * On the 22nd of January, the preachers who were in prison were brought up before Gardiner, the bishop of Winchester, and others, at the bishop's house in Southwark, and to the question whether they would become convert, having replied that they would stand to what they had taught, were committed to stricter confinement. Rogers, who had been a prebendary of St. Paul's, was one of these. Cardinal Pole, on the 23rd, exhorted the members of Convocation to repair to their cures, and there to win the people with gentleness, and not endeavour to overcome them by rigour. On the 25th, St. Paul's day, there was a solemn procession of bishops and priests to St. Paul's to offer thanksgiving for their conversion to the catholic church; and the king was there, and the cardinal; and that day was ever afterwards to be celebrated as The Feast of the Reconciliation. But though Pole was probably sincere when he exhorted to gentleness instead of rigour, he left a little instrument in the hands of the bishop of Winchester, under which, as he might easily have anticipated, some rough work would be accomplished. On the 28th a commission, under the authority of the cardinal legate, held its first sitting in the church of St. Mary Overies, to order, according to the laws, all such preachers and heretics as were in prison. Including Gardiner and Bonner, there were present thirteen bishops, and several noblemen and other lay commissioners.

They sat again on the 29th and 30th. On these occasions, there were no long scholastic disputations, as in the cases of Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley at Oxford. The mode of proceeding with Dr. Rowland Taylor, which he has himself recorded, was probably nearly the same with all. "First, my lord chancellor said, 'You among others are at this present time sent for, to enjoy the king's and queen's majesties' favour and mercy, if you will now rise again with us from the fall which we, generally, have received in this realm; from the which, God be thanked, we are now clearly delivered miraculously. If you will not rise with us now, and receive mercy now offered, you shall have judgment according to your demerit.' To this I answered, that so to rise should be the greatest fall that ever I could receive; for I should so fall from my dear Saviour Christ to Antichrist." There were then exhortations to submit, assuming various forms of reproach or solicitation, which were refused in no very measured terms. The colloquy between Gardiner and

* Strype, vol. iii. part ii. pp. 275, 276.

Rogers offers a characteristic example. "Gardiner said, it was vain-glory in him to stand out against the whole church. He protested it was his conscience, and not vain-glory, that swayed him; for his part, he would have nothing to do with the anti-christian church of Rome. Gardiner said, by that he condemned the queen, and the whole realm, to be of the church of Antichrist. Rogers said, the queen would have done well enough if it had not been for his counsel. Gardiner said, the queen went before them in those counsels, which proceeded of her own motion. Rogers said, he would never believe that. The bishop of Carlisle said, they could all bear him witness to it. Rogers said, they would all witness for one another." * On the first day of these scenes at St. Mary Overies, the proceedings were public, and a great crowd filled the church. On the other days the doors were shut. The boldness of such resolved men was a dangerous example. The commissioners abruptly terminated their immediate work, in the condemnation of Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, Saunders, and Bradford, who at the same time were excommunicated. The sentence upon Bradford was not executed till July. The fate of the other four was more quickly decided.

It has been truly observed by a judicious writer, that in the limited historical reading of young persons, "the horrors of this period have been suffered to hold too prominent a place." † Minute details of physical suffering, even when they are associated with the heroic fortitude of the sufferers, had better be imagined than related. Yet it is impossible to pass over this momentous period of English history with any vague notice of the great battle that was then fought between Romanism and Protestantism. We must look upon the combatants in this unequal fight of conscience against power, as they present themselves in their individual actions and characters, to be enabled properly to appreciate their spiritual victory in their deepest degradation. Beautifully has it been said, "The firm endurance of sufferings by the martyrs of conscience, if it be rightly contemplated, is the most consolatory spectacle in the clouded life of man; far more ennobling and sublime than the outward victories of virtue, which must be partly won by weapons not her own, and are often the lot of her foulest foes. Magnanimity in enduring pain for the sake of conscience is not, indeed, an unerring mark of rectitude; but it is, of all other destinies, that which most exalts the sect or party whom it visits, and bestows on their story an undying command over the hearts of their fellow-men." ‡

Fuller, in two of his suggestive sentences, has attempted to give the characteristics of the chief of the sufferers: "The same devotion had different looks in several martyrs; frowning in stern Hooper, weeping in meek Bradford, and smiling constantly in pleasant Taylor." § Again: "Of all the Marian martyrs, Mr. Philpot was the best-born gentleman; bishop Ridley the profoundest scholar; Mr. Bradford the holiest and devoutest man; archbishop Cranmer, of the mildest and meekest temper; bishop Hooper, of the sternest and austerest nature; Dr. Taylor had the merriest and pleasantest wit; Mr.

* Burnet, part ii. book ii. p. 301, abridged from Rogers' own narrative, in Fox.
† "Historical Parallels," vol. iii. p. 271.
‡ Mackintosh, History, vol. ii. p. 327.
§ "Worthies of England," vol. ii. p. 328.

Latimer had the plainest and simplest heart." * Let us first look at the stories of "stern Hooper" and "pleasant Taylor," to see how the same earnest convictions elevate the "austerest" and the "merriest" natures into equal sublimity and beauty. They suffered on the same day.

After Hooper's condemnation he was visited by Bonner and his chaplains, in Newgate, to persuade him to recant. The rumour went forth that the fear of death had prevailed over his constancy. Fox says that the persecuting bishop and his emissaries spread these rumours, to bring discredit on Hooper and his devotion. "What motive could Bonner and his chaplains have for spreading such a report?" is confidently asked.† Hooper wrote a letter to rebut the rumour. He conversed and argued, he says, with the bishop and his chaplains, that he might not be accused of want of learning, or of pride; but that he was more than ever confirmed in the truth which he had preached. He sums up his letter in these solemn words: "I have taught the truth with my tongue, and with my pen, heretofore; and hereafter shortly shall confirm the same, by God's grace, with my blood." Hooper, with his fellow-convict Rogers, underwent together the ceremony of degradation on the 4th of February. Rogers went to the stake at Smithfield. Hooper was sent to his former episcopal city of Gloucester, where he arrived after a ride of three days. The mayor and aldermen of Gloucester received their once-honoured bishop with kindness. They could not forget that he had been the friend of the poor, whom he fed and taught daily in his hall. He was to have been lodged in the common gaol; but the men who had guarded him from London entreated that he might remain in a private house, for that he had deported himself so patiently on his way that a child might keep him. On the morning of the 9th he went forth to his execution. It was the market-day, and round the stake, fixed near a great elm-tree in front of the cathedral, many thousand persons were assembled. As he walked through the crowd, leaning upon a staff, he looked cheerfully upon those whom he knew; and as he heard the bitter laments of the people he lifted his eyes up to heaven. A pardon was offered him if he would recant; but he exclaimed, "If you love my soul, take it away." Raising his voice in prayer, the crowd was commanded back. When he was fastened by hoops of iron to the stake, he said the trouble was needless, for God would give him strength to abide the extremity of the fire without bands. His sufferings were of the most lingering nature; but he remained calm and still to the last; and whilst flames were slowly consuming him, died as quietly as a child in his bed.

Of all the heroes of the Reformation, Rowland Taylor is, to our minds, the most interesting, because the most natural. Of a hearty, bluff English nature, full of kindliness and pleasantry, he is perfectly unconscious of playing a great part in this terrible drama, and goes to his death as gaily as to a marriage-feast. Fuller says, that those "who admire the temper of sir Thomas More jesting with the axe of the executioner, will excuse our Taylor making himself merry with the stake." He has been compared to Socrates in his simplicity and jocularity, his affection for his friends, and his resolution to shrink from no danger rather than compromise the goodness of his cause.‡

* "Church History," book viii. part ii.

† Dr. Maitland, "Essays," p. 450.

‡ "Historical Parallels," vol. iii. p. 272.

The account which Fox has given of Rowland Taylor is held to be only inferior to the eloquence and dignity of the Phædon of Plato.* It is difficult to give the spirit of such a narrative without impairing its force; but we may select one or two of its more remarkable points. Taylor had been chaplain to archbishop Cranmer; but having been appointed rector of Hadleigh in Suffolk, he devoted himself most zealously to the duties of his parish. He was married, and had nine children. Soon after the accession of Mary some zealous papists took forcible possession of his church, and brought a priest to perform mass. Taylor remonstrated, with more wrath than worldly prudence, against what he called popish idolatry; and he was cited to appear in London before the chancellor. He was strongly urged to fly; and his faithful servant, John Hull, who rode with him to London, entreated him to shun the impending danger, and declared that he would follow him in all perils. He came before Gardiner, with whom his long conference ended by the overpowering argument, "Carry him to prison." He remained in confinement for about a year and three quarters; when he was brought before the commissioners and condemned as a heretic. His degradation was performed by Bonner; the usual mode being to put the garments of a Roman Catholic priest on the clerk-convict, and then to strip them off. Taylor refused to put them on; and was forcibly robed by another. "And when he was thoroughly furnished therewith, he set his hands to his sides, and said, 'How say you, my lord, am I not a goodly fool? How say you, my masters, if I were in Cheap, should I not have boys enough to laugh at these apish toys?'" The final ceremony was for the bishop to give the heretic a blow on his breast with his crosier-staff. "The bishop's chaplain said, 'My lord, strike him not, for he will sure strike again.' 'Yes, by St. Peter, will I,' quoth Dr. Taylor, 'the cause is Christ's, and I were no good Christian if I would not fight in my Master's quarrel.' So the bishop laid his curse on him, and struck him not." When he went back to his fellow-prisoner Bradford, he told him the chaplain had said he would strike again; "and by my troth," said he, rubbing his hands, "I made him believe I would do so indeed." We give the scene as we find it, as an exhibition of character and of manners. What Heber calls "the coarse vigour of his pleasantry," may justly appear to some as foolish irreverence. But, under this rough contempt of an authority which he despised, there was in this parish priest a tenderness and love most truly Christian. At two o'clock on a February morning one of the sheriffs of London led Taylor out of his prison, to deliver him to the sheriff of Essex, in Aldgate. "Now when the sheriff and his company came against St. Botolph church, Elizabeth, his daughter, cried, saying, 'O my dear father! Mother, mother, here is my father led away.' Then cried his wife, 'Rowland, Rowland, where art thou?' for it was a very dark morning, that the one could not see the other. Dr. Taylor answered, 'Dear wife, I am here,' and staid. The sheriff's men would have led him forth, but the sheriff said, 'Stay a little, masters, I pray you, and let him speak to his wife;' and so they staid. Then came she to him; and he took his daughter Mary in his arms, and he, his wife, and Elizabeth kneeled down and said the Lord's Prayer: at which sight the sheriff wept apace, and so did divers other of the company. After they had prayed, he

* Heber, "Life of Jeremy Taylor."

rose up and kissed his wife, and shook her by the hand, and said, 'Farewell, my dear wife, be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children.' And then he kissed his daughter Mary, and said, 'God bless thee, and make thee his servant:' and kissing Elizabeth, he said, 'God bless thee, I pray you all stand strong and stedfast unto Christ, and his words, and keep you from idolatry.' Then said his wife, 'God be with thee, dear Rowland. I will with God's grace meet thee at Hadleigh.' And so he was led forth to the Woolsack [an inn], and at his coming out, John Hull before spoken of stood at the rails with Dr. Taylor's son. When Dr. Taylor saw them, he called them, saying, 'Come hither, my son Thomas;' and John Hull lifted up the child, and set him on the horse, before his father. Then lifted he up his eyes towards heaven, and prayed for his son; laid his hand on the child's head, and blessed him; and so delivered the child to John Hull, whom he took by the hand and said, 'Farewell, John Hull, the faithfullest servant that ever man had.' And so they rode forth; the sheriff of Essex, with four yeomen of the guard, and the sheriff's men leading him." The narrative of Fox conducts the condemned man by slow steps to his beloved Hadleigh. He is placid and even merry to the last. He jests upon his burly and corpulent frame; and holds that the worms in Hadleigh church-yard will be deceived, for the carcase that should have been theirs will be burnt to ashes. He asks to be taken through Hadleigh. The streets are lined with his old parishioners. He could see them, but they could not look upon his face, which had been covered through his journey with a hood, having holes for the eyes and mouth. In Hadleigh there still stand some alms-houses, built by William Pykeham, the rector, at the end of the fifteenth century. Taylor, "stopping by the alms-houses, cast out of a glove to the inmates of them such money as remained of what charitable persons had given for his support in prison, his benefices being sequestrated; and missing two of them he asked, 'Is the blind man, and the blind woman that dwelt here alive?' He was answered, 'Yea, they are there within.' Then threw he glove and all into the window, and so rode forth." When he came to Aldham Common, where he was to suffer, he said, "Thanked be God, I am even at home;" and lighting from his horse, he tore the hood from his head. "When the people saw his reverend and ancient face, and long white beard, they burst out with weeping tears, and cried, saying, 'God save thee good Dr. Taylor.'" He would have spoken to them; but a guard thrust a tip-staff into his mouth. As they were piling the fagots, a brutal man cast a fagot at him, which wounded him so that the blood ran down his face. "O friend," said he, "I have harm enough; what needed that?" Let us draw a veil over his sufferings; and see only the poor woman who knelt at the stake to join in his prayers, and would not be driven away.

In the persecution of the Protestant divines, there was one distinct evidence of their secession from the principles of the Church of Rome, which marked them out as victims. The greater number of them were married. Rogers, when he requested that his wife might be with him after his condemnation, was told that she was not his wife; and Gardiner and Bonner refused him this consolation. As he went to the stake at Smithfield, the faithful woman met him on his way with her ten children. Laurence Saunders was allowed to see his infant, when his wife was denied admittance to him at the Mar-

shalsea. Taking the child in his arms, he exclaimed, "Yea, if there were no other cause for which a man of my estate should lose his life, yet who would not give it, to avouch this child to be legitimate, and his marriage to be lawful and holy!" He wrote to that wife to prepare him a shirt, "which you know whereunto it is consecrated. Let it be sewed down on both sides, and not open." When Hooper was brought before Gardiner, the crafty prelate asked him whether he was married? "Yea, my lord," was the answer; "and will not be unmarried till death unmarry me." Rowland Taylor, kneeling with his wife and daughters on the dark February morning in the porch of St. Botolph, is the crowning example of the holiness of the family affections. Of such men it has been touchingly said, that "during this persecution, the married clergy were observed to suffer with most alacrity. They were bearing testimony to the validity and sanctity of their marriage, against the foul and unchristian aspersions of the Romish persecutors. The honour of their wives and children was at stake. The desire of leaving them an unsullied name, and a virtuous example, combined with the sense of religious duty; and thus the heart derived strength from the very ties which, in other circumstances, might have weakened it." *

Gardiner, according to our Protestant historians, "having broken the ice of burning heretics, and taken off the heads and captains," left the work to be carried on by Bonner. On the day on which Taylor and Hooper suffered, six persons were arraigned and condemned before the bishop of London, the lord mayor and sheriffs, and members of the council. They were of various callings,—a butcher, a barber, a weaver, a gentleman, a priest, and an apprentice to a silk-weaver. On the 10th, being Sunday, Alfonso de Castro, a Spanish friar, the confessor of king Philip, preached before the king; "and in his sermon inveighed against the bishops for burning of men; saying, that they learned it not in Scripture, to put any to death for conscience, but on the contrary, rather to let them live and be converted." † It was the desire of Philip to make himself acceptable to the English; and, probably, at this time, the severe bigotry which led him four years later to be present at an *auto-da-fé* in Valladolid, might have been kept down by kindlier feelings. There was a suspension of these cruel exhibitions for about five weeks after this remarkable sermon. But on the 17th of March, Thomas Tomkins, the weaver, condemned on the 9th of February, was burnt at Smithfield; on the 26th, William Hunter, the silk-weaver's apprentice, was burnt at Braintree; on the 28th, William Pigot, the butcher, was also burnt at Braintree; and Stephen Knight, the barber, at Maldon. John Laurence, the priest, was burnt at Colchester, on the 29th. Thomas Hawkes, the gentleman, was reserved to suffer at Coggeshall, on the 10th of June.

The story of Thomas Hawkes, as told by himself, affords a very fair illustration of the mode in which the lay "heretics" were dealt with in these times; and of the resolution with which they stood up for their opinions. It is held that this young man was "in his conduct and carriage very unlike a humble Christian;" and that "within the rough exterior of the bishop [Bonner], there must have been something more or less resembling that

* Southey, "Book of the Church," vol. ii. p. 151.
† Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials," vol. iii. p. 332.

charity which is not easily provoked, nay, even suffereth long, and is kind..... It is not that the bishop let a forward young man say his say out, once or even twice, and then despatched him; but that after such a beginning, he had him on his hands for near a twelvemonth." * The reason that the bishop had this "forward young man" so long on his hands is left to be inferred. The law by which Bonner could have effectually "despatched him," did not come into operation till nineteen days before its efficacy was tried on Thomas Hawkes and three other Essex Protestants. He was apprehended because he would not suffer his child to be baptised according to the Romish ceremonials; and was sent to Bonner, to be used according to his discretion. At their very first conference the bishop asked him if he knew Knight and Pigot, the barber and the butcher. He is also asked if he knew one Bagot; and Bagot is called. The man, "not easily provoked," wishes Bagot to give his opinion upon the refusal of Hawkes to have his child christened; upon which Bagot says that Hawkes is old enough to answer for himself. "Ah! sir knave," says the bishop, "are you at that point with me? Go call me the porter. Thou shalt sit in the stocks, and have nothing but bread and water." Having terrified Bagot into saying that baptism, as then practised in the church, was good, he sent Hawkes to dine at the steward's table. Conversation after conversation occur between the bishop and his prisoner; and the end of their contests is, that he who "suffereth long, and is kind," says, "Sir, it is time to begin with you. We will rid you away, and then we shall have one heretic less." On another occasion, the candid bishop says, "Ye think we are afraid to put one of you to death: yes, yes, there is a brotherhood of you, but I will break it, I warrant you." Bold enough, insolent enough, if you please, was this young Thomas Hawkes; but his "conduct and carriage" were those arising out of a conscientious resistance to a power which he knew would destroy him. The "conduct and carriage" of the proud man in authority were those which exhibit the impotence of tyranny even in its most sanguinary resolves. Hawkes refused to sign the petition which Bonner had drawn up.

"Then the bishop thrust me on the breast with great anger; and said he would be even with me, and with all such proud knaves in Essex.

"*Hawkes.* 'Ye shall do no more than God shall give you leave.'

"*Bonner.* 'This gear shall not be unpunished—trust to it.'

"*Hawkes.* 'As for your cursings, railings, and blasphemings, I care not for them; for I know the moths and worms shall eat you, as they eat cloth or wool.'

"*Bonner.* 'I will be even with you when time shall come.'"

The time did come; for on the 9th of February, Bonner read the sentence of death upon Thomas Hawkes.

In looking back upon the awful transactions of this time of persecution, let us not form too severe a judgment of the evil deeds of our erring forefathers. It was not a time when the rights of conscience, looking beyond the opinions of the alternately dominant creeds, could be adequately acknowledged by Roman Catholic or Protestant. The broad foundation upon which to establish those rights was undoubtedly laid in the principles of the Reformation.

* Dr. Maitland, "Essays," p. 495.

But it has required the struggles of three centuries to make these rights a living rule of charitable action, even in secular legislation. Other disturbing influences were to arise, out of which were to grow many a severe contest between the ruling powers in church and state, and the sacred claims of private judgment. At this worst period in England of triumphant persecution against those who were called heretics, the very heretics themselves were ready to become persecutors. Philpot, "the best-born gentleman" of Fuller, had declared that he would confound any six of his adversaries upon the question of transubstantiation, and if not, he said, "let me be burnt before the court gates with as many fagots as be in London." When examined before Bonner, he had told him, in the true spirit of toleration, using the words of St. Ambrose to Valentinian, "Take away the law, and I shall reason with you." There could be no equal reasoning, when the renewed statutes for punishing heretics with death were written over the judgment-seat of the examiner. But Philpot himself was ready to become a persecutor when the case lay between his own opinions, and those which Catholic and Protestant had agreed in condemning. Courageous, enthusiastic, in the assertion of his principles, the martyr Philpot had no respect for those who went further than he did in asserting what they held to be truth. He published a vindication of himself for an action which was scarcely compatible with the character even of the "best-born gentleman." He had spat upon an Arian. Does he apologise for an act of passion when his conscience was offended by what he considered the enunciation of a creed which he held was damnable and wicked? He says, with perfect honesty, but in a spirit which may induce us to judge not too harshly of those who asserted their convictions even with cruelty, "Should not the mouth declare the zeal for his Maker, by spittings on him that depraveth his Divine Majesty? . . . . I tell thee plain that I am nothing ashamed of that fact, but give God thanks that I bear evil for well-doing." He denounces as heretics, all "such as break the unity of Christ's church, neither abide in the same, neither submit their judgment to be tried in the causes which they brabble for, by the godly learned pastors thereof." * Surely this self-reliance is an apology for those who also relied upon "the unity of Christ's church," as maintained by their own doctrines and ceremonies. Such was the temper of Calvin, when, in 1546, he thus declares his hatred of what he calls "the delirious fancies" of Servetus: "He takes it upon him to come hither, if it be agreeable to me. But I am unwilling to pledge my word for his safety; for if he shall come, I shall never permit him to depart alive, provided my authority be of any avail." † Let us bear in mind how long a time of probation is required, before individual fidelity to a strong religious conviction can be united with respect for adverse opinions; how long before love shall prevail over zeal, and the essential agreements of the spiritual life be more regarded than the doctrinal differences. Let us bear this in mind, even when we view the conduct of a Bonner, "whom all generations shall call bloody," ‡ according to the judgment of an honest man in his generation; but who it would better become us in our day to pity than to vituperate, if we cannot forbear, as we

* Strype, vol. iii. part ii. p. 372. † Letters of Calvin, by Bonnet, vol. ii.
‡ Fuller, "Church History," vol. ii. p. 343.

ought not to forbear, to hate cruelty and oppression in whatever form they present themselves.

The wickedness of the Marian persecution, regarding it with every allowance for the errors of those engaged in it, can only be exceeded by its folly. If the martyrdoms had been confined to the great leaders and teachers of the Reformation,—to those who exulted in its principles, and welcomed suffering and death as the crowning glory of their labours,—we may understand how the spirit of revenge might have obliterated the quality of mercy. Bonner said to Hawkes, "We will show such mercy unto you as ye showed unto us; for my benefice or bishopric was taken away from me, so that I had not one penny to live upon." We see the vulgarity and meanness of Bonner's mind in this avowal; and his ferocity is therefore intelligible when he has to deal with Ridley, who supplanted him in his bishopric. So of Gardiner, when he has to influence the fate of his old opponent Cranmer. But that a government, knowing well that the elements of public hatred were surrounding it on every side—that a thousand martyrdoms could not change the secret opinions which had been the growth of nearly two centuries,—that a government politically and religiously obnoxious to many, should have chosen to hunt out the heretics from the most obscure recesses, is an example of that judicial blindness which precedes destruction. When we read in the sad history of these times, that the humblest of the people were called into the ecclesiastical courts, and, being required to make answers to certain questions, were condemned if judged heretical, we may ask what possible feeling could have been produced, other than the most intense hatred and disgust by such sacrifices of artificers and labourers and fishermen—when even the lowly housewife was dragged out of her cottage, upon the information of some spiteful neighbour? Those who would extenuate the practices of these times, as the fashion now is, would do well to study the public acts of the government of Mary, rather than prove that she was kind to her dependants; that she loved her husband; that she was conscientiously pious and charitable; that she had a sincerer nature than her sister Elizabeth. It is as a queen that she must be judged; and as a queen she went further to degrade and enslave England than any sovereign who ever sate upon England's throne. There is such a document in existence as "An Order prescribed by the King and Queen to the Justices of the Peace," dated March 26th, 1555, in which, after enjoining that "they must lay special weight upon those which be preachers and teachers of heresy, or procurers of secret meetings for that purpose," we have this memorable direction: "They shall procure to have in every parish, or part of the shire, as near as may be, some one or more honest men secretly instructed, to give information of the behaviour of the inhabitants amongst or about them." * The justices of the peace, in some districts, were ready enough to bring such as "do lean to erroneous and heretical opinions" before the Ordinaries. But, as we learn by a royal letter dated the 24th of May, the bishops either refused to receive such persons, or dealt with them mercifully. Then the pious king and queen wrote to each bishop to admonish him that "when any such offenders shall be by the said justices of the peace brought unto you, ye do use your good

* Burnet, "Records," No. 19.

wisdom and discretion, in procuring to remove them from their errors, if it may be, or else in proceeding against them, if they shall continue obstinate, according to the order of the laws." * Honour be to those justices and bishops in whose districts the old English spirit of honesty and freedom made the attempts to introduce the spy-system into every household recoil with hatred and contempt upon their originators. Many dioceses, especially the large ones of Lincoln, York, and Durham, were almost wholly exempt from these disgraces. The merciful and, we may say, politic dispositions of many bishops stood between those who read their English bibles in secret, and the bigotry that would have dragged them to sign articles against their consciences, or to burn. One more expedient was tried, to remedy the supineness of justices and ordinaries. In 1557 a commission was issued to the bishops of London and Ely, with other ecclesiastics and many laymen, by which any three were empowered to search after all heresies, and the sellers and readers of heretical books; to examine and punish all misbehaviour and negligences in church or chapel; to try all priests that did not preach of the sacrament of the altar, and all persons that did not hear mass, or did not go in procession, or did not take holy bread or holy water. They were to call before them what witnesses they pleased, and compel them to swear, so as to discover the heresies and offences thus to be hunted out.† "So now," says Burnet, "all was done that could be devised for the extirpation of heresy, except Courts of Inquisition had been set up; to which, whether this was not a previous step to dispose the nation to it, the reader may judge." ‡

We have endeavoured, without dwelling too minutely upon the horrors of this frightful time, to lead the reader to understand how that temper was roused in the English nation, which produced an abhorrence to the Roman Catholic religion, "to be derived down from father to son"—"an aversion so deeply rooted, and raised upon such grounds, as does upon every new provocation or jealousy of returning to it, break out in most violent and convulsive symptoms." So wrote Burnet in the time of Charles II. So may we still write, when the "jealousy of returning to it" is excited by indiscretions which proceed from a singular ignorance of the character of the English nation. Let us conclude this painful narrative with a brief view of the final triumphs of the three most eminent of the sufferers.

From the 28th of April, 1554, when Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, had been condemned as obstinate heretics, they had remained in prison in Oxford. In September, 1555, a court was held under the papal authority at Oxford, for what was called their trial. Ridley and Latimer were brought before the commissioners, the bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, to answer to certain articles. The next day, a solemn session was held at St. Mary's church —solemn as far as thrones and cloth of tissue could impart solemnity to a proceeding which was a mockery of justice, in refusing to hear the accused. They had only to hear the sentence pronounced; to be degraded; to be burnt. The place of their execution is now distinguished by what is called "the Martyrs' Memorial." No monument is necessary to commemorate an event which will be remembered, through the power of a few thrilling words, as long as

* Burnet, "Records," No. 20. † *Ibid.*, No. 32.
‡ "History of the Reformation," part ii. book ii. p. 347.

the English language shall endure. Stripped of his prison dress, the aged Latimer—the bent old man, "stood bolt upright, as comely a father as one might lightly behold." He stands, bolt upright, in his shroud. Ridley and he "stand coupled for a common flight;" and he says, "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man! We shall this day light such a candle, by God's grace, in England, as shall never be put out."

Latimer.

When Cranmer came before the commissioners, he was cited to appear at Rome within eighty days, there to answer the charges against him. This was one of the mockeries of the papal rule in England. There were prison-walls between the archbishop and Rome, and at the end of the time he was declared contumacious. Bonner and Thirlby were appointed to degrade him. Bonner was brutal; Thirlby wept. The courage of Cranmer was never very strong. He had made too many compromises in life not to be tempted into one more compliance with firmer wills, when a hope was offered to him that he might quietly descend into the grave, at the natural expiration of his allotted years. He signed papers of recantation, under these false promises. The hateful betrayers thought by this cruel policy, to make the great leader of the Reformation die a cowardly apostate. They were deceived. A better spirit—an inspiration—came over the fallen man—to make his final glory even greater from his temporary abasement. There can be no question of the authenticity of the narrative of his last end, for it was drawn up by a Romanist; and the original document is amongst the Harleian Manuscripts, headed, "Archbishop Cranmer's death, related by a by-stander." On the 21st of March, the morning being rainy, the sermon, which was appointed to be preached at the stake, was preached in St. Mary's church. Cranmer having heard the sermon, in which he was reminded of his wretched estate—"of a counsellor to be a caitiff," knelt down and prayed—the men of the university praying with him; "for they that hated him before, now loved him for his conversion." After that he prayed aloud; and then addressed an exhortation, to care not over much for the world; to obey the king and queen; to love one another; to be good to the poor. He then declared that he believed in God; in every article of the Catholic faith; and every word and sentence taught by our Saviour, his apostles, and prophets, in the Old and New Testament. The conclusion of his exhortation was a startling one:

"And now I come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that ever I said or did in my life: and that is, the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth. Which here now I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it

might be: and that is, all such bills which I have written or signed with mine own hand, since my degradation: wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished therefore: for if I may come to the fire, it shall be first burned. And as for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and antichrist, with all his false doctrine."

"And here being admonished of his recantation and dissembling, he said, 'Alas, my lord, I have been a man that all my life loved plainness, and never dissembled till now against the truth; which I am most sorry for.' He added

Cranmer, on the morning of his execution.

hereunto, that, for the sacrament, he believed as he had taught in his book against the bishop of Winchester. And here he was suffered to speak no more."

"He so far deceived all men's expectations, that, at the hearing thereat they were much amazed." He was led away, "great numbers exhorting him, while time was, to remember himself." He did remember himself; and thus vindicated his character, for the love and pity of all after-time:

"Coming to the stake with a cheerful countenance and willing mind, he put off his garments with haste, and stood upright in his shirt: and a bachelor of divinity, named Elye, of Brazennose College, laboured to convert him to his former recantation, with the two Spanish friars. And when the friars saw

his constancy, they said in Latin one to another, Let us go from him; we ought not to be nigh him, for the devil is with him. But the bachelor in divinity was more earnest with him; unto whom he answered, that, as concerning his recantation, he repented it right sore, because he knew it was against the truth; with other words more. Whereby the lord Williams cried, 'Make short, make short.' Then the bishop took certain of his friends by the hand. But the bachelor of divinity refused to take him by the hand, and blamed all others that so did, and said, he was sorry that ever he came in his company. And yet, again, he required him to agree to his former recantation. And the bishop answered, showing his hand, 'This was the hand that wrote it, and therefore shall it suffer first punishment.'

"Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand, and thrust it into the flame, and held it there a good space, before the fire came to any other part of his body; where his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning, crying with a loud voice, 'This hand hath offended.' As soon as the fire got up, he was very soon dead, never stirring or crying all the while."

Costume of the reign of Edward VI. and Mary.

CHAPTER VII.

Sights and events in London in the first year of the persecution—King Philip leaves England—Abdication of Charles V.—Parliament—Pope Paul IV.—The Dudley Conspiracy—The princess Elizabeth again suspected—Pole consecrated archbishop of Canterbury—Visitation of the Universities—Exhibitions of bigotry—Philip returns to England—Quarrel of the Pope with Spain, and his alliance with France—Philip urges a declaration of war against France—Stafford's seizure of Scarborough Castle—English forces sent to the Flemish frontier—Battle of St. Quentin—Hostilities between England and Scotland—Calais taken by the French—Guines surrendered, and Hammes evacuated—The war ill-conducted—Interview of Philip's ambassador with Elizabeth—Death of Mary.

THERE is no more curious record of the outward life of London in these fearful times than "The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant Taylor." Let us glance at the jottings-down of the sights beheld, and the events gossiped about, by this dweller near Queenhithe, for a few months of 1555, to obtain a notion of the strange scenes which were then exhibited. On the 30th of April, tidings came that the queen was delivered of a prince; and the bells were rung in every steeple, and Te Deum sung in every choir. The intense desire of the queen for an heir to the throne was the repeated source of ridiculous rumours, not confined to the gaping Londoners, but solemnly transmitted to the emperor, as the crowning joy of the marriage of his son. On the 5th of May, the ambassador to Charles V. writes home that the emperor had sent for him at four o'clock in the morning, to know if the news were true.* Machyn's record tells of the disappointed hope in few words. "The morrow after, it was turned otherwise." The Whitsun season

* Tytler, vol. ii. p. 470.

brings various amusements. Master Cardmaker, the vicar of St. Bride's, with an upholsterer and his wife, are burnt at Smithfield. The Clerks go in procession; and a goodly mass is performed; and the waits are playing round Cheap, and the host is borne about by torch-light. There are May games at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and at Westminster, with giants and morris-dancers, and the hobby-horse, and the lord and lady of the May riding gorgeously. In a day or two after, seven men are taken out of Newgate, to be carried to Essex and Suffolk, to burn; and on the 1st of July, Master Bradford and a tallow-chandler's apprentice are burnt in Smithfield, with a great company of people. With an occasional burning to keep the multitude in remembrance of their blessings, the summer passes; and on the 15th of September the pope's jubilee and pardon are declared at St. Paul's, "and as many as will receive his pardon, to be shrived and fast three days in one week, and to receive the blessed sacrament the next Sunday after, and then clean remission of all their sins." In November, the Romish ceremonies burst forth in unusual splendour, upon the occasion of the death of Gardiner, chancellor and bishop of Winchester; when there are dirges in every parish, and the mass of *requiem*, "and so prayed for after the old custom." The great burnings at Oxford have preceded the death of the chancellor, and Bonner does not immediately honour his memory by any exhibitions in Smithfield. But "a stripling" is whipt about Paul's Cross, "for speaking against the bishop that preached the Sunday before;" and "an old man, a shepherd," who spoke certain things before the sermon at the Cross, is taken to the Counter. There was a delay of three months before Gardiner was carried to his final resting-place at Winchester; and whilst his embalmed body lay in a hearse at St. Mary's Overies, five men and two women went into Smithfield to burn; and there was a commandment through London over night, that "no young folk should come there." The Christian duty of putting men and women to a cruel death for their opinions was too subtle to be properly impressed upon tender minds, by the bonfire lighting up the gabled roofs on a dark January morning.

It is recorded in the citizen's diary that on the 29th of August, "the king's grace took his journey toward Dover, and with a great company; and there tarried for the wind." Philip reached Calais on the 4th of September. His sojourn in England had not been an agreeable one to him. The parliament would not consent to his being crowned as king of England. He was obnoxious to the people; although he conducted himself with an evident desire not to offend by unnecessary interference with the ordinary course of government, and by keeping his haughty nature under control. He maintained his state without being a burthen upon the English revenue; and scattered his money with a liberal hand. "With all this," says Micheli, "he cannot live with dignity in this country, on account of the insolence with which foreigners are treated by the English." Mary wept over his departure, but was somewhat consoled by his promise to return in the spring. He returned not to England till March, 1557. When the sickly and irritable queen expected her husband, and received only his excuses, she would shut herself up in her room, and see no one for days. On one occasion, according to a document dated March 26th, 1556, "the queen, on hearing that the king would not return to England for a long time, was in a rage, and caused

his picture to be carried out of the Privy Chamber." * Philip was called to a destiny more suited to his proud and ambitious nature than to be the unequal partaker of sovereign power over a jealous insular people. He was summoned to become the head of the greatest European monarchy, by the voluntary abdication of his father. Charles had been sovereign of the Netherlands for nearly fifty years; he had been king of Spain for forty years; he had been emperor of Germany for thirty-six years. On the 25th of October, 1555, Charles, in a solemn assembly at Brussels, although only in his fifty-sixth year, and in full possession of his faculties, resigned the sceptres of the Netherlands and of Spain in favour of his son. He had already bestowed upon Philip the kingdom of Naples and Sicily. In a monastery of Estremadura, the greatest prince of his time was to close his long career of ambition. His "cloister life" offers a curious study of human nature.

It has been pointed out that Philip, when he had left England, and the prospect of a child who should succeed to the English crown had become visionary, did not disregard "the affairs of a turbulent people, upon whom he had no hold but the slight thread of a hypochrondiacal woman." The opinion of his neglect which Mackintosh expressed is disproved by communications between the privy council and the king. The minutes of the council were translated into Latin, and transmitted to him at Brussels, and were returned with his remarks, also in Latin. His notions of the functions of parliament, as expressed in one of these papers, show how well it was for the civil as well as religious liberty of our country that his influence and authority here were soon at an end. He "desires that nothing should be proposed in parliament without its having been first communicated to his majesty." † Better was it for us that the bigoted Romanist should be free to preside at *auto-da-fés* in Spain, rather than dictate laws to England through the subservient Council of his confiding wife. The absence of Philip from England probably caused the parliament, which assembled on the 21st of October, 1555, to dare some opposition to the proceedings of the crown. Sir Anthony Kingston was imprisoned by the Council for his conduct as a member of the House of Commons. Although the parliament of England had crouched at the feet of Rome, and the supremacy of the pope was established, there were certain limits beyond which the most strenuous Romanists were not willing to go. Under a pontiff of moderate views, Julius III., the restitution of the church property was not insisted upon; and the success of Cardinal Pole's measures had been mainly accomplished by his concessions to those possessors of the abbey-lands and chantry revenues who were not disposed to show their aversion to the Reformation by any great sacrifice of their own interests. The queen had manifested her strong convictions by placing in the hands of the legate such church lands as remained in the possession of the crown. But in 1555 Julius III. was succeeded by Paul IV. "It was the destiny of this most furious zealot to contribute more perhaps than any of his predecessors to the spread of that protestantism which he hated, abhorred, and persecuted." ‡ At the period of his accession he had not exhibited those passionate resolves for the

* "Calendar of State Papers," p. 77.

† Tytler, vol. ii. p. 484.

‡ Ranke, "History of the Popes," vol. i. p. 317.

re-establishment of the temporal dominion of the see of Rome, which brought him into a posture of hostility to Philip of Spain. But he endeavoured most unwisely to assert his spiritual supremacy, by proclaiming, to the English ambassadors, "the restitution of the lands of the church to be an indispensable duty, the neglect of which would draw upon the culprit the penalty of eternal damnation. He also tried to re-establish the collection of the Peter's pence."* Mary was herself ready to yield to the first thunders of the Vatican; and caused some of the lay-nobility to be sounded upon this very delicate question. The answer was, "that they would never part with their abbey-lands, as long as they were able to wear a sword by their sides."† An Act was however passed, not without strong opposition, to restore the tenths and first-fruits to the church; and the impropriations in the queen's gift. This Act had many saving clauses; and one especially, that the legate should apply the revenues so restored to the increase of poor livings; for the finding of able curates to instruct the people; and for the exhibition of scholars. A proposal to give the queen a subsidy and two-fifteenths was so strenuously opposed, that the secretary of state declared to the House of Commons that her majesty would only accept the subsidy. There was no other parliament held for two years.

The disquietudes and suspicions which were associated with the fact that, however prudent was the princess Elizabeth, she was the hope of those both abroad and at home who were oppressed by the bigotry of the government, were kept alive by the most trifling incidents. Dr. John Dee, an astrologer and magician, who went on casting nativities, and raising spirits, till the days of James I., had come into repute in the middle of the sixteenth century; and he got into trouble, according to his own account, through being suspected of "endeavouring, by enchantments, to destroy queen Mary." In June, 1555, some persons were apprehended "that did calculate the king's and queen's, and my lady Elizabeth's nativity; whereof one Dee, and Davy, and Butler, and one other of my lady Elizabeth's, are accused, and that they should have a familiar spirit."‡ The familiar spirit was believed in, because one of their accusers had "immediately upon the accusation, both his children stricken, the one with present death, the other with blindness." But there was a danger gathering, somewhat more formidable than the conjurations of Dee and his associates. Some young men of good family had conceived the project of

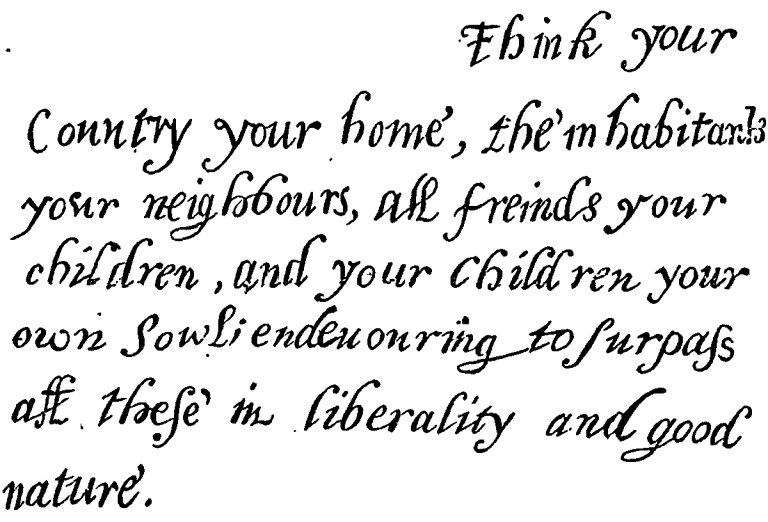
Dee.

* Ranke, "History of the Popes," vol. i. p. 318. † Heylin.
‡ Letter in State Paper Office; Tytler, vol. ii. p. 479.

assembling together the English exiles of Germany and other parts of the continent, to free England from the Roman pontiff and the Spanish king. Mary was to be sent to Spain; and Elizabeth placed on the throne. The chief leader was Henry Dudley, supposed to have been connected by relationship with the duke of Northumberland who had paid the price of his rash ambition. His notion was, to organise those whom Mary called heretics and traitors; and to land them in the Isle of Wight. He would drive out the Spaniards, he said, or he would die for it. He had obtained some encouragement from the French ambassador in London; and had been courteously received by the French king. But although Richard Uvedale, the captain of Yarmouth castle, in the Isle of Wight, had agreed not to molest their landing, there was little hope of transforming into armed bands the serious and aged religious exiles, even if they had countenanced any attempts to change the government by force. They were mostly suffering extreme poverty. Money was to be got to raise soldiers; and a bold device was set on foot, which none but the most sanguine of men would have ventured upon. In the office of the receipt of Exchequer at Westminster, there were bars of Spanish silver lying idle in chests, to the value of 50,000*l.* William Rossey, keeper of the Star Chamber, lived near this office; and had a garden running along the margin of the Thames. Three of the conspirators were enabled to obtain access to these precious chests. They were too heavy to be removed; and they were therefore to be broken open, and the bars carried through Rossey's garden, to a vessel which was to be brought up alongside. The ship was hired; the searcher at Gravesend was bribed to let it pass; and the "great bullion robbery" might have been accomplished, had not Thomas White, one of the company, revealed the scheme to the government. On the 18th of March, 1556, about twenty of the accused were conveyed to the Tower. There were persons of good family among them who had opposed the measures of the court in the preceding parliament. Throgmorton, a connexion of the man whose acquittal had made him famous, and Uvedale, were first tried. They were convicted; and suffered the death of traitors on the 28th of April. Eight others were executed in May, June, and July. Lord Bray was confined many months on suspicion; but was finally released. Others were pardoned. Mr. Bruce, who has related with great spirit the history of this plot, upon which most historians are silent, says that the ease with which some who were the queen's officers were "seduced from their allegiance, must have added to the many evidences of how slight was the queen's hold upon the affections of the people." * It was the misfortune of the princess Elizabeth, although a natural consequence of her position, to afford cause of jealousy and suspicion to the court, upon the discovery of any treasonable conspiracy. All that could be established against lord Bray was that he had said, "If my neighbour of Hatfield might once reign (meaning the lady Elizabeth), he should have his lands and debts given him again, which he both wished for, and trusted once to see." Elizabeth was again questioned by an agent of the Council, and was written to by her sister; "whereat she wrote a well-penned letter," dated the beginning of August, utterly detesting and disclaiming the rebellion and its actors.†

* Verney Papers, p. 58 to 76.
† Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials," vol. iii. part i. p. 547.

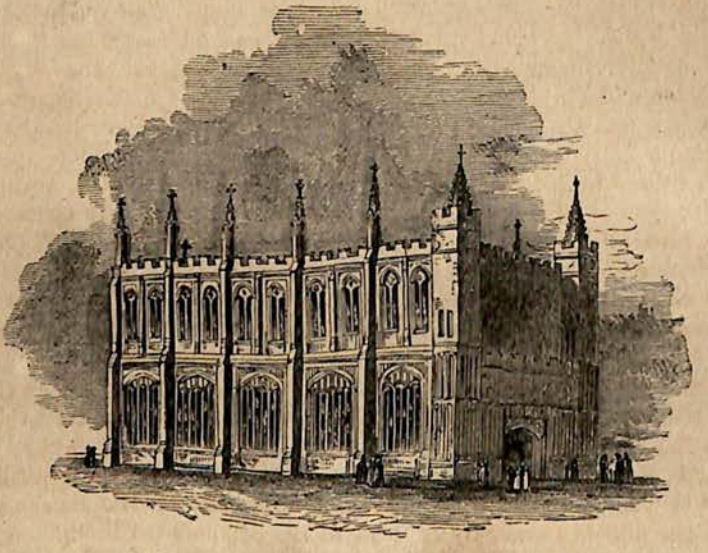
Strype has printed Elizabeth's "well-penned letter"—a curious specimen of her rhetorical style, of which one sentence will suffice. "And among earthly things, I chiefly wish this one, that there were as good surgeons for making anatomies of hearts, that might show my thoughts to your majesty, as there are expert physicians of the bodies, able to express the inward griefs of their maladies to their patient. For then, I doubt not, but know well, that whatsoever other should suggest by malice, yet your majesty should be sure by knowledge; so that the more such misty clouds offuscate the clear light of my truth, the more my tried thoughts should glisten to the dimming of their hidden malice. But since wishes are in vain, and desires oft fail, I must crave that my deeds may supply that my thoughts cannot declare, and that they be not misdeemed, thereas the facts have been so well tried." Elizabeth's handwriting was as characteristic as her style.


Think your
Country your home, the'inhabitants
your neighbours, all freinds your
children, and your children your
own Sowl endeuonring to surpass
all these in liberality and good
nature.

Fac-simile from Elizabeth's Translation of a Dialogue in Xenophon.

The day after the murder of Cranmer, cardinal Pole was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury; and he then assumed the public functions of the papal legate. He was a man of too much moderation to suit the temper of the furious Paul IV., who subsequently attempted to supersede him as legate, which attempt Mary had the spirit to resist. But he either wanted the inclination or the power to control the extravagant bigotry of the English universities, whose authorities, in 1551, perpetrated deeds that show how little learning is akin to wisdom, when it associates itself with superstitions that outrage the natural feelings of mankind. At the period when two new colleges were founded in Oxford,—Trinity by sir Thomas Pope, and St. John's by sir Thomas White,—that university was visited by the commissioners of the cardinal; who not only burnt all the English bibles and other heretical books, but went through the farce of making a process against the body of Peter Martyr's wife, who had been buried in one of the churches. They could find no witnesses who had heard her utter any heresies, for she could speak no English. So, under

the direction of the cardinal, they transferred her body to a dunghill, upon the plea that she had been a nun and had died excommunicated. A scene equally disgusting was perpetrated by Pole's commissioners at Cambridge. They laid the churches of St. Mary's and St. Michael's under interdict, because the bodies of the great reformers, Bucer and Fagius, were buried in them. The dead were then cited to appear; but not answering to the sum-



Divinity Schools, Oxford, in the Sixteenth Century.

mons, they were judged to be obstinate heretics, and their bodies were to be taken out of their graves, and delivered to the secular power. On the 6th of February, these bodies were publicly burnt, according to the ancient ceremonies, which Rome had found so effectual in the case of Wycliffe.

In March, 1557, Philip returned to England. He came, not out of affection for his wife, or of regard for his turbulent insular subjects, but to stir up the old English hatred of France, and to drag the nation into a war for his personal advantage. The fiery pope, Paul IV., had conceived that the time had arrived for renewing the attempt of Julius II. to throw off the predominant power of Spain. He panted for the freedom of Italy as it existed in the fifteenth century; he wanted to accomplish his wishes by an alliance with France; he would place French princes on the thrones of Milan and Naples. The Spaniards he pronounced as the spawn of Jews and Moors, the dregs of the earth. When there was a question of temporal dominion to be fought out, the pope did not hesitate to wage war against that faithful son of the church, king Philip; nor did king Philip hesitate to send the duke of Alva, the exterminator of Protestants, to enter the Roman states, and lay waste the territories of the pope. France and Spain were upon the brink of open war when Philip arrived in England. He urged a declaration of war against France. There were grievances in the alleged encouragement which had been given in Wyat's rebellion; and in the lukewarmness with which Henry II.

met queen Mary's desire that he should afford her the means of vengeance upon the exiles for religion who took shelter in France. The most recent complaint was, that France had connived at the equipment of a force by Thomas Stafford, a refugee, who had invaded England with thirty-two followers, and had surprised Scarborough castle. This adventurer claimed to be of the house and blood of the duke of Buckingham, who was beheaded in the time of Henry VIII. The proclamation which he issued from his castle of Scarborough, which he held only two days, was addressed to the English hatred of the Spaniards, rather than directed against the ecclesiastical persecution under which the country was suffering: "As the dukes of Buckingham, our forefathers and predecessors, have always been defenders of the poor commonalty against the tyranny of princes, so should you have us at this juncture, most dearly beloved friends, your protector, governor, and defender against all your adversaries and enemies; minding earnestly to die rather, presently, and personally before you in the field, than to suffer you to be overrun so miserably with strangers, and made most sorrowful slaves, and careful captives, to such a naughty nation as Spaniards." * Stafford and his band were soon made prisoners; and he was beheaded on Tower-hill, and three of his followers hanged, on the 25th of May. Seizing upon this absurd attempt as a ground of quarrel, war was declared against France on the 7th of June; and Philip quitted the country on the 6th of July, never to return.

An English force of four thousand infantry, a thousand cavalry, and two thousand pioneers, joined the Spanish army on the Flemish frontier. That army was partly composed of German mercenaries; the lanzknechts and reiters, the pikemen and cavalry, who, at the command of the best paymaster, were the most formidable soldiers of the time. But the Spanish cavaliers were there, leading their native infantry; and there the Burgundian lances. The army was commanded by Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, who had aspired to the hand of Elizabeth. Philip earnestly seconded his suit, but Mary, wisely and kindly, would not put a constraint upon her sister's inclinations. The wary princess saw that the crown would probably be hers at no distant day; and she would not risk the loss of the people's affection by marrying a foreign Catholic. She had sensible advisers about her, who seconded her own prudence; and thus she kept safe amidst the manifold dangers by which she was surrounded. The duke of Savoy, though young, was an experienced soldier, and he determined to commence the campaign by investing St. Quentin, a frontier town of Picardy. The defence of this fortress was undertaken by Coligni, the admiral of France, afterwards so famous for his mournful death. Montmorency, the constable, had the command of the French army. The garrison was almost reduced to extremity—when Montmorency, on the 10th of August, arrived with his whole force, and halted on the bank of the Somme. On the opposite bank lay the Spanish, the English, the Flemish, and the German host. The arrival of the French was a surprise, and the duke of Savoy had to take up a new position. He determined on battle. The issue was the most unfortunate for France since the fatal day of Agincourt. The French slain amounted, according to some accounts, to six thousand; and the prisoners were equally numerous. Amongst

* Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials," vol. ii. part ii. p. 518.

them was the veteran Montmorency. On the 10th of August, Philip came to the camp. Bold advisers counselled a march to Paris. The cautious king was satisfied to press on the siege of St. Quentin. The defence which Coligni made was such as might have been expected from his firmness and bravery. The place was taken by storm, amidst horrors which belong to such scenes at all times, but which were doubled by the rapacity of troops who fought even with each other for the greatest share of the pillage. After a few trifling successes, the army of Philip was broken up. The English and Germans were indignant at the insolence of the Spaniards; and the Germans were more indignant that their pay was not forthcoming. Philip was glad to permit his English subjects to take their discontents home. They had found out that they were not fighting the battle of England.

The war between England and France produced hostilities between England and Scotland. Mary of Guise, the queen dowager and regent of Scotland, was incited by the French king to invade England. The disposition to hostilities was accompanied by a furious outbreak of the Scottish borderers They were driven back. But the desire of the queen dowager that England should be invaded was resisted by the chief nobles, who declared themselves ready to act on the defensive, but who would not plunge into war during their sovereign's minority. The alliance of France and Scotland was, however, completed, in the autumn of 1558, by the marriage between the Dauphin and the young queen Mary, which was solemnised at Paris, in the cathedral of Notre Dame. The duke of Guise, the uncle of the queen of Scots, at the beginning of 1558, was at the head of a powerful army to avenge the misfortune of St. Quentin. The project committed to his execution was a bold and patriotic one—to drive the English from their last strong-hold in France. Calais, over whose walls a foreign flag had been waving for two centuries, was to France an opprobium, and to England a trophy. But it was considered by the English government as an indispensable key to the continent—a possession that it would not only be a disgrace to lose, but a national calamity. The importance of Calais was thus described by Micheli, the Venetian ambassador, only one year before it finally passed from the English power:

"Another frontier, besides that of Scotland, and of no less importance for the security of the kingdom, though it be separated, is that which the English occupy on the other side of the sea, by means of two fortresses, Calais and Guisnes, guarded by them (and justly) with jealousy, especially Calais, for this is the key and principal entrance to their dominions, without which the English would have no outlet from their own, nor access to other countries, at least none so easy, so short, and so secure; so much so, that if they were deprived of it, they would not only be shut out from the continent, but also from the commerce and intercourse of the world." They would consequently lose what is essentially necessary for the existence of a country, and become dependent upon the will and pleasure of other sovereigns, in availing themselves of their ports, besides having to encounter a more distant, more hazardous, and more expensive passage; whereas, by way of Calais, which is directly opposite to the harbour of Dover, distant only about thirty miles, they can, at any time, without hindrance, even in spite of contrary winds, at their pleasure, enter or leave the harbour (such is the experience and boldness of their sailors), and carry over either troops or anything else for warfare,

offensive and defensive, without giving rise to jealousy and suspicion; and thus they are enabled, as Calais is not more than ten miles from Ardres, the frontier of the French, nor further from Gravelines, the frontier of the Imperialists, to join either the one or the other, as they please, and to add their strength to him with whom they are at amity, in prejudice of an enemy. For these reasons, therefore, it is not to be wondered at, that, besides the inhabitants of the place, who are esteemed men of most unshaken fidelity, being the descendants of an English colony settled there shortly after the first conquest, it should also be guarded by one of the most trusty barons which the king has, bearing the title of deputy, with a force of five hundred of the best soldiers, besides a troop of fifty horsemen. It is considered by every one as an impregnable fortress, on account of the inundation with which it may be surrounded, although there are persons skilled in the art of fortification, who doubt that it would prove so if put to the test. For the same reason, Guisnes is also reckoned impregnable, situated about three miles more inland, on the French frontier, and guarded with the same degree of care, though, being a smaller place, only by a hundred and fifty men, under a chief governor. The same is done with regard to a third place, called Hammes, situated between the two former, and thought to be of equal importance, the waters which inundate the country being collected around." * Ninety years later Calais was regarded in a very different light: "Now it is gone, let it go. It was but a beggarly town, which cost England ten times yearly more than it was worth in keeping thereof, as by the accounts in the Exchequer doth plainly appear." †

The expedition against Calais was undertaken upon a report of the dilapidated condition of the works and the smallness of its garrison. It was not "an impregnable fortress," as Micheli says it was considered. The duke of Guise commenced his attack on the 2nd of January, when he stormed and took the castle of Ruysbank, which commanded the approach by water. On the 3rd he carried the castle of Newenham bridge, which commanded the approach by land. He then commenced a cannonade of the citadel, which surrendered on the 6th. On the 7th the town capitulated. Lord Wentworth, the governor, and fifty others, remained as prisoners. The English inhabitants, about four thousand, were ejected from the home which they had so long colonised, but without any exercise of cruelty. "The Frenchmen," say the chroniclers, "entered and possessed the town; and forthwith all the men, women, and children were commanded to leave their houses, and to go to certain places appointed for them to remain in, till order might be taken for their sending away. The places thus appointed for them to remain in were chiefly four, the two churches of Our Lady and St. Nicholas, the deputy's house, and the stable, where they rested a great part of that day, and one whole night, and the next day till 3 o'clock at afternoon, without either meat or drink. And while they were thus in the churches, and those other places, the duke of Guise, in the name of the French king, in their hearing made a proclamation, charging all and every person that were inhabitants of the town of Calais, having about them any money, plate, or jewels to the value

* Ellis, "Original Letters," Second Series, vol. ii.
† Fuller, "Church History," book viii.

of one groat, to bring the same forthwith, and lay it down upon the high altars of the said churches, upon pain of death; bearing them in hand also that they should be searched. By reason of which proclamation, there was made a great and sorrowful offertory. And while they were at this offertory within the churches, the Frenchmen entered into their houses, and rifled the same, where was found inestimable riches and treasures; but especially of ordnance, armour, and other munitions. Thus dealt the French with the English, in lieu and recompence of the like usage to the French when the forces of king Philip prevailed at St. Quentin; where, not content with the honour of victory, the English in sacking the town sought nothing more than the satisfying of their greedy vein of covetousness, with an extreme neglect of all moderation."

Within the marches of Calais the English held the two small fortresses of Guisnes and Hammes. Guisnes was defended with obstinate courage by lord Grey, and did not surrender till the 20th of January. His loss amounted to eight hundred men. From Hammes the English garrison made their escape by night. In the midst of the national irritation at this great discomfiture, the parliament assembled on the 20th of January. The chief business was that of granting a subsidy to carry on the war against the French king and the Scots, who "daily do practise by all dishonourable ways and means, with the aid and power of all their confederates and allies, to annoy their majesties and this their realm, and other the dominions of the same; and by all likelihood, if opportunity of time and place so permit, do mind to make some invasion into sundry parts of this realm, as well upon the sea-coast as elsewhere." * The forces of the country were probably never in a less efficient state. The greater portion of the reign of Mary had been spent in persecution, and in the detection and punishment of conspirators. The nation was out of heart, thoroughly hating the Spanish alliance, and almost ready to welcome a French or Scottish invasion, if it were to drive out a weak and cruel government. If the administration of Scotland had been less divided in opinion, an army might have crossed the border with little chance of effectual resistance. The want of the material means of warfare appears perfectly ludicrous. There is a letter to the earl of Shrewsbury, the president of the Council of the North, dated October, 1557, in which the writer earnestly begs that ships laden with corn may be sent from Newcastle to Berwick, instead of carrying the corn by land, "which is impossible to do, for all the carriages between York and Newcastle, and all the sacks within twenty miles of Newcastle will not serve that turn." † The subsidy granted by the clergy and laity was employed in fitting out a fleet, to co-operate with a squadron of king Philip in laying waste the French coast. The English ships were under the command of the high admiral, lord Clinton. Their success, if success it could be called, was of the most paltry nature. The combined English and Flemish landed near the town of Conquet, having been destined for an attack upon Brest. After pillaging and burning small towns and villages they retreated to their ships, without attempting any exploit that would have influenced the fortune of the war. An English squadron, by a successful co-operation with the Spanish infantry at Gravelines, contributed to an important victory. But in

* 4 & 5 Philip & Mary, c. 11.

† Lodge, "Illustrations," vol. i. p. 284.

this short period of hostilities during the reign of Mary, there was nothing accomplished which could be held to redeem the disgrace of Calais. England had fallen. The time was near at hand when the world should see "a noble and puissant nation, rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking his invincible locks." *

In October 1558, the queen once more entertained the delusion that she should present her subjects with a successor to the throne. An ambassador arrived from Philip to offer his congratulations "on the best piece of news which he had received since his grief for the loss of Calais." When this ambassador, the count de Feria, saw Mary, he found her dying of the dropsy, with which she had been long afflicted. She was so ill, that it became necessary to discuss the question of the succession; and Mary showed no displeasure, but the contrary, when it was proposed that Elizabeth should be declared her successor.† The count de Feria, on the 10th of November, had an interview with Elizabeth. He brought a kind message from Philip; and he endeavoured to impress the princess with the belief that the declaration of her right to the crown was to be attributed to the good offices of the king, and not to Mary or her council. Elizabeth desired to acknowledge the kindness which she had received from Philip when she was in prison; but she declared that she owed her present position to the people. De Feria says, in his despatch, "It appears to me, that she is a woman of extreme vanity, but acute. I would say that she must have great admiration for the king her father's mode of carrying on matters. I fear much that in religion she will not go right, as I perceive her inclined to govern by men who are held to be heretics; and they tell me that the ladies who are most about her are all so. Besides this, she shows herself highly indignant at the things done against her in the lifetime of the queen. She is much attached to the people, and is very confident that they are all on her side (which is indeed true); indeed she gave me to understand that the people had placed her where she now is. On this point she will acknowledge no obligations either to your majesty or to her nobles, although she says they have one and all of them sent her their promise to remain faithful. Indeed there is not a heretic or traitor in all the country who has not started as if from the grave to seek her with expressions of the greatest pleasure." The ambassador adds some remarks upon those who were likely to be the favourites of Elizabeth: "I am told for certain that Cecil, who was secretary to king Edward, will be her secretary also. He has the character of a prudent and virtuous man, although a heretic." ‡

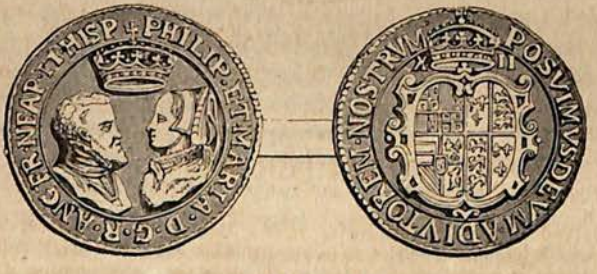
On the 7th of November queen Mary had sent for the speaker of the House of Commons, the parliament having assembled on the 5th, and informed him that conferences for peace between England, Spain, and France had been opened at Cambray. On the 17th, the queen was no more. She is stated to have said, "When I die, Calais will be found written on my heart." The more terrible events of her reign—the persecutions which will ever be associated with her memory—were most probably not regarded by her either

* Milton, "Areopagitica."

† Letter from a counsellor of Philip, in Gonzales' "Transactions of the Royal Historical Academy of Madrid." Tytler, vol. ii. p. 497. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 498.

as calamities or crimes. Cardinal Pole only survived the queen twenty-four hours. Charles V. had, two months before, closed his career in a spirit of fanaticism which, although a cruel persecutor, he often kept under subjection to his policy. In a codicil to his will, the emperor conjures his son, most earnestly, by the obedience he owes him, to follow up and bring to justice every heretic in his dominions; and this without exception, and without favour or mercy to any one. He implores Philip to cherish the Holy Inquisition, as the best instrument for accomplishing this good work. "So," he concludes, "shall you have my blessing, and the Lord shall prosper all your undertakings." *

* Prescott, "Philip II.," book i. chap. ix.



Shilling of Philip and Mary.

Great Seal of Queen Elizabeth.

CHAPTER VIII.

Elizabeth proclaimed queen—She refuses to attend Mass on Christmas-day—Philip proposes marriage to Elizabeth—The Commons request that she would marry—Her answer—The Coronation progress through the City—Cecil's plans for the restoration of Protestantism—Opening of Parliament—Statute for restoring the supremacy to the Crown—Statute for the Uniformity of Common Prayer—Deprivation of bishops—Peace with France—Pretensions of Mary Stuart—Elizabeth the head of the Protestant party of Europe—Scotland—Hostility of the queen-regent of Scotland to the Reformers—Their desire for an alliance with England—French troops sent to Scotland—England sends an army and fleet—Siege of Leith—Peace concluded at Edinburgh—Assembly of the parliament of Scotland—Acts establishing the reformed religion—Mary refuses to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh—Death of Francis II.—Mary determines to return to Scotland—Elizabeth refuses her a safe conduct—Mary embarks at Calais—Arrival in Scotland—Contrasts in the fortunes of Mary and Elizabeth.

On the 17th of November, 1558, the day of her half-sister's death, Elizabeth was proclaimed queen by the Lords of the Council. It is a remarkable fact connected with the popularity of this reign, that the 17th of November was called "The Queen's Day," up to very recent times. Sir John Harrington has preserved the speech which she made to the council at her accession, in which she requires their assistance; "that I with my ruling, and you with your service, may make a good account to Almighty God, and leave some comfort to our posterity in earth." * Her speech to Cecil, from the same authority, is more characteristic:—"I give you this charge, that you shall be of my privy council, and content yourself to take pains for me and my realm. This judgment I have of you, that you will not be corrupted

* "Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. i. p. 56.

with any manner of gift, and that you will be faithful to the state, and that, without respect of my private will, you will give me that counsel that you think best: and if you shall know any thing necessary to be declared to me of secresy, you shall show it to myself only, and assure yourself I will not fail to keep taciturnity therein. And therefore, herewith I charge you."

The unanimity with which the accession of Elizabeth was received, even by the servants of the late queen, may be ascribed to the caution with which she concealed her intentions on the subject of religion. The release of all prisoners confined for religious opinions, which took place upon her entry into London on the 24th of November, might have been considered only as a politic act of grace. Her exception of Bonner to the cordial reception which she gave to the bishops might have passed without any marked inference. But on the Christmas-day there was an occurrence which could not be mistaken, as far as regarded the queen's personal opinions. It is thus related, in a letter of sir William Fitzwilliam:—"This night I came home late from London; and for news you shall understand that yesterday, being Christmas-day, the queen's majesty repaired to her great closet with her nobles and ladies as hath been accustomed in such high feasts; and she passing a bishop preparing himself to mass, all in the old form, she tarried there until the Gospel was done; and when all the people looked for her to have offered according to the old fashion, she with her nobles returned again from the closet and the mass unto her privy chamber, which was strange unto divers."* The refusal to hear mass was followed, two days after, by a proclamation forbidding the elevation of the Host, and all unlicensed preaching. It was also ordered that the Gospels and Epistles, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, and the Litany, should be used in English.

According to the custom of sovereign princes Elizabeth despatched messengers to the various European courts announcing her accession. Amongst these the pope was included. There can be little doubt that the queen and her ministers desired to temporise, in some degree. The arrogant Paul IV. replied to Elizabeth's messenger, that it was great boldness in her to assume the crown without his consent, and that she must submit all her claims to his decision. Philip of Spain thought that the principles of Elizabeth were so unsettled, that she might consent to marry him, upon the condition that she should become Catholic. He proposed himself as her husband within a month after her accession. She received these proposals with great civility; and gave, at first, no decided refusal. Philip hoped to obtain a fairer bride than the wife he had lost. Elizabeth was thus described in 1557 by Micheli, the Venetian:—"The princess is as beautiful in mind as she is in body; though her countenance is rather pleasing from its expression, than beautiful. She is large and well-made; her complexion clear, and of an olive tint; her eyes are fine, and her hands, on which she prides herself, small and delicate. She has an excellent genius, with much address and self-command, as was abundantly shown in the severe trials to which she was exposed in the earlier part of her life. In her temper she is haughty and imperious, qualities inherited from her father, king Henry VIII.,

* Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 262.

who from her resemblance to himself, is said, to have regarded her with peculiar fondness." Elizabeth told the ambassador of Philip that she could take no step without consulting her parliament. The two houses met on the 21st of January, six days after the queen's coronation. She had soon the opportunity of declaring her opinions on the subject of marriage. On the 10th of February the Commons waited upon her with an address that she would vouchsafe some match capable of supplying heirs to her royal virtues and dominions. Elizabeth's answer was as follows:*—"The queen, after a sweet graced silence, with a princely countenance and voice, and with a gesture somewhat quick but not violent, returned answer, that she gave them great thanks (as she saw great cause) for the love and care which they did express as well towards her person as the whole state of the realm; 'and first,' said she, 'for the manner of your petition, I like it well, and take it in good part, because it is simple, without any limitation, either of person or place. If it had been otherwise; if you had taken upon you to confine, or rather to bind, my choice; to draw my love to your likings; to frame my affections according unto your fantasy; I must have disliked it very much; for as, generally, the will desireth not a larger liberty in any case than in this, so had it been a great presumption for you to direct, to limit, to command me herein, to whom you are bound in duty to obey. Concerning the substance of your suit, since my years of understanding, since I was first able to take consideration of myself, I have hitherto made choice of a single life, which hath best, I assure you, contented me, and, I trust, hath been most acceptable to God; from which, if, either ambition or high estate, offered unto me by the pleasure and appointment of my prince, whereof I have some testimony in this place (as you our treasurer well do know); or, if avoiding the malice of my enemies, or the very danger of death itself, whose messenger, or rather continual watchman, the prince's indignation, was daily before my eyes; if any of these, I say, could have dissuaded me, I had not now remained as I do. But so constant have I always continued in this determination—albeit my words and my youth may happily seem hardly to agree—that it is most true I stand now free from any other meaning. Nevertheless, if any of you suspect that, in case it shall please God hereafter to change my purpose, I will determine something to the prejudice of the realm, put the jealousy out of your heads, for I assure you—what credit my assurance have with you, I cannot tell, but what it doth determine to have, the sequel shall declare—I will never conclude anything in that matter which shall be hurtful to the realm, for the preservation and prosperity whereof as a loving mother I will never spare to spend my life. And upon whomsoever my choice shall fall, he shall be as careful for your preservation,—I will not say as myself, for I cannot for another as for myself,—but my will and best endeavour shall not fail that he shall be as careful for you as myself. And albeit it shall please God that I still persevere in a virgin's state, yet you must not fear but he will so work, both in my heart and in your wisdom, that provision shall be made, in convenient time, whereby the realm shall not remain

* Sir Simonds d'Ewes kept a record of the parliamentary proceedings during the whole of this reign, which is accepted as authority. We give the speech of Elizabeth from Sir John Hayward, which contains the substance of d'Ewes's report.—"First Four Years of Queen Elizabeth." Camden Society, p. 31.

destitute of an heir who may be a fit governor, and, peradventure, more beneficial than such offspring as I should bring forth, for, although I be careful of your well-doings, and ever purpose so to be, yet may my issue degenerate, and grow out of kind. The dangers which you fear are neither so certain, nor of such nature, but you may repose yourselves upon the providence of God, and the good provisions of the state. Wits curious in casting things to come are often hurtful, for that the affairs of this world are subject to so many accidents that seldom doth that happen which the wisdom of men doth seem to foresee. As for me, it shall be sufficient that a marble shall declare that a queen, having lived and reigned so many years, died a virgin. And here I end, and take your coming in very good part, and again give hearty thanks to you all; yet more for your zeal, and good meaning, than for the matter of your suit."

The progress of the queen from the Tower to Westminster, on the 14th of January, previous to her coronation on the 15th, is described by Holinshed with an extraordinary fulness. The pageants were of the most gorgeous description; but the chronicler dwells with an evident satisfaction upon the minutest circumstances that illustrate the demeanour of Elizabeth. It is clear that she felt that her strong hold upon power was to be found in the affections of the people. She was the first sovereign of England that built up the security of dominion upon so broad a foundation. She had enough of the "haughty and imperious qualities inherited from her father;" but from the very first she had the wisdom to see that the days had gone by when a king could repose safely upon the fear of the nobles or the amity of the churchmen. She desired to be loved and obeyed by a People, and not by a class. She and her wise advisers had taken their resolution to abide by Protestantism, with a conviction that the English were a people unsuited for burnings and inquisitions. The determination was not to be carried out without danger and difficulty; but the affections of the People would make that easy which would have been impossible to a selfish despotism. Let us see how Elizabeth cultivated those affections in the simplest courtesies of a city pageant:—"When the people made the air ring with praying to God for her prosperity, she thanked them with exceeding liveliness both of countenance and voice, and wished neither prosperity nor safety to herself, which might not be for their common good. As she passed by the Companies of the city, standing in their homes, she took particular knowledge of them, and graced them with many witty formalities of speech. She diligently both observed and commended such devices as were presented to her, and to that end sometimes caused her coach to stand still, sometimes to be removed to places of best advantage for hearing and for sight; and in the meantime fairly entreated the people to be silent. And when she understood not the meaning of any representation, or could not perfectly hear some speeches that were made, she caused the same to be declared unto her. When the recorder of the city presented to her a purse of crimson satin, very richly and curiously wrought, and therein a thousand marks in gold, with request that she would continue a gracious mistress to the city; she answered, That she was bound in a natural obligation so to do, not so much for their gold, as for their good wills: that as they had been at great expense of treasure that day, to honour her passage, so all the days of her life she would be ready to expend not only

her treasure, but the dearest drops of her blood, to maintain and increase their flourishing state. When she espied a Pageant at the Little Conduit in Cheape, she demanded (as it was her custom in the rest) what should be represented therein: answer was made, that Time did there attend for her: 'Time? (said she) how is that possible, seeing it is time that hath brought me hither?' Here a bible in English richly covered was let down unto her by a silk lace from a child that represented Truth. She kissed both her hands, with both her hands she received it, then she kissed it; afterwards applied it to her breast; and lastly held it up, thanking the city especially for that gift, and promising to be diligent reader thereof. When any good wishes were cast forth for her virtuous and religious government, she would lift up her hands towards Heaven, and desire the people to answer, Amen. When it was told her that an ancient citizen turned his head back and wept: 'I warrant you,' said she, 'it is for joy;' and so in very deed it was. She cheerfully received not only rich gifts from persons of worth, but nosegays, flowers, rosemary-branches, and such like presents, offered unto her from very mean persons, insomuch as it may truly be said, that there was neither courtesy nor cost cast away that day upon her. It is incredible how often she caused her coach to stay, when any made offer to approach unto her, whether to make petition, or whether to manifest their loving affections."*

The parliament which met on the 21st of January, 1559, had a task before it which required the greatest discretion. A great ecclesiastical revolution was to be accomplished, with as little violence as possible, and with some show of conciliation. Cecil was the chief adviser of Elizabeth. He was the first person sworn of her privy council; and to his sagacity must be attributed the comprehensive view which was taken of the whole domestic and foreign policy of the country. During the reign of Mary, the retired secretary of Edward VI., who had been so sound a Protestant, was one of those who outwardly conformed to the Roman Catholic religion, though unlike Paget, Petre, and others of Edward's counsellors, he held no office. But he was on terms of friendship with Cardinal Pole; and he lived in affluence and security. The statements of some over-zealous writers that, under Mary, he was a conscientious adherent to protestant opinions, are disproved by documents which show that he attended mass, and confessed to the priest, in the parish in which he held church-lands. He was more happily employed than in the disgusting service of persecution in which Mary's ministers were engaged. He was superintending his mother's property at Burleigh; making additions to the old family house there; holding correspondence about purchasing ewes, and setting kernels of apples, and pears, and chestnuts. It is interesting information to him that his fawns do well in the closes where the maidens go to milk, and that his calves are to be put in the horse-pasture when the snows shall be gone.† These unambitious occupations were Cecil's safety; and in his years of comparative freedom from business of state, he was enabled to devise a broad plan of action if the sceptre should again pass into the hands of a protestant ruler. He was held by the Romanists, as we have seen, to have "the character of a prudent and virtuous man, although a heretic."

* This description by Sir John Hayward is a condensation of the more interesting points of Holinshed's account.

† Letter in Tytler, vol. ii. p. 489.

When the time for action arrived, Elizabeth had the benefit of those earnest yet temperate convictions which he had formed during his retirement. He had studied the temper of the people of England. He knew the character of the princess, who, in all probability, would quickly succeed to the throne. When Cecil was called to the councils of Elizabeth he was prepared with the whole scheme for the restoration of Protestantism. He saw all the dangers of the course that was to be pursued; but he did not counsel evasion of its difficulties; or any delay beyond the time for the meeting of parliament. His "Device for the alteration of religion" is an interesting document, which has been thus abridged by Camden:*

"It seemed necessary for the queen to do nothing before a parliament were called; for only from that assembly could the affections of the people be certainly gathered. The next thing she had to do, was to balance the dangers that threatened her both from abroad and at home. The Pope would certainly excommunicate and depose her, and stir up all Christian princes against her. The king of France would lay hold of any opportunity to embroil the nation; and by the assistance of Scotland, and of the Irish, might perhaps raise troubles in her dominions. Those that were in power in queen Mary's time, and remained firm to the old superstition, would be discontented at the Reformation of religion; the bishops and clergy would generally oppose it; and since there was a necessity of demanding subsidies, they would take occasion, by the discontent the people would be in on that account, to inflame them; and those who would be dissatisfied at the retaining of some of the old ceremonies, would on the other hand disparage the changes that should be made, and call the religion a cloaked papistry, and so alienate many of the most zealous from it. To remedy all these things, it was proposed to make peace with France, and to cherish those in that kingdom that desired the Reformation. The courses and practices of Rome were not much to be feared. In Scotland those must be encouraged who desired the like change in religion; and a little money among the heads of the families in Ireland, would go a great way. And for those who had borne rule in Queen Mary's time, ways were to be taken to lessen their credit throughout England; they were not to be too soon trusted or employed, upon pretence of turning; but those who were known to be well affected to religion, and the queen's person, were to be sought after and encouraged. The bishops were generally hated by the nation: it would be easy to draw them within the statute of Præmunire, and upon their falling into it, they must be kept under it, till they had renounced the pope, and consented to the alterations that should be made. The commissions of the peace, and for the militia, were to be carefully reviewed, and such men were to be put in them, as would be firm to the queen's interests. When the changes should be made, some severe punishments would make the rest more readily submit. Great care was to be had of the universities, and other public schools, as Eton and Winchester, that the next generation might be betimes seasoned with the love and knowledge of religion. Some learned men, as Bill, Parker, May, Cox, Whitehead, Grindall, Pilkington, and sir Thomas Smith, were to be ordered to meet and consider of the Book of Service. In the meanwhile the people were to be restrained from innovating

* As translated by Burnet.

without authority; and the queen, to give some hope of a Reformation, might appoint the Communion to be given in both kinds."

Sir Nicholas Bacon, the brother-in-law of Cecil—a lawyer who had filled no important office, and had attained no great distinction—was appointed lord keeper. He opened the session of parliament with a speech of which the moderation was the most remarkable feature. He exhorted the members to "fly from all manner of contentions, reasonings, and disputations, and all sophistical, captious, and frivolous arguments and quiddities, meeter for ostentation of wit than consultation of weighty matters." He trusted that "contumelious and opprobrious words, such as heretic, schismatic, papist," would be banished out of men's mouths. He implored them to use great and wary consideration that nothing be advised or done, which might "breed or nourish any kind of idolatry or superstition;" but, on the other hand, to take heed lest, by "licentious or loose handling, any manner of occasion be given, whereby any contempt or irreverent behaviour towards God and godly things, or any spice of irreligion might creep in, or be conceived." * It was certainly in a spirit of moderation that the parliament, though decidedly Protestant, proceeded to establish the great religious change by statute law. The first Statute is called, "an Act restoring to the Crown the ancient jurisdiction over the state ecclesiastical and spiritual, and abolishing all foreign power repugnant to the same." The Lords and Commons say that by the repeal by Philip and Mary of the statutes of Henry VIII., the queen's subjects "were eftsoons brought under an assumed foreign power and authority, and yet do remain in that bondage." Two temporal lords, the archbishop of York, eight bishops, and the abbot of Westminster, opposed this bill. Lord Montacute, who, with the bishop of Ely, had negotiated with the pope that England might be restored to the unity of the church of Rome, contended that "the hazard would be as great as the scandal, should the pope thunder out his excommunication; and expose the nation, by that means, to the resentment of its neighbouring enemies." † The government of Elizabeth was not to be frightened by the thunders of the Vatican. It went steadily forward in carrying the measures necessary for bringing back the kingdom to its ecclesiastical condition at the end of the reign of Edward VI. In the act against foreign jurisdiction the statute for receiving the Sacrament of the Altar in both kinds was restored; and the statute of Philip and Mary for reviving the old laws for the punishment of heresies was repealed. All archbishops, bishops, judges, and all ministers and officers spiritual and temporal, were to make a declaration upon oath, "that the queen's highness is the only supreme governor of this realm, and of all other her highness's dominions and countries, as well in all spiritual or ecclesiastical things or causes, as temporal." The title "supreme governor" was adopted in preference to that of "head of the church." The penalties under this act, against persons maintaining the authority of any foreign prince or prelate were,—fine and imprisonment for a first offence; the incurring a præmunire for the second; and death for a third, as in cases of high treason. The sagacious statesman. Walsingham, pointed out the lenity of this law, as compared with the statutes of Henry VIII., "whereby the oath of supremacy might have been offered at the king's pleasure to any

* As reported by D'Ewes. "Parliamentary History," vol. i. p. 638. † *Ibid.*, p. 659.

subject, so he kept his conscience never so modestly to himself, and the refusal to take the same oath, without further circumstances, was made treason. But contrariwise, her majesty not liking to make windows into men's hearts and secret thoughts, except the abundance of them did overflow into overt and express acts, or affirmations, tempered her law so as it restraineth every manifest disobedience, in impugning and impeaching, advisedly and maliciously, her majesty's supreme power, maintaining and extolling a foreign jurisdiction." * In contrast to this, we must not forget that some of the laws against Roman Catholics, in a later period of this reign, were conceived in a far less moderate spirit. By this law of the first year of Elizabeth, it was provided that the commissioners who might be appointed by the crown to exercise spiritual and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, were not to adjudge matters to be heresy, but such as had been decided to be so by the Holy Scripture, or by the first four General Councils. This provision is held to be "equivalent to an exemption of Roman Catholics, as such, from the imputation of heresy." † Care was also taken, under the Act which was passed "for the uniformity of Common Prayer" to omit from the Service book of Edward VI., the offensive passage in the liturgy, praying for deliverance "from the bishop of Rome, and all his detestable enormities." Yet the change thus established was so sweeping, after six years of the Latin mass-book, that we cannot be surprised that nine prelates and nine temporal peers voted against the statute. In the Commons there was only one dissentient. The Act must, however, have been felt as a great grievance by a large body; for it absolutely interdicted the celebration of the Catholic rites, even in private; and rendered all persons who should absent themselves from church, on Sundays and holidays, liable to a fine of one shilling. The statute was, as all enactments are which interfere with the rights of conscience, capable of being converted into an instrument of public oppression or private malice. Many Roman Catholics went into exile, to avoid imprisonment under the authority of the Court of High Commission. The moderation which was professed by the government of Elizabeth was in some degree rendered difficult, if not impossible, by the uncompromising temper of the clergy in convocation. Disregarding a warning from the queen, they set forth a document asserting the supremacy of the pope, the real presence in the sacrament, and the exclusive right of the church to treat of doctrine and regulate public worship. A solemn disputation, the lord-keeper presiding, was held in Westminster Abbey, between catholic and protestant divines, which only produced mutual irritation. The new statutes for taking the oath of supremacy, and for the use of the English liturgy, came into operation on midsummer-day, 1559. Fifteen bishops refused the oath; and resigned their sees, or were deprived. There were ten vacant sees. Only two bishops conformed. A very small proportion of the beneficed clergy surrendered their livings. At the end of the year Matthew Parker was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury; and he then proceeded to the consecration of four other bishops, who had been exiles in the time of Mary.

There were some peculiarities in Elizabeth's religious opinions which were not wholly in accordance with the great change which her government had carried through with so little opposition. She had a dislike to the marriages

* Burnet, part ii. book 3. † Mackintosh, "History," vol. iii. p. 10.

of the clergy; and she had a lingering fondness for some of the gorgeous ceremonies of Catholicism. But to the general principles of Protestantism she was fully committed, not only by inclination, but by the force of political circumstances. A peace with France was concluded in April, 1559, in which the restoration of Calais was postponed for eight years, under a condition that if either party acted in contravention of the treaty, all claim to the disputed territory should be forfeited. At the congress during the last days of queen Mary, the English envoys said, that if they returned without the recovery of Calais they would be stoned to death by the people. The condition in the treaty of April was evidently introduced only to conciliate this popular feeling, by the delusion that the old conquest had not been irrevocably lost. Scotland was included in this peace. Philip II., of Spain, and Henry II., of France, were now free to pursue their plans for the extermination of heretics; and their friendship was completed by the marriage of Philip with Elizabeth, the daughter of Henry. The duke of Alva officiated as his sovereign's proxy. In the tournaments which followed this wedding, the French king was acci-

Crown of Queen Elizabeth.

dentally killed by the lance of Montgomery, a young Scottish noble. He was succeeded by his eldest son, who became Francis II. Mary Stuart was now queen of France. She was the next heiress to the throne of England. According to the Catholic notions of that time that the pope had the disposal of earthly crowns, a pretence was set up that Elizabeth's claim having been rejected by the pope, the queen of France and Scotland was now also the lawful queen of England. Amongst Cecil's papers there are "notes of queen Elizabeth's reign," in which are the following entries, under the year 1559:

Jan. 16. "The dauphin of France, and his wife, queen of Scots, did by the style of king and queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland, grant to the Lord Fleming certain things."

June 28. "The justs at Paris, wherein the king dauphin's two heralds were appareled with the arms of England and Scotland."

July 16. "Ushers, going before the queen of Scots, being now the French queen, to the chapel, cry, '*Place pour la Reine d'Angleterre.*' "

At the marriage of the French king's daughter there were shown escutcheons of the arms of Scotland and England, as "the arms of Mary, queen dolphin of France," recording, moreover, that she was of Scotland

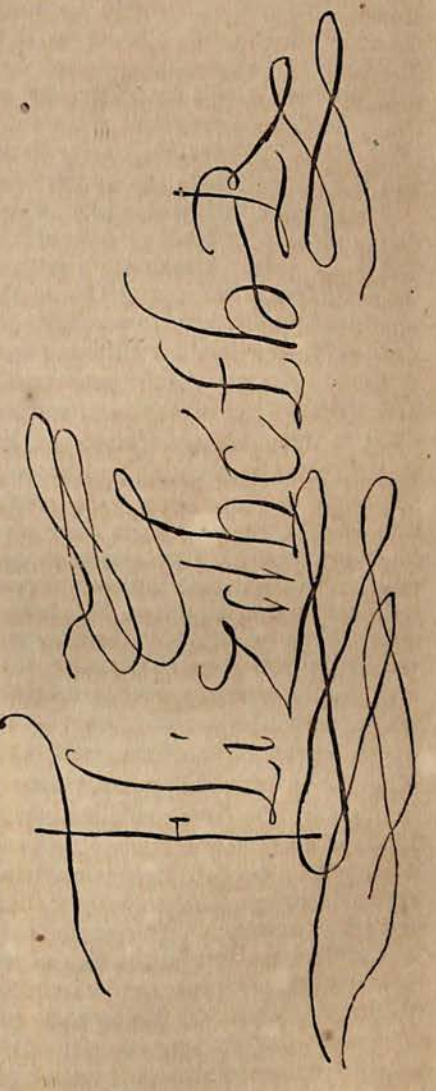
queen, of England, and of Ireland. The constable Montmorency interfered to stay these dangerous exhibitions. But these pretensions were stimulated by Mary's ambitious relatives of the house of Guise; and they became the foundation of that hostility which was the cause of so much disquiet to Elizabeth, and of such dire calamity to Mary. Scotland became a theatre for the contests between a French party, representing Roman Catholic interests, and the national party of Reformers, with whom Elizabeth allied herself. When the connection of Mary with France was terminated by the death of her boyish husband, she came to a government in which her own opinions were opposed to those of the predominant religious power, and she became an alien amidst a majority of her subjects.

The character and position of Elizabeth very soon placed her at the head of the Protestant party of Europe; and her whole reign must be viewed with reference to this leadership. It was a struggle which called forth all the decision of her own nature, all the prudence of her counsellors, and all the energies of her people. This was a great period, in which the English mind asserted itself with a vigour and independence which heralded every future triumph of the national intellect and the national courage. There was a battle for life and death going on in Europe, and England was joined in the battle with the weaker numerical party. The serious differences between the various Protestant persuasions;—the hostilities between the puritan party at home and the church, which had retained many of the ceremonials of the ancient faith;—these dissensions did not disqualify Elizabeth from being the acknowledged head of the reformed religion. The great leader of the Roman Catholic party was Philip II. England had as her companions in the struggle, the Scandinavian countries, and those who spoke the German language on the eastern shores of the Baltic. A large part of Germany was Protestant. "A Venetian ambassador reckons that only a tenth part of the inhabitants of Germany had remained faithful to the old religion." * In France Protestantism had taken root; but its growth was to be stopped by barbarities which were in contemplation when Elizabeth came to the throne. In the Netherlands Charles V. and his son were pursuing the work of extermination. Spain was in the grasp of the Inquisition; one of the powers which had been organised to support the Church of Rome in the contest which had assumed such formidable dimensions. Another engine devised for the security of Catholicism was the Order of the Jesuits. With the Inquisition and the Jesuits, the papal power had a devoted army at its command, every member of which was prepared to extinguish heresy by force or by cunning. When these spiritual arms were wielded under the temporal power of a determined bigot such as Philip II., such scenes of horror were exhibited as still curdle the blood when they are related. Such scenes would probably have been exhibited in England had the throne not been left vacant for the accession of Elizabeth. Had Philip ruled here, the spirit of her people might have been crushed, as Spain was crushed two centuries ago, when "the hand of the Inquisition drew the line which said, No Further." † The time was coming when the English government, not only for its own safety, but for the assertion of a high principle, would have to mix itself up

* Ranke, vol. ii. p. 12.

† Prescott, Philip II.

with the affairs of Scotland in a way which involved much dissembling policy and many acts which the spirit of better times must regard as oppressive; but which could scarcely be avoided in the position of self-defence which England was compelled to take against the force and intrigue which would have subjected that portion of the island to a foreign Catholic domination. The time was close at hand when England would have to fight the Protestant battle, by giving aid to the reformed faith in France and the Netherlands. The government of Elizabeth had taken its side, and wisely, because the cause of Protestantism was the cause of progress. The bold, masculine signature of Elizabeth to the State Papers in which she proclaimed her consistent adherence to the opinions upon which political and religious liberty were eventually to be built—a liberty much more enlarged than she and her advisers could contemplate—was the terror of superstition and tyranny; and when we look upon that signature let us never forget, amongst her many faults, what we owe to that great woman.



From the time when the ecclesiastical policy of the government of Elizabeth was fully manifest, the affairs of Scotland became all-important to England. In the relations, either by Scottish or English historians, of the complicated transactions between the two countries for more than forty years, it has been too generally assumed that the intrigues of England were constantly fomenting the divisions of Scotland; and, to use the words of one of the most sensible of antiquaries "Elizabeth has been set forth in this respect as the very demon of discord, ever occupied in blowing coals of strife."* This writer adds, "Upon this point we desire to see an entire revision of the historical evidence." At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign the connexion of the house of Guise with the queen of Scotland—a house determined to oppose Protestantism by the most violent proceedings—made

* Mr. Bruce. Introduction to Letters of Elizabeth and James VI., p. xx.

the watchfulness and even hostile intervention of England a measure of self-defence. Cecil broadly laid down this principle: "It is agreeable to God's law for every prince and public state to defend itself, not only from present peril, but from perils that may be feared to come. It is manifest that France cannot any way so readily, so puissantly offend, yea, invade and put the crown of England in danger, as if they recover an absolute authority over Scotland. The long, deep-rooted hatred of the house of Guise, which now occupieth the king's authority, against England, is well known." * Although the foolish demonstrations of a claim to the throne of England on the part of the queen of Scotland had been disavowed by the French minister, that claim was not allowed to sleep by the bigoted uncles of Mary. In 1559 a great seal was sent to Scotland, on which were engraved the arms of France, Scotland, and England. Elizabeth had to choose between two policies; either to unite in friendship with the cousin who indirectly claimed not only succession but a prior title to the English crown—a queen whose stedfast opposition to the reformed religion was at variance with the opinions of her own subjects;—or to manifest a sympathy with the Protestant leaders in Scotland, who were bent upon resisting the attempts of the French to rule over them. One of the reformed leaders, Maitland of Lethington, wrote to Cecil, "When we see them, the French, attempt conquest, and you, the English, show us friendship, shall we not hate them and favour you, especially now that we are come to a conformity of doctrine?" The differences between the regent, the mother of Mary, and the Scottish reformers, were coming to a head. By the assistance of the reformers she had attained her own position as the actual ruler of the country; and the dauphin of France, the husband of her daughter, had been recognised as king of Scotland. But after the peace of 1559 she was won over to the designs of the house of Guise for the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in Europe, and, as a necessary consequence, for putting down the Reformation in Scotland, and eventually for removing Elizabeth from the throne of England. The queen-regent of Scotland boldly issued a proclamation for conformity of religion; in which all persons were commanded to resort daily to mass and confession. She was reminded of her promises of toleration, by some of the Lords of the Congregation—the leaders of the reformers being so styled—to whom she replied that "promises ought not to be urged upon princes, unless they can conveniently fulfil them." At this juncture John Knox arrived in Scotland. During an absence of two years the doctrines which he had boldly preached in the face of danger had made extraordinary progress; although in many places the ascendancy was still with the Romish party Within a week of his arrival, under the excitement produced by his vehement oratory operating upon the indignation caused by the regent's hostility, there was an outburst of popular fury at Perth, when the religious houses of the Grey Friars and Carthusians were devastated and plundered. The struggle appeared likely to end in bloodshed; for an army was assembled on either side. But a treaty was concluded, which Knox denounced as only intended to deceive. Tranquillity was not long preserved. After various acts of violence, the reformers having obtained possession of Perth, the army

* Forbes' State Papers.

of the Congregation entered Edinburgh on the 29th of June. Knox had at this time prepared a letter to Cecil, in which, addressing the queen, he says, "My eyes have long looked to a perpetual concord betwixt these two realms, the occasion whereof is most present, if you shall move your hearts unfeignedly to seek the same. For humility of Christ Jesus crucified, now begun here to be practised, may join together the hearts of those whom Satan, by pride, have long dissevered. For the furtherance hereof I would have licence to repair towards you. God move your heart rightly to consider the estate of both the realms, which stand in greater danger than many do espy. The common bruit, I doubt not, carrieth unto you the troubles that be lately here risen for the controversy in religion. The truth is, that many of the nobility, the most part of barons and gentlemen, with many towns and one city, have put to their hands to remove idolatry and the monuments of the same. The Reformation is somewhat violent, because the adversaries be stubborn. None that possesseth Christ Jesus with us usurpeth anything against the authorities, neither yet intendeth to usurp, unless strangers be brought in to subdue and bring in bondage the liberties of this poor country; if any such thing be espied, I am uncertain what shall follow." *

The great object of the leaders of the Scottish Reformation was to make a firm alliance with England. They gave repeated assurance to the ministers of Elizabeth that their design did not contemplate sedition or rebellion against any lawful authority. The queen-regent was diligent in spreading the contrary opinion, that their object was to overturn the existing government. Elizabeth was too cautious to give any direct encouragement to subjects to resist their rulers; and she required assurances upon this point, reserving, however, the right of resistance in a case of extreme necessity. Cecil gave them vague promises of support, if such a necessity should arise. A convention was concluded between the regent and the Lords of the Congregation; but neither party trusted to any enduring tranquillity. The regent was looking for support from France; the reformers to England for the aid of men and money. At last Elizabeth rendered some secret assistance; and the Guises, who were now the real rulers of France, sent a force of a thousand Frenchmen to Scotland, who disembarked at Leith. The regent then entrenched and fortified that port, against which proceeding the leaders of the Congregation prematurely remonstrated. At length they made a decided demonstration of war. On the 15th of October they marched into Edinburgh with a force of twelve thousand men; and the regent retired to her stronghold of Leith. The Congregation formed two councils, one for civil affairs, another for religion; and they addressed a letter to the regent, requiring her instantly to command all foreigners and men-at-arms to depart from Leith. She replied, that Frenchmen were naturalised subjects, and commanded the duke of Chastelherault,† who had joined the reformers, and his company, to depart from Edinburgh. They decided that the queen-regent should be deposed from her authority. The army of the Congregation, ill-disciplined, and composed of vassals who would not remain long in the field, was defeated in an assault upon Leith;

* Letter in State Paper Office, given in Tytler's "History of Scotland," vol. vi. p. 131.
† The French title of the earl of Arran, who had been regent at a former period.

and the capital was again occupied by the royal forces. The castle of Edinburgh was, nevertheless, held by the reformers, the governor refusing to surrender it unless under the authority of the parliament, who had committed it to his charge. Elizabeth at last consented to render real and open assistance to the reformers, who entreated her prompt aid upon the sole ground that it was the intention of France to make a conquest of Scotland, and then to dispossess the queen of England of her throne. In January 1560 a treaty was concluded at Berwick, in which the duke of Norfolk agreed with the commissioners of the Congregation, that Elizabeth should send assistance, and that she would support the confederated lords, whilst they recognised Mary as their queen, and maintained the rights of the crown. They stipulated that they would not sanction any other union of Scotland with France than then existed, and, if England should be attacked by France, would furnish an auxiliary force of four thousand men. On the 2nd of April, 1560, lord Grey entered Scotland with an army of two thousand horse and six thousand foot, and was joined at Preston by the army of the Congregation, to the number of eight thousand. The English Council very wisely did not encumber the commander of their army with more than a soldier's work. They sent sir Ralph Sadler to negotiate, and wrote to lord Grey, "Stick not to go through with this enterprise, and your praise will be more than all the rest of your life, if all your life were laid together. Take heed of French enchantments. They will win time of you, if ye take not good heed. Well; thus we leave your lordship to your business."

The Scottish and English army marched on to Leith. The English fleet, under the command of William Winter, had entered the Frith of Forth at the end of January. When Cecil had despatched the squadron, he wrote to Sadler, "our ships be on the seas, God speed them." In the northern parts of Scotland the French had succeeded in forming a league, by which the clans and men of the isles had engaged to uphold the Romish faith and the French authority. The siege of Leith commenced. At this crisis the queen-regent became dangerously ill; and at an interview which she requested with the leaders of the Congregation, at Edinburgh, she endeavoured to reconcile the differences which had led to such extremities; and exhorted them to send both the French and English troops out of the kingdom. She died on the 10th of June. Leith was defended by the French troops with great bravery; and the siege went slowly on. The town was at last surrendered, after the conclusion of a treaty of pacification. Hayward has well described the extremities of hunger to which the garrison had been reduced:—"All this time the English army was well furnished with victuals from all parts of Scotland, and that upon very easy prices. But the French were so straitly girt up within Leith, that no supplies were brought unto them. Hereupon they grew very short in strength of men, and no less in provision of food for those men which they had; the one happening to them by the force of their enemies, the other either by disability or negligence of their friends; so, their old store being spent, they were enforced to make use of everything out of which hunger was able to draw nourishment. The flesh of horses was then more dainty than ever they esteemed venison before; dogs, cats, and vermin of more vile nature were highly valued; vines were stripped of their leaves and tender stalks; grass and weeds were picked up, and being well seasoned with hunger, were

reputed among them for dainties and delicate dishes." Upon its surrender the French governor, D'Oysell, entertained the captains of the besiegers within the fortress; "where," says Stow, "was prepared for them a banquet of thirty or forty dishes, and yet not one either of flesh or fish, saving one of a powdered [salted] horse, as was avouched by one that avowed himself to have tasted thereof."

The peace which put an end to this brief period of English warfare in Scotland, was concluded at Edinburgh on the 6th of July. The negotiations on the part of England had been managed with remarkable skill by Cecil. He succeeded in obtaining from the French commissioners a renunciation of the pretensions to the crown of England, which had been assumed by the king and queen of France; and he obtained a complete recognition of the liberty of conscience for which the reformers had taken up arms. This was most difficult of accomplishment; for they were regarded as rebels to their sovereign. But Cecil insisted that the treaty of Berwick between his mistress and the Lords of the Congregation should be recognised and confirmed. The able minister accomplished this by a flattering "preface" to the article which secured this acknowledgment; "and we," he writes, "content with the kernel, yielded to them the shell to play withal." The Congregation were to be secured by an act of oblivion; a general peace and reconciliation were to take place amongst the nobility and subjects of the land, including the reformers and the adherents to the ancient faith; a Council was to govern the kingdom in the absence of the queen, of whom she was to appoint seven, and the estates five; all foreign troops were to quit the country; and a parliament was to be held in August. In this treaty no express recognition of the reformed worship was introduced; and the bishops and other churchmen who had received injuries, were to be redressed. But the reformers were filled with gratitude to Elizabeth, although she had preserved a strict neutrality upon the great question of religion. Their queen was to send over a commission for assembling a parliament; and they left the future to the well-known disposition of the great body of the people to favour the Reformation.

The treaty of Edinburgh was so unpalatable to the house of Guise, that for nearly a year the queen of Scotland refused to ratify it. The estates of the kingdom, however, assembled, at the time stipulated by the treaty, without receiving any commission from their queen. It was held that the express words of the treaty provided that such a meeting of the estates should be lawful without being so convoked. There was no doubt what course affairs would take; for the question of the legality of the parliament was carried by an overwhelming majority. The first proceeding of the estates was to draw up a Confession of Faith, founded on the reformed doctrines as received by Calvin. The opposition of the bishops and other Romanists was useless. This remarkable summary of doctrine must have been the result of the most careful consideration. The solemn earnestness of its tone was characteristic of the Scottish people and their spiritual leaders in the Reformation. It concludes with this prayer: "Arise, O Lord, and let thy enemeis be confoundit; let theme flee fra thy presence that hait thy godly name: Give thy servandis strenth to speik thy worde in baldness, and lat all natiounis cleif to thy trew knawledge. Amen." * The Confession of Faith was followed up

* "Acts of the Parliament of Scotland," A.D. 1560.

by three Acts, which established the reformed religion upon legislative sanction, much more rapidly and sweepingly than had been accomplished in England; and with a more signal display of intolerance. The first abolished the power and jurisdiction of the pope in Scotland; the second repealed all statutes in favour of the Romish church; and the third provided that all who should say mass, or hear mass, should incur confiscation of goods for the first offence, banishment for the second, and death for the third. During the sitting of this parliament Knox was preaching in Edinburgh with his accustomed vehemence; and he scrupled not to call upon the Protestant leaders to restore the patrimony of the church, which they had appropriated, that it might be applied for the support of ministers, the encouragement of learning, and the assistance of the poor. The proceedings in the parliament of Scotland necessarily gave offence to queen Mary; and she again refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. When

Knox's House, in the Canongate, Edinburgh.

urged to do so by Throckmorton, the English ambassador, she thus addressed him:—"Such answer as the king, my lord and husband, and his council hath made you in that matter, might suffice; but, because you shall know I have reason to do as I do, I will tell you what moveth me to refuse to ratify the treaty; my subjects in Scotland do their duty in nothing, nor have they performed one point that belongeth unto them. I am their queen, and so they call me, but they use me not so. They have done what pleaseth them, and though I have not many faithful subjects there, yet those few that be there on my party, were not present when these matters were done, nor at this assembly. I will have them assemble by my authority, and proceed in their

doings, after the laws of the realm, which they so much boast of, and keep none of them. They have sent hither a poor gentleman to me, whom I disdain to have come in the name of them all, to the king and me, in such a legation. They have sent great personages to your mistress. I am their sovereign, but they take me not so. They must be taught to know their duty." *

On the 6th of December, 1560, Francis II., the young king of France, died, after a reign of seventeen months. His death prevented the execution of a project for rooting the reformed doctrines out of France, by holding an assembly of the States-General, at which all should sign a confession of the catholic faith, which should then be tendered for signature to every person in the kingdom, the refusal to be punished by banishment or death. Mary appears very soon to have determined upon a return to Scotland; hoping, by previous negotiation, to have won over her subjects to a willing obedience. She was admirably fitted by her beauty, her winning manners, and her acute intellect, to obtain the homage of all hearts, could she have resolved to separate herself from the policy of her family, even if she did not choose to conform to the religion which had been so solemnly proclaimed by a vast majority of the Scottish people assembled in parliament. It was determined in Scotland to send as an ambassador to Mary, the lord James Murray, the illegitimate son of James V. He was the chief leader of the Congregation, and was intrusted with full powers to request Mary to return home, if unaccompanied by a foreign force, in which case she might repose with confidence upon the loyalty of her subjects. Murray wisely and bravely stipulated, in opposition to the remonstrances of the reformed ministers, that his sister should be left free to the private exercise of her own religion. After the death of Francis, Elizabeth also sent an ambassador to condole with her; to assure her of the desire of England to remain at peace; but to demand her confirmation of the treaty concluded by her commissioners at Edinburgh. Again Mary refused to ratify this treaty till she had returned to her own kingdom, and submitted the matter to her parliament. In her conferences with Murray, in whom she seems to have firmly trusted, although he was in intimate correspondence with the English government, Mary "did not scruple to admit that the amity between England and Scotland was little agreeable to her, and that, considering the terms of the league lately made betwixt the two realms, she was anxious to have it dissolved." † "Murray," continues the historian, "having secretly met the English ambassador, insidiously betrayed to him everything that had passed between Mary and himself." Throckmorton, in conveying the particulars to Elizabeth, wrote, under date of 29th April, 1561, "At this present, thanks be to God, your majesty hath peace with all the world; and I see no occasion to move unto your majesty or your realm any war from any place or person, but by the queen of Scotland and her means." Those who write of the secret transactions of this period, as imperfectly laid open by official letters, have the craft of Elizabeth, the confiding sincerity of Mary, and the

* Letter of Throckmorton to Elizabeth, in State Paper Office. Tytler's "Scotland" vol. vi. p. 225.

† Tytler. "Scotland," vol. vi. p. 255.

treachery of Murray and his associates always ready for argument or illustration. It would be well to consider what the rupture of the amity between England and Scotland, so desired by Mary, really meant. It meant a civil war in Scotland, which the alliance with England kept down. It meant the establishment of the French interest in Scotland, under the policy of the Guises, which has been thus described: "To put down the Huguenots in France, to encourage the Romanists in England and Scotland, to sow dissensions amongst the Protestant princes of Germany, to support the Council of Trent, now sitting, and, in a word, to concentrate the whole strength of France, Spain, Italy, and the Empire against that great moral and religious revolution, by which light and truth were struggling to break in upon a system of long-established error, was the main object to which they directed their efforts." * That Mary Stuart was fully imbued with the desire to support this main object, and that Elizabeth Tudor was equally resolved to oppose it, may more satisfactorily account for the early hostility between these queens than the received theory that the government of England was "constant in nothing, save in a desire to profit by the strifes and embarrassments of the Scottish people." The able writer who has so justly denounced this prevailing fallacy, says, with a distinct knowledge of the historical evidence, that "there were two principles which consistently regulated the English policy in Scotland during the time of Elizabeth. The one was, a determination that no continental power should interfere by force of arms in Scottish affairs; the other, a similar determination to uphold Protestantism and the Protestant party, in opposition to that party which befriended Mary." † When the queen of Scotland desired to return to her native country, she was assuring the English ambassador, that she was most anxious for the friendship of Elizabeth: "I, for my part, am very desirous to have the perfect and the assured amity of the queen, my good sister; and I will use all the means I can to give her occasion to think that I mean it indeed." She was telling Murray, in confidence, that she desired to have the amity dissolved. Elizabeth, with a perfect knowledge of her real wishes, received the ambassador, D'Oysell, whom Mary had sent to solicit a safe conduct from the queen, either on her voyage to Scotland, or should she land in the English dominions. He was also to ask for a passport for himself to pursue his journey to Scotland. Elizabeth, with undisguised anger, refused both requests. "Let your queen," she said, "ratify the treaty, and she shall experience on my part, either by sea or land, whatever can be expected from a queen, a relation, or a neighbour." It was the point of the renunciation of the present claim to the crown of England that made Elizabeth so resolved. Sir James Mackintosh has pointed out that Dr. Robertson "confounded the right of succession with the claim to possession;" and that "the claim to possession, asserted by the arms, supposed Elizabeth to be an usurper; the right of succession recognised her as a lawful sovereign." ‡ This most unwise pretension of Mary, thus re-asserted by her refusal to ratify the treaty, was a real declaration of hostility, affecting the quiet of the English nation. The refusal of a safe-conduct had undoubtedly the approval of Elizabeth's ministers, who could not forbear to look with

* Tytler, vol. vi. p. 231.
† Mr. Bruce's Introduction to "Letters of Elizabeth and James VI." p. xx.
‡ "History of England," vol. iii. p. 55.

apprehension upon the return to Scotland of one so opposed to their general policy. Their conduct might be ungenerous, but it was not inconsistent. Cecil thus notices the resolve in a letter to the earl of Sussex:—"Many reasons moved us to mislike her passage, but this only served us for answer—that where she had promised to send the queen's majesty a good answer for the ratification of the last league of peace made in Edinburgh, and now had sent none, her majesty would not disguise with her, but plainly would forbear to show her such pleasure until she should ratify it; and, that done, she should not only have free passage, but all helps and gratuities." *

The indignation of Mary at this refusal was such as might have been expected from so high-spirited a woman. Throckmorton has related his interview with her on this occasion, and has reported her address to him, eloquent and slightly sarcastic. She desired her attendants to retire, and thus spoke to the ambassador:—"I know not well my own infirmity, nor how far I may with my passion be transported, but I like not to have so many witnesses of my passions as the queen, your mistress, was content to have when she talked with Monsieur d'Oysell. There is nothing doth more grieve me, than that I did so forget myself, as to require of the queen, your mistress, that favour which I had no need to ask. I needed no more to have made her privy to my journey than she doth me of hers. I may pass well enough home into mine own realm, I think, without her passport or license; for though the late king, your master, used all the impeachment he could, both to stay me and catch me when I came hither, yet you know, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, I came hither safely, and I may have as good means to help me home again, as I had to come hither, if I would employ my friends. Truly, I was so far from evil meaning to the queen, your mistress, that at this time I was more willing to employ her amity to stand me in stead than all the friends I have, and yet you know, both in this realm and elsewhere, I have both friends and allies, and such as would be glad and willing to employ their forces and aid to stand me in stead. You have oftentimes told me, that the amity between the queen, your mistress, and me, was very necessary and profitable for us both; and now I have some reason to think, that the queen, your mistress, is not of that mind, for I am sure, if she were, she would not have refused me thus unkindly. It seemeth she maketh more account of the amity of my disobedient subjects, than she doth of me their sovereign, who am her equal in degree, though inferior in wisdom and experience, her nighest kinswoman and her next neighbour." † At this interview, however, Mary said, with reference to the complaint of her assumption of the arms of England, that she acted under the commandment of Henry, the king of France, and of her husband: "whatsoever was then done was their act, not mine, and since their death I have neither borne the arms, nor used the title, of England."

Amongst the imprudent avowals of Mary was the declaration of her hatred to John Knox, before she had acquired any experience of his severe judgment of her character, and his rough mode of urging his opinions upon her. On the eve of Mary's departure from France, Throckmorton wrote to Elizabeth—"I understand that the queen of Scotland is thoroughly

* Wright's "Queen Elizabeth."
† Keith's "Affairs of Scotland," quoted by Tytler, vol. vi. p. 270.

persuaded that the most dangerous man in all her realm of Scotland, both to her intent there, and the dissolving of the league between your majesty and that realm, is Knox; and therefore is fully determined to use all the means she can devise to banish him thence, or else to assure them that she will never dwell in that country as long as he is there; and to make him the more odious to your majesty, and that at your hands he receive neither courage nor comfort, she mindeth to send very shortly to your majesty, (if she have not already done it,) to lay before you the book that he hath written against the government of women, (which your majesty hath seen already,) thinking thereby to animate your majesty against him." This book of "The Government of Women" was a violent attack, whilst Knox was in exile, upon the rule of Mary Tudor, and his lightest word for her was "Jezabel." There were many other works issued to the same effect as that of Knox, in which a female monarchy was denounced as "monstrous." It may readily be understood how the queen of Scotland thought this book presented an excellent reason for the queen of England giving no countenance to Knox and his adherents. But Throckmorton, who knew how important it was that passion should be subjected to policy, thus gave his opinion about Knox and his "Blast" against female government: "But whatsoever the said queen shall insinuate your majesty of him, I take him to be as much for your majesty's purpose, and that he hath done, and doth daily, as good service for the advancement of your majesty's desire in that country, and to establish a mutual benevolence and common quiet between the two realms, as any man of that nation; his doings wherein, together with his zeal well known, have sufficiently recompensed his faults in writing that book, and therefore he is not to be driven out of that realm." He was not driven out when Mary arrived; and she had a bitter experience how unequal she was, with her ready wit, to cope with the dogged enthusiasm of the great reformer.

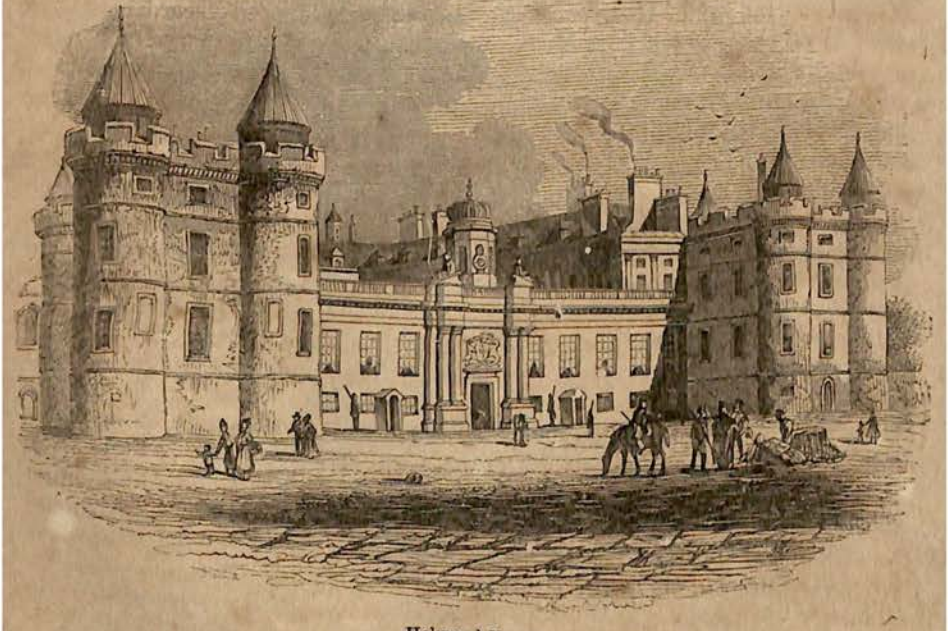
On the 14th of August, 1561, Mary embarked at Calais on her voyage to Scotland. There was an evil omen in the wreck of a vessel before her eyes as she left the harbour. Brantome has recorded those touching displays of her feelings, which show how reluctantly she quitted the country where she had moved amidst the universal homage of a gay court; where pleasures surrounded her on every side; and where there were no severe religionists to interpret the most innocent actions into evidences of immorality. Yet at that dangerous court, where female purity had ceased to be regarded as a virtue, and female prudence was ridiculed and despised, this fascinating woman might have learnt to forget that self-respect which would have shielded her from harm, even amongst the most stern judges of human conduct; and thus France might have been to her a cruel step-mother. She could now only look back upon its shores as the seat of past joys, and exclaim, "Farewell, France!" Again, when the evening was drawing on, would she again gaze, and say, "It is now, my dear France, that I lose sight of thee. I shall never see thee more." Awakened at the first dawning, as she had desired to be, if the coast were still in sight, she exclaimed, "Farewell, France. It is over." On they went to the North Sea, when a fog came on, and they cast anchor in the open sea. It was this fog, according to some writers, which prevented the galleys of Mary being captured by Elizabeth's cruisers. One vessel was taken and carried into port; but, says Tytler, "as

soon as it was discovered that the young queen was not on board, the prize was released, and pursued her voyage into Scotland. The incident, however, demonstrated clearly the sinister intentions of the English queen." This statement is scarcely candid, to say the least. The counter-statement, upon the authority of Cecil, is that the small English squadron was in pursuit of pirates, who were then cruising in the Scottish sea; that this squadron saluted the royal galleys; but detained one baggage vessel, suspected of having pirates on board. "The conduct of the English commanders towards Mary's vessels minutely corresponds with the assurance of Elizabeth, in her letter of the 16th of August, that she suspended her displeasure at the refusal to ratify the treaty, and had given orders to her naval officers which were equivalent to a safe conduct."* This document must have been familiar enough to the historian who so boldly affirms "the sinister intentions of the English queen." Elizabeth says, "It seemeth that report hath been made to you, that we had sent out our admiral with our fleet to hinder your passage. Your servants know how false that is. We have only, at the desire of the king of Spain, sent two or three small barks to sea, in pursuit of certain Scottish pirates." † Mary landed at the port of Leith on the 19th of August. She was received by a deputation, and conducted to the palace, or abbey, of Holyrood—that seat of Scottish royalty whose chief interest is associated with her name, but of which a very small portion of the original building remains. Mary had been accustomed to grander pageants than now welcomed her. Mean hackneys, wretchedly caparisoned, waited her arrival. She went on to Edinburgh, having no magnificence to show the French courtiers who surrounded her. Under the windows of Holyrood the citizens sang psalms to discordant three-stringed rebecks, which kept the weary queen from sleeping; and the next morning, when a popish priest was about to perform mass in her private chapel, he would have been slain by the master of Lindsay, and a furious multitude, had not Murray placed himself at the door of the chapel, and maintained the principle for which he had contended, that the queen should not be molested in the private exercise of her religion.

The fortunes of Mary Stuart and Elizabeth Tudor suggest the most remarkable contrasts, even up to this period. When Mary was in her girlhood she was married to the heir of one of the greatest monarchies of Europe; and she dwelt in the French court, surrounded with all the pomp and luxury of a refined but licentious age. When Elizabeth had scarcely reached her twenty-first year, she became the object of suspicion to her sister; was a close prisoner under apprehension of immediate death; and passed several years of durance and solitary anxiety. The taint of supposed illegitimacy was upon her, and her succession to the crown was more than doubtful. When she came to the throne she had to decide upon heading an ecclesiastical revolution that would make her the proscribed of Rome, and the contemned of Rome's supporters, or to support a system which had become odious in England. She threw herself upon her people,—and she triumphed. When Mary became the widowed queen of France, and returned to assume the rule of Scotland, she found herself supported by the great catholic

* Mackintosh, "History," vol. iii., p. 57.
† Robertson, "Scotland," Appendix.

powers, but opposed to her people,—and she failed. She had to bear the rough monitions of Knox; the ill-concealed hostility and uncertain support of her nobles; and the secret or proclaimed dislike of an angry nation. Whilst the government of England was carrying out its resolved policy with regard to Scotland, and all there was strife and bitterness, Elizabeth was moving amongst her subjects with the love of the many and the fear of the few. Mary could depend upon no advisers; for the adherents to the old religion were too rash in their weakness, and the reformers too harsh in their strength. Elizabeth had the ablest men of the time as counsellors, who held to a settled principle of action without provoking hostility by capricious and passionate exercises of authority. Mary was the sovereign of a people amongst whom the feudal tyrannies had not yet been held in subjection by the growth of profitable industry. Elizabeth governed a community in which the strength of the middle classes had asserted itself against monarchical and ecclesiastical tyranny, and new channels of prosperity were being opened wherever commerce developed the energies of capital, and adventurous men went forth for the conquests of peace. The most prosaic record of the first two years of Elizabeth's reign shows how remarkably the tranquillity of England was opposed to the turbulence of Scotland.



Holyrood House.

JAMES I
CHARLES I

Old St. Paul's, before the destruction of the steeple, 1561.

CHAPTER IX.

Public spirit under Elizabeth—Sports and Processions—England sends aid to the French Protestants—Scotland—Plans for Mary's marriage—Leicester and Darnley—Marriage of Mary and Darnley—The Reformers indignant at the marriage—Revolt of Murray and other nobles—Revolt suppressed, and the lords banished—Darnley and Riccio—Quarrels of the queen and Darnley—Plot against Riccio—Murder of Riccio—Birth of a Scottish prince—Ascendency of Bothwell—Darnley at the Kirk of Field—Assassination of Darnley—Mock trial of Bothwell—Mary carried off—Marriage of Mary and Bothwell—Mary surrenders to her nobles.

THE aspect of the English metropolis under the protestant government of Elizabeth is suggestive of the change that had taken place in the thoughts and habits of the people. In 1555, when we opened the "Diary of a Resident in London," we were following the traces of burnings and penances, of processions of the host and proclamations of the papal legate. We saw little of the salutary interference of the state with the ordinary concerns of life, in smoothing the road of industry by removal of unnatural barriers to prosperity; or in the association of municipal authority with central power for the establishment of laws that directly affected every member of the community by introducing economical reforms. In 1560, when the wise Council of Elizabeth had called in the base coin, which depreciation was now acknowledged

to be the main cause of the excessive dearness of commodities, members of the various crafts "walk in every market with a white rod in their hands, to look that men should take testons of the rate as the queen has proclaimed in all markets through all London." * This difficult operation of restoring the current money to a just value was carried through successfully, because it was set about boldly. The teston of Edward VI. had been coined to pass at the rate of twelve-pence; it was afterwards reduced to six-pence; and lastly to four-pence, its intrinsic value. Fine sterling money was exchanged at the mint for the base coin, according to this last rate. No doubt there was individual suffering in this apparent deterioration of property; but the great body of the labourers now knew that they were paid the agreed value for their labour, and were not deluded by receiving, as twelve-pence, what would only exchange for the third of a bushel of wheat instead of the bushel which the honest twelve-pence would have bought. There required much public spirit in the people, as well as firmness in the government, to carry through such a change without serious confusion. But it was accomplished with no recorded difficulty; and to this correction of the evils produced by the frauds of her despotic predecessors may much of the steady commercial advance of England under Elizabeth be ascribed. Public spirit at this time also manifested itself in a manner which has characterised our country for three centuries. In 1561, the steeple of St. Paul's was destroyed. "The 4th day of June, being Corpus Christi, between four and five of the clock at afternoon, the lightning took and entered into one of the holes that was in the outward part of the steeple, and set the steeple on fire, and consumed both wood and lead, and the bells tell below where the great organs stood beneath the chapel where the old bishop was buried." Some of the ancient devotees ascribed this calamity to the new religion; for there were relics of saints, deposited two centuries and a half before by a bishop of London, for the express purpose of protecting the steeple from the danger of tempests. The misfortune, however, did not discourage the Protestants from instantly beginning the repairs of the beautiful church. The magnificent steeple was never restored; but the roofs, which were entirely burnt, were replaced in the course of a year, at the cost of nearly six thousand pounds. This sum was raised by contributions from the queen, from the citizens of London, from the clergy of the province of Canterbury and of the diocese, and from voluntary subscribers. In earlier times the especial funds of the Church would have been devoted to the restoration of this splendid cathedral. But the Church property was now scattered; and in that distribution amongst the laity, the popular interests became more identified with the ecclesiastical, and the Church ceased to stand apart in self-supporting grandeur. The union of the high and the humble, the sovereign and the burgher, the noble and the priest, to carry through some object of common good, is one of the social principles of England which we see thus developing in the restoration of St. Paul's. That principle has formed one of the foundations of a generous and confiding nationality, in which the inequality of ranks is lost in a concurrence of duties; an union whose monuments are the results of systematic growth rather than of sudden creation, and therefore

* Machyn's Diary, p. 245.

more extensively and permanently useful than the solitary wonders of capricious despotism.

The English love of sports and popular amusements seems to have revived after the years of martyrdoms. Though the displays of a terrible criminal justice are revolting to our present notions, and we cannot read without some disgust, month after month, of burglars and cut-purses being hanged by dozens at Hyde Park Corner and Tyburn, yet the people of that time thought these things just and right; and went, without any sad reflections, from the scenes of the gallows and the pillory, to look upon matches of archery and aquatic games. Whilst St. Paul's is still smouldering, a great wager of archery was shot in Finsbury-field, in which lord Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Leicester, was the challenger; and on Midsummer Day, there was a great triumph on the river at Greenwich, with a sham fight, and shooting of guns, and hurling of balls of wild-fire, and a bark for the queen's grace to be in to see the pastime. On the 10th of July all London is out to behold Elizabeth go in grand procession from the Tower "unto Aldgate church, and so down Houndsditch to the Spital, and so down Hog Lane, and so over the fields to the Charter-house, my lord North's place." The next day the queen travels "from the Charter-house by Clerkenwell, over the fields into the Savoy, unto master Secretary Cecil to supper, and there was the council and many lords and ladies and gentlewomen, and there was great cheer till midnight; and after, her grace rid to my lord North's to bed at the Charter-house." These country excursions in the midst of the now "populous city," sound strange to the pent-up two millions and a half, for whom the fields, even "among the pleasant villages and farms adjoin'd," are a dream of the past. One more glimpse of the English queen, in her early days of triumph and splendour, if only to make us look more compassionately upon the poor Mary of Scotland, whose first recreation was to behold a pageant of the godly citizens of Edinburgh, in which Korah, Dathan, and Abiram were destroyed as they offered strange fire upon the altar—the show signifying the divine vengeance against such idolatry as that of the Romish church. On the 14th of July all the streets of London were new gravelled, as Elizabeth set forth from the Charter-house to Whitechapel, on her progress. The houses

State Carriage of Queen Elizabeth. (From Hefnagel's Print of Nonsuch Palace.)

were hung with cloth of arras, and carpets, and silk, with cloth of gold and silver, and velvet of all colours. The crafts of London stood in their liveries; and there were trains of pensioners, and knights and lords, and the aldermen in scarlet, and heralds in their coat-armours, and my lord mayor bearing the sceptre, and the lord Hunsdon bearing the sword. Then came the queen, and her footmen richly habited; and ladies and gentlemen, and lords' men and knights' men in their master's liveries; and at Whitechapel my lord mayor and the aldermen took their leave of her grace, and so she went on her way. All these pomps look like profitless vanity. But they were the poetry of the real life of that time; and we may believe that they were not without their influence on the glorious imaginations that have reflected this age in harmonious association with the permanent and the universal.

When Charles IX., a boy eleven years old, succeeded to the crown of France, the religious differences of the people had become so extended that they imparted their character to the political factions of the time. The direction of the government was in the hands of the duke of Guise and the cardinal his brother; who, joined in interests with the queen-mother, were naturally opposed by the princes of the blood, headed by the prince of Condé. The Guises persecuted the Protestants; the other party supported them. The religious wars which divided the French into two great hostile bands of Catholic and Huguenot, now commenced in terrible earnest. There were two fierce armies in the field, by whom the people were alike plundered and harassed. In 1561, according to some writers, a hundred thousand persons were butchered by the contending factions. The Protestants, although inferior in numbers, fought with desperation; and the duke of Guise solicited and obtained assistance against them from Philip of Spain. The prince of Condé, on the other hand, concluded a treaty with Elizabeth, who, after some attempts at mediation, sent a force of three thousand men to take possession of Havre. The queen was at first careful that this should not be deemed an act of hostility to France, declaring to the French ambassador that her desire was to free the young king from the tyranny of the Guises. But the contest soon assumed a national character. The English warlike operations, though conducted with great bravery, were finally unsuccessful. The Catholics and Protestants concluded a hollow peace; and, at length, both parties agreed in determining that the English should hold no position in France. The garrison of Havre defended themselves for two months, and then capitulated. They were released without ransom, and came with their property to London. But they brought with them the pestilence which had thinned their ranks; and the French Catholics looked upon the infliction as a judgment upon the English heretics. In this year, 1563, the parliament again met, and a statute of increased rigour was passed against Papists. This was entitled, "An Act for the assurance of the queen's royal power over all estates and subjects within her dominions;" and, with what has been justly called "an iniquitous and sanguinary retrospect," it provided that all persons who had been in holy orders, or taken a degree in the universities, or had practised as lawyers, or held office in the execution of the law, should take the oath of supremacy when tendered to them, under the penalty of a præmunire, and if continuing to refuse for three months, should incur the pains of high treason. The statute was inefficient from its very severity

and although the first penalty was incurred by some of the higher clergy, archbishop Parker warned the bishops, with whom it rested to enforce the oath, to do so with great circumspection, and never to tender it a second time without his special sanction. In 1563, Edmund and Arthur Pole were convicted of a conspiracy to set Mary of Scotland on the throne. Their associates were executed, but they wore out their lives as prisoners in the Tower of London.

In 1563 an Act was passed against "fond and fantastical prophecies."* One description of prophecy that it was declared unlawful to promulgate was that founded upon the armorial bearings of any person. There was a famous prophecy of Thomas the Rhymer which might come within this punishable class:

> "However it happen for to fall,
> The Lion shall be lord of all;
> The French queen shall bear the son
> Shall rule all Britain to the sea." †

The predictions which were familiar to the people of Scotland, might have become current on the English side of the border; and the notion that the son of the queen of Scots, "the lion with the floure-de-lyce" would "rule all Britain," would at that period be naturally denounced by the government of Elizabeth as "fond and fantastical," delusive and dangerous. At this time it was feared by the reformers in Scotland, and their fears were communicated to the English court, that intrigues were going forward for marrying Mary to some foreign prince of her own religion. When the Scottish parliament met in 1563 Knox preached a vehement sermon, in which he said that those who would consent that an infidel—for all Papists were infidels—should be head to their sovereign, would do as far as in them lay to banish Christ Jesus from the realm, and to bring God's vengeance on the country. The queen summoned the bold preacher before her, and asked what he had to do with her marriage? Knox repeated the words he had said in public; and, with a passionate burst of tears, Mary commanded him to leave her. There can be little doubt that the queen would have sought a foreign catholic alliance had she not been deterred by the power of the reformers at home, and her apprehensions of giving dire offence to England. Whatever shows of amity might have passed between the queens at this period, their policies were systematically opposed, and contained the germs of hostility. Whilst Elizabeth was lending aid to the Huguenots, and Mary was writing letters to the Council of Trent, in which she professed that if she succeeded to the throne of England she would subject both kingdoms to the apostolic see, there must have been dissimulation on both sides. They were to have met in 1562; but the interview was postponed, as if there were insuperable barriers to a cordial personal agreement. As it was not likely that the queen of Scotland would remain a widow, with princes eager to wed one so beautiful and of such high pretensions, it was the policy of the queen

* 5 Eliz., c. 15.

† Mr. Aytoun, in his notes to "Bothwell, a Poem," has clearly shown that this Scottish prophecy was referred to in a poem by Alexander Scott, addressed to Mary on her return in 1561; and that therefore the belief of lord Hailes, that it was an interpolation after the death of Elizabeth, is unfounded. Page 232.

of England to induce her to marry an English subject—"some noble person within the kingdom of England, having the qualities and conditions meet for such an alliance."* Lord Robert Dudley, the younger son of the duke of Northumberland, the father of lady Jane Grey, was recommended. It is one of the mysteries connected with the capricious character of all Elizabeth's own matrimonial negotiations and female preferences, that Robert Dudley, afterwards earl of Leicester, her chief favourite, should have been pressed upon Mary as a husband. But even in that protracted negotiation, it was not the reluctance of Mary to "embase herself," as she thought would be the effect of a marriage with a subject, nor any lingering wish of the queen to retain Leicester as her devoted follower, which prevented it being successfully concluded. Cecil, at the end of 1564, wrote: "I see the queen's majesty very desirous to have my lord of Leicester to be the Scottish queen's husband; but when it cometh to the conditions which are demanded, I see her then remiss of her earnestness."† Whilst Mary was always pressing that her succession to the English crown should be recognised by a declaratory Act, Elizabeth was as reluctant to comply; for the eyes of the Roman Catholic party were constantly turned towards Mary as the legitimate branch of the Tudors—the descendant of the daughter of Henry VII., although unrecognised in the will of Henry VIII. "The conditions which are demanded" under this proposed marriage with Leicester were probably such as Elizabeth did not choose to bring too prominently before her subjects. She had a strong dislike even to hear of this question of the succession; and said that Maitland, the Scottish minister, was always, like a death-watch, ringing her knell in her ears. In looking at the delays and evasions about this demand of Mary, it is usual to represent the conduct of Elizabeth as marked by "fraud, falsehood, and selfishness;" and that of Mary as "warm, generous, and confiding."‡ This is an easy mode of disposing of a great and difficult public question. The eagerness of Mary for the recognition, and the reluctance of Elizabeth to grant it, may each be explained by the fact that Mary was the instrument of those who had determined to eradicate the reformed religion, and that Elizabeth was equally resolved to support it. The negotiations for the marriage with Leicester gradually faded away. There was another candidate for Mary's hand, ready at an opportune moment. Henry Stuart, lord Darnley, was the son of the earl of Lennox, by the daughter of Margaret Tudor, queen of Scots, who had married the earl of Angus after the death of her royal husband. The countess of Lennox was the next to Mary in hereditary succession to the English crown. The earl of Lennox had long resided in England as an exile, and in 1564, having returned to Scotland with letters from Elizabeth urging the reversal of his attainder, he was finally restored. Then came his countess and their son to the Scottish court. Darnley arrived on the 13th of February 1565. In a fortnight, Randolph, the English ambassador, had observed the favours which Mary bestowed upon this youth. He soon manifested a preference for the Romish party, and gave offence to the reformers. Within two months of Darnley's arrival an envoy was sent by Mary to desire Elizabeth's approval of her

* Cecil's Instructions to Randolph.
† Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 294.
‡ Tytler, vol. vi. p. 373.

marriage with her cousin. That assent was refused by the Council on the ground that the marriage would be dangerous to the protestant religion; would strengthen the league of catholic princes which was now organising; and that Mary not yet having renounced her claim to the crown of England, this marriage would more imperil Elizabeth's title. That there was danger to the cause of the Reformation in Scotland may be inferred from the fact that lord Murray, who for four years had kept the kingdom in tolerable peace, holding the scales of justice even between bitterly opposing factions, though an earnest friend to the reformers, now withdrew from the court of Mary. The strong resolve with which Murray and other protestants opposed this union must have been founded upon something more than vague apprehensions of the power of a husband over the queen. They dreaded him as an unreasoning tool of her more determined will. Darnley had no force of character. He was a handsome simpleton. Mary had apparently conceived a passion for the tall stripling, whose folly was only equalled by his pride. They were married on the 29th of July, and he was proclaimed king the same day. "They were married with all the solemnities of the popish time, saving that he heard not the mass. . . . Rather he seemeth a monarch of the world than he that not long since we have seen and known the lord Darnley."* The register of marriages in the Canongate has this entry: "Henry and Marie, kyng and qweine of Scots."

The three years which followed this marriage are crowded with strange and tragical events. Romance has seized upon them as its peculiar property; and History has been somewhat too eager to follow in the wake of Romance. The occurrences which had so material an influence upon the destinies of the Scottish and English nations are almost unheeded in their public aspects; and thus the writer who desires to convey a sober view of what truly belongs to the province of the historian finds himself bewildered amidst interminable controversies about the moral character of Mary, and the contradictory evidence as to her participation in the foulest of crimes. We are called upon, according to all precedent, to pronounce upon her guilt or innocence; to hold, with the few, that she was the most shameless and abandoned of women; or, with the many, that she was the pure and guileless victim of the most wicked conspiracies. These three years in which, whether supremely guilty or singularly unfortunate, she underwent far more than a common share of peril and anxiety, present the following salient points: In 1565, on the 29th of July, Mary married Henry Darnley. Murray, who had been her chief adviser since her return from France, headed a revolt, without success, and then took refuge in England, with other reforming leaders. Mary was now free to give the most open encouragement to the Romanists, having the countenance of her imbecile husband. The reforming party was too strong to be permanently resisted; and Mary's husband professed to have adopted their views. Within seven months of his marriage Darnley became jealous of David Riccio, an Italian favourite of the queen, and he with a band of fierce nobles, murdered him in Mary's presence on the 9th of March, 1566. Murray returned to Scotland. The differences between the queen and her husband became notorious. James Bothwell was now Mary's chief adviser.

* Randolph to Leicester. Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 201.

In 1567, on the 10th of February, Darnley was murdered in a lone house in Edinburgh, called the Kirk of Field, and Bothwell was accused of the murder, but was acquitted. On the 24th of April he carried off the queen to one of his castles, and she was married to him on the 15th of May. The nobles now took up arms; and, in little more than two months from this last marriage, Mary was compelled to resign her crown, and was a prisoner at Lochleven. Mary's resignation of her crown to her infant son, who was born June 19th, 1566, took place on the 24th of July, 1567. After nine months' imprisonment in the castle of Lochleven, she escaped on the 2nd of May, 1568. Her Roman Catholic friends assembled an army, which encountered that of Murray the regent, on the 13th of May; and the queen's supporters being defeated, she fled to England, and landed in Cumberland on the 15th of May. We shall endeavour to tell this story as impartially as we can, keeping in view, as much as possible, its national bearings, rather than entering into the minute details of a personal history which, even when viewed under the most favourable light, is sufficiently painful and revolting.

Mary was in her twenty-third year when she married, and Darnley was nineteen. The dissatisfaction of Murray and the other reformers was so great at the prospects involved in this marriage that they had been making preparations to oppose it by direct resistance in arms. Within three days of the nuptial ceremony Murray was commanded to appear at court, or to be proclaimed a rebel. If we may credit one party-representation of the troubles of this period, we must believe that the ambition of Murray and his followers, stimulated by the intrigues of England, was the sole cause of the opposition to this union. If we are to trust in another view of the matter, we must consider that the resistance of the lords was founded upon a sincere belief that Mary, in taking a husband of her own religious persuasion, who would give additional strength to her will, and to the desire of her foreign relations to re-establish the Roman Catholic ascendancy, was perilling the great interests of the Reformation. We must bear in mind not only the character of those times, but the peculiar temper of the Scottish people, to enable us to form a right judgment of the actions of the two great parties in the state. The Reformation in England had attained its consistency, step by step; and having passed through its most perilous crisis under Mary Tudor, had become the established religion of the country, never to be seriously shaken. It had attained this position by a cautious adaptation to popular usages and opinions —a graft upon the ancient stock rather than the forced growth of a new plant taking the place of the old decaying tree. The Reformation in Scotland was, from the first, a negation. Whatever was Protestant was to be diametrically opposed to Catholic. Old things were to be destroyed before new things could be established. Whatever made the slightest approach to the ceremonies of the earlier church was idolatry. Whatever, in a stern refusal to comply with habits either harmless or indifferent, was opposed to the practice of the Romanists, was true religion. The character of the queen, as exhibited under its most innocent aspects, was an offence to this severe judgment. Her general cheerfulness, her fondness for the chase, her balls and masquerades, her love of poetry and music, were represented as sins. It is scarcely to be wondered at, however to be lamented, that she often acted in defiance of a prudent decorum. It is less a matter of surprise that she had a deep

hatred of the Reformers, and entertained a vague desire for a political alliance that would free her from the control of her Protestant subjects, and from the supervision of England. In the first four years of her personal rule in Scotland she yielded to the strong power that was over her. She would not surrender her own habits of ceremonial religion to what had become the prevailing faith of the majority of her subjects; but she abstained from any rash attempts to interfere with the course they were following. Had she been less cautious her fall would have been more immediate. But, supported probably by the avowed determination of France and Spain to uproot Protestantism—probably stimulated by the growing coldness, if not enmity, between herself and Elizabeth, and by the idle belief that the English Catholics would support her pretensions to the crown which she claimed as the legitimate descendant of Henry VII.,—she grew bolder upon the occasion of her marriage, and resolved, not indeed to persecute the Reformers in Scotland, but only to tolerate them. Cecil, in August 1565, wrote thus to the English ambassador in France:—"The duke [Chatelherault], the earls of Argyle, Murray, and Rothes, with sundry barons, are joined together, not to allow of the marriage otherwise than to have the religion established by law; but the queen refuseth in this sort—she will not suffer it to have the force of law, but of permission to every man to live according to his conscience." The great minister adds, "And herewith she hath retained a great number of Protestants from associating openly with the other." The leading Reformers knew that the queen's rejection of the legal establishment of their religion would be its destruction amongst a people whose inborn habit was to take one of two sides. If Protestantism ceased to be regarded as "established by law," Catholicism would come back to be so established. The Reformers would not accept this toleration, and they rose in arms. Murray was proclaimed a rebel. "She hath put the earl of Murray to the horn," writes Cecil. His life and estates were declared forfeited, by sound of horn.

Mary, who had caused Darnley to be proclaimed king upon the occasion of their marriage, was desirous that the Scottish parliament should bestow upon him the crown-matrimonial. Chastelherault, who was next to Mary in succession, was offended at this, and took part with Murray. This able man, with kingly blood in his veins, is held to have had himself designs upon the crown. The sundry barons are reputed to have opposed Mary, lest with the re-establishment of the Romish religion they should lose their church-lands. Elizabeth envied Mary, as lord Herries writes, "the comfort of a husband and the happiness of children." These are the base and sordid motives which are assigned as the impelling causes of the opposition to the queen at this juncture. It is singular that some of the Scottish historians, and some English, will not allow anything for the strength of a great principle; and constantly present to us the ministers of England as base intriguers and the Scottish statesmen as anti-national mercenaries. Elizabeth sent an envoy to Mary, to endeavour to promote her reconciliation with Murray. There were cold and sarcastic words delivered by Tamworth, Elizabeth's messenger, and haughty answers returned by Mary. She engaged for herself and her husband that they would attempt nothing to the prejudice of the queen of England; but she required that the English crown should be settled by Act of parliament upon herself and Darnley; and that Elizabeth should afford no countenance

to Scottish rebels. It is held that Murray was countenanced and assisted by Elizabeth, though to a very limited extent. Mary showed her vigour of character at this crisis. She took the field with her forces; and headed her troops with pistols at her saddle-bow. The revolt was crushed without any decisive contest. The rebel lords transmitted to the English government a declaration that they were persecuted as traitors for their zeal for true religion, and for their attempt to redress "the great enormities lately crept into the public regimen of this miserable commonwealth." They affirmed that the efforts of Mary and Darnley were solely directed to the subversion of the reformed religion within the realm, and the re-establishment of "superstition and papistry." There was ample foundation for this assertion. The Roman see had sent money to Mary; and Philip II. had placed twenty thousand crowns in the hands of his ambassador at London, to be employed "with secrecy and address, in the support of the Scottish queen and her husband." That the English government knew well that the combinations for the restoration of Catholicism in Scotland were connected with the pretensions of Mary to the throne filled by the Protestant Elizabeth, is evident from its incessant watchfulness over every indication of Mary's projects. It was a measure of self-defence to hold a stedfast alliance with the Scottish Reformers. There would be intrigue and dissimulation in pursuing this policy; but that Elizabeth was actuated by a mere womanly jealousy of Mary, as we are asked to believe, and that her ministers causelessly sought to embroil Scotland, is the dream of a very weak prejudice, which assumes the garb of a poetical nationality. Elizabeth is held to have dissembled when, Murray having fled to her court, she "spoke very roundly to him, before the ambassadors, that whatsoever the world said or reported of her, she would by her actions let it appear, that she would not, for the price of a world, maintain any subject in any disobedience against a prince." * The right divine of princes was too deeply rooted in her thoughts to carry her beyond a certain point of opposition to her most dangerous enemy. In this she spoke her true mind.

In the declaration of the banished lords to the English government, they complained that two crafty Italians, David Riccio and Francisco, with other unworthy persons, had dispossessed the ancient nobility of their place in the queen's council. Riccio, a Milanese, had been a singer in Mary's service, and was afterwards promoted to the office of her private secretary. He had soon acquired considerable influence; had been assiduous in promoting Darnley's marriage; and when Mary's first passionate love for that weak young man had given way to contempt for his follies and vices, Riccio became her chief adviser in place of the husband she had chosen. At the beginning of 1566 Randolph, the English ambassador, wrote to Cecil that the Protestants were in such fear and doubt that they knew not what shall become of them; and that the wisest desire nothing more than the return of the banished lords.† There were agencies at work to inspire the Protestants with still greater dread. There came from France an envoy of the cardinal Lorraine, and a messenger from the Scottish ambassador. They had high powers entrusted to them. They were to oppose the recall of the banished

* Memorandum of Cecil, in Raumer, p. 70.

† Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 206.

lords; they were to induce Mary to sign the "Bond" which had been concluded, under the auspices of Catherine de Medici and the duke of Alva, for the extermination of the Protestants in Europe. "Riccio, who at this moment possessed much influence, and was on good grounds suspected to be a pensioner of Rome, seconded these views with all his power." * Mary did join this league; did become a party to the dark conspiracy, whose grand result was the massacre of St. Bartholomew in France, and which, but for the wisdom of Elizabeth and her counsellors, might have produced a St. Bartholomew in England. The passionate impulses of Mary were equally the safety of Scotland. She was unfitted for the conduct of a policy which would cherish its schemes of vengeance, and smile upon its devoted victims, as in France, until thousands could be cut off as if they had but one neck. Mary had strong hatreds, but she looked only at individuals for their gratification. Murray and his adherents were the objects of her wrath in 1565; when she "declared to Randolph that she would rather peril her crown than lose her revenge."† Deeper offences than rebellion were now to agitate her. Darnley had been displaced from her confidence, and perhaps justly so. Riccio was her most cherished counsellor. Darnley used to sign his name to public documents as king, before that of Mary. The queen now signed her name, and Riccio was provided with a stamp to add that of Darnley. The weak young man abandoned himself to drinking; quarrelled with the queen in public; was persuaded that Riccio was the instigator of his humiliations; and, says Mr. Tytler, "had the folly to become the dupe of a more absurd delusion—he became jealous of the Italian secretary." The absurdity of this jealousy must be estimated by the general impression as to Mary's character. In the unhappy affair of Chastellart, three years before, Randolph pointed out "what mischief ensues of the over great familiarity that any such personage showeth unto so unworthy a creature and abject a varlet, as even her grace used with him." ‡ The man was hanged for the presumption which this "over great familiarity" encouraged. Mary brought to Scotland the indiscretions of the French court, if not its vices; and her education in this school of impurity may suggest some apology for the imprudences which her warmest advocates cannot wholly defend. No one doubts that the deportment of Riccio was calculated to excite the suspicion of a neglected husband, and the hatred of those who saw his influence over the queen employed for their personal abasement and the subversion of their religious opinions. The common desire for revenge associated Darnley with some of the fierce Scottish nobles, such as Morton and Ruthven, in a conspiracy against the life of the obnoxious secretary. The king was engaged with the superior Protestant leaders, in a separate bond for the restoration of the banished lords, upon their promise to support him and to give him the crown-matrimonial. They were to maintain the protestant religion as one of the conditions of this alliance. Mixing up these separate contracts, "for the murder of Riccio, the restoration of Murray, and the revolution in the government," we are told that "one only step remained: to communicate the plot to the queen of England and her ministers, and to obtain their

* Tytler's Scotland, vol. vii. p. 19.
† *Ibid.*, p. 8.
‡ Raumer, p. 21.

approval and support." * On the 6th of March the earl of Bedford and Randolph wrote to Cecil, from Berwick, of the jars between the queen and her husband, "for that he hath assured knowledge of such usage of herself as altogether is intolerable to be borne; which, if it were not overwell known, we would both be very loth to think that it could be true. To take away this occasion of slander he is himself determined to be at the apprehension and execution of him whom he is able manifestly to charge with the crime, and to have done him the most dishonour that can be to any man, much more being as he is." They then enclose the copies of "Conditions for the earls to perform to their king," and "Conditions to be performed by the king of Scots to the earls." Bedford and Randolph thus communicate to their government that the king of Scots has determined personally to revenge himself on the man who has dishonoured him; and that he has covenanted with the Protestant leaders in Scotland and England to accomplish their recall, on the condition of receiving their support in his desire for the crown-matrimonial. A political revolution was to be accomplished against the Roman Catholic ascendency, to which ascendency the queen of Scots had lent herself. It was to be accomplished before the meeting of parliament, in which the Romanist interests would have succeeded in confiscating the estates of Murray, Rothes, Grange, and the other lords who had fled to England; and probably would have attempted the re-establishment of the ancient religion. Bedford and Randolph add that "persuasions" would be tried with the queen; but if they did no good, "they propose to proceed we know not in what sort." If she attempted to raise a power at home, she was to be withstood; if she sought any foreign support, the aid of England was to be asked. In this communication to the English government we can scarcely see any ground for the charges which it is held to raise against the conduct of Elizabeth. It proves, says Mr. Tytler, that the queen of England had the most precise intimation of the intended murder of Riccio. He should have added, as the personal act of Darnley. It proves, we are further told, that it was intended to put an end to Murray's banishment, to replace him in power; and by one decided and triumphant blow to destroy the schemes which were in agitation for the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in Scotland. It is held that Elizabeth ought to have imprisoned Murray, discomfited the plans of the conspirators, saved the life of the victim marked for slaughter, and preserved Mary from captivity, "if she had been alive to the common feelings of humanity." This view of the duty of Elizabeth and her government arises out of the desire to treat such questions as personal ones, entirely separated from a great political principle. If it were safe for England that the queen of Scots should be supported in her alliances with those who sought, in the destruction of Elizabeth, the extinction of Protestantism in Britain, then the English queen might have been what is called magnanimous. She interfered not; and the Protestant nobles and preachers were not swept from the island. But all such reasoning upon the letter of Bedford and Randolph is wholly beside the mark. The date of this communication to the English court of the approaching political revolution has not been heeded, in the eager desire to blame Elizabeth and her ministers for not

* Tytler, vol. vii. p. 29.

having saved Riccio, and prevented the banished lords from returning to Scotland. The letter of Bedford and Randolph to Cecil was written from Berwick on the 6th of March. It enjoined the strictest secresy. It was the first intimation of "a matter of no small consequence being intended in Scotland." With extraordinary despatch Cecil might have received that letter on the 8th of March. On the night of the 9th, Riccio was murdered. On the 11th, Murray and the banished lords were in Edinburgh. When Murray was safe at Berwick on the 8th of March, ready to step across the border, he sent his secretary with a letter to Cecil to tell him of his plans.

Interior of Holyrood Chapel.

That Elizabeth or her ministers could, in consequence of these communications from Berwick, have prevented the catastrophe of the 9th, or detained Murray till the Scottish parliament, which met on the 4th, had passed a statute of treason against him and the other banished lords, will be difficult to establish in the face of these dates, to which the able historian of Scotland, in many respects so candid, has shut his eyes.

It is about an hour after sunset on Saturday, the 9th of March, when the court of Holyrood Palace is suddenly filled with armed men, and the glare of torches lights up the old monastic walls. This band, in number a hundred and fifty, is led by the earls of Morton and Lindsay. They close the outer gates; and the inmates of Holyrood are in their power. Bedford and Randolph, in a letter to the Council of England, give the most circumstantial relation of the events which immediately followed: "The king conveyeth himself, the lord Ruthven, George Douglas, and two other, through his own chamber by the privy stairs up to the queen's chamber, joining to which there is a cabinet about twelve feet square, in the same a little low reposing bed, and a table, at the which there were sitting at the supper the queen, the lady Argyle, and David, with his cap upon his head. Into the cabinet there cometh in the king and lord Ruthven, who willed David to come forth, saying that there was no place for him. The queen said that it was her will; her husband answered that it was against her honour. The lord Ruthven said that he should learn better his duty, and offering to have taken him by the arm, David took the queen by the plaits of her gown and put himself behind the queen, who would gladly have saved him; but the king having loosed his hands, and holding her in his arms, David was thrust out of the cabinet through the bed-chamber into the Chamber of Presence, where were the lord Morton, lord Lindsay, who intending that night to have reserved him and the next day to hang him, so many being about them that bore him evil will, one thrust him into the body with a dagger, and after him a great many other, so that he had in his body above fifty-five wounds. It is told for certain that the king's own dagger was left sticking in him. Whether he stroke him or not we cannot know for certain. He was not slain in the queen's presence, as was said, but going down the stairs out of the Chamber of Presence."* There is a letter from queen Mary herself to her ambassador in Paris, which, in the main circumstances, agrees with this account. But Mary says, that when Ruthven addressed Riccio, she asked her husband if he knew anything of this attempt; adding, "and on his denying it, we commanded lord Ruthven, on pain of treason, to quit our presence, while Riccio had sought shelter behind us." She then briefly tells of the murder in the ante-chamber, and says that immediately after the deed Ruthven returned, and upbraided her with tyranny, and her submission to the counsels of Riccio. But the letter of Bedford and Randolph details a frightful scene of violence between Darnley and the queen, in which he reproached her with infidelity, and said that "for her honour and his own contentment he gave his consent that *he* should be taken away." She replied, "Well; you have taken your last of me, and your farewell." Ruthven remonstrated, and said that Riccio "was mean, base, enemy to the nobility, shame to her, and destruction to her grace's country." She rejoined: "Well; it shall be dear blood to some of you if his be spilt." This account exhibits a most characteristic group: "Her husband this time speaketh little. Her grace continually weepeth. The lord Ruthven being evil at ease, and weak, calleth for a drink, and saith, 'This I must do with your majesty's pardon.'" The queen in a letter to the ambassador says, that against certain of her

* Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 209.

nobility, maintainers of her authority, who were in the palace at the time, "the enterprise was conspired as well as for David." These were Huntley and Bothwell; who escaped by ropes out of a back window; Atholl, Fleming, Livingston, Balfour, and Melvil, who also escaped. The concluding scene of that Saturday night is thus described by the queen: "The provost and town of Edinburgh having understood this tumult in our palace, caused ring their common bell, came to us in great number, and desired to have seen our presence, intercommuned with us, and to have known our welfare." But she was prevented speaking with these anxious citizens, "being extremely bested by those lords, who in our face declared if we desired to have spoken with them, they should cut us in collops, and cast us over the wall." The next day Murray arrived in Edinburgh. At his first interview with Mary he is said to have expressed great solicitude for her welfare, and she to have manifested a confidence in his affection. This reconcilement was very transient. At a meeting of the conspirators against Riccio with the lords who had returned to Scotland, strong measures were determined on as regarded the queen: "In their council," says Mary, "they thought it most expedient we should be warded in our castle of Stirling, there to remain while we had approved in parliament of all their wicked enterprises, established their religion, and given to the king the crown-matrimonial and the whole government of our realm." But in a few days Mary, who had subdued her weak husband to her will, persuaded him to fly with her at midnight to Dunbar. Whatever were the intentions of the conspirators towards her she was now out of their power. She soon gathered a large force around her; and marching upon Edinburgh, issued writs of treason against Morton, Ruthven, and others, who fled to England. Murray denied all complicity in the murder of Riccio; and Darnley took refuge in denouncing those with whom he had been associated, as traitors and murderers. They retaliated upon his baseness in a manner that in eleven months led to another more fearful catastrophe. On the 4th of April Randolph writes to Cecil, "the queen hath now seen all the covenants and bonds that passed between the king and the lords; and now findeth that his declaration before her and the council, of his innocency of the death of David, was false." From the hour of that disclosure Darnley was a doomed man.

On the 19th of June, 1566, Mary gave birth to the son who was afterwards king of Scotland and of England. The differences between the various factions now began to be composed. Amicable relations with England were established. Elizabeth agreed to be godmother to the heir of the Scottish throne, and sent a golden font for his baptism. In November, Mary renewed her claim to have a parliamentary recognition of her right of succession to the English crown, in a letter written by her to the lords of Elizabeth's council; but she stated her unwillingness "to press our said good sister further than shall come of her own good pleasure to put that matter in question." The English parliament, which had met in the beginning of November, had begun to debate about the succession; and, says Camden, "on the one side the Papists propounded unto themselves the queen of Scots, which had newly brought forth a son; on the other, the Protestants, with different affections, propounded to themselves, some one man, some another." Mary alludes to this debate in her letter. Elizabeth was angry at the discussion of this matter; but in her

instructions to Bedford, who was to be present at the baptism of James, she had, immediately previous to receiving Mary's letter, authorised him to declare that she would never suffer anything to be done prejudicial to Mary's right; but required that she should confirm so much of the treaty of Edinburgh as regarded Elizabeth's rights: "The same being since deferred upon account of some words therein prejudicial to the queen's right and title, before all others, after us, our meaning is to require nothing to be confirmed in that treaty but that which directly appertains to us and our children; omitting anything in that treaty that may be prejudicial to her title as next heir of us and our children." It was added that all this might be secured by a new treaty. Mary was in no hurry to embrace this reasonable proposal; and nothing was done to complete such an engagement, without which, Elizabeth said, "though we are inclined to preserve amity, yet occasions may happen to incline either of us to be jealous one of another." The occasions of jealousy were never removed.

On the 17th of December the baptism of the infant prince took place at Stirling, according to the Roman Catholic ritual. Darnley, although living in the palace, refused to attend the ceremony. Between himself and the queen there was not only coldness but manifest dislike. Mary was profoundly melancholy; and Darnley was proud and moody. A remarkable man, James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, had now become Mary's most intimate counsellor. She had recently manifested a more than common interest in his welfare. Bothwell had been dangerously wounded in an attempt to arrest Elliot of the Park, a border depredator; and he was carried to his castle of the Hermitage. The queen had been engaged for a week holding a court of justice at Jedburgh, whilst Bothwell was slowly recovering from his wound; and on one day she rode to Hermitage and back, a distance altogether of forty miles. She was accompanied by Murray and others, but the visit gave occasion to scandal, upon which the historians unfavourable to Mary have not failed to dwell. After this interview the queen became dangerously ill; and the melancholy which subsequently settled upon her was frequently expressed by her exclamation, "I could wish to be dead!" A divorce was proposed to her by Bothwell, Murray, and other counsellors; and it has been affirmed upon the confession of Ormiston, a confederate, that a bond for the murder of the king was executed about the same time by several of these persons. The mysteries of this period of dark intrigues and daring plots will never be satisfactorily disclosed, and the precise degree of guilt to be attached to individuals will remain unsettled. Let us briefly relate the ascertained circumstances of the momentous crime that was perpetrated on the 10th of February, 1567.

At the end of 1566 Mary had consented to pardon Morton, Lindsay, and others, with two exceptions, who had been concerned in the murder of Riccio. Darnley dreaded the return of the fellow-conspirators with whom he had broken faith; and he abruptly left the court, and went to his father, the earl of Lennox, at Glasgow. Morton, one of the pardoned nobles, returned to Scotland early in January, 1567. Darnley had fallen sick of a disease which was said to be the small-pox; and on the 22nd of January, Mary proceeded to Glasgow to visit him. Some explanation took place between them, and Darnley agreed to attend the queen to Craigmillar, by slow journeys, she having brought a litter for his conveyance. There is a deposition of Thomas

Crawford, a gentleman attending upon Lennox, in which he relates a conversation between Darnley and himself, in which Crawford said, "She treats your majesty too like a prisoner. Why should you not be taken to one of your own houses at Edinburgh?" Darnley replied, "It struck me much the same way; and I have fears enough, but may God judge between us. I have her promise only to trust to; but I have put myself in her hands, and I shall go with her, though she should murder me." * The plan of going to Craigmillar was changed, and Darnley was carried to Edinburgh, where he arrived on the 31st of January. Holyrood was declared to be unhealthy, from its low situation; and the king was taken to a suburb called the Kirk of Field, where the duke of Chastelherault had a residence. The attendants were about to convey Darnley to the duke's mansion, when Mary said his apartments were to be in an adjoining house, to which she conducted him. It was a mean building belonging to Robert Balfour, one of Bothwell's dependants. The queen daily attended upon Darnley, and appeared assiduous in promoting his comfort, amidst the rude domestic arrangements which this lodging afforded. Below the chamber where he slept she had one prepared for herself. On Sunday, the 9th of February, Mary passed much of the day with her husband, who is represented as having had his apprehensions of danger somewhat removed by her presence, and by the appearance of renewed confidence between them. On the evening of that Sunday, the queen went to Holyrood, to celebrate by a masque the wedding of Bastian, a foreigner of her household, with one of her favorite attendants. Bothwell was present at the festivities of the palace; but he left about midnight. Darnley had gone to rest, after repeating the 55th Psalm, his page being in his bedroom. At two o'clock in the morning of the 10th a loud explosion roused the inhabitants of Edinburgh from their sleep; and the terrified citizens soon learnt that the Kirk of Field had been blown up and that the king was dead. The house was completely destroyed. Mary has herself described the extent of the destruction: "The house wherein the king was lodged was in an instant blown in the air, he lying sleeping in his bed, with a vehemency that, of the whole lodging, walls and other, there is nothing remaining—no, not a stone above another, but all carried far away, or dung in dross to the very ground-stone." † But the body of the king was not amongst these ruins. It was found lying under a tree in an orchard, about eighty yards from the house; and the body of his page was lying beside him. The account which Buchanan gives of this circumstance agrees with the general evidence: "The king had only a linen shirt on the upper part of his body; the rest of it lay naked. His other clothes and his shoes lay just by him. The common people came in great crowds to see him, and many conjectures there were; yet they all agreed that he could never be thrown out of the house by the force of gunpowder, for there was no part broken, bruised, or black and blue about his body, which must necessarily have happened in a ruin by gunpowder. Besides, his clothes that lay near him were not so much as singed with the flame, or covered with any ashes." ‡ It appears probable that

* Tytler, vol. vii. p. 78. Mr. Tytler says that he has not been able to discover any sufficient ground to doubt the truth of this deposition.

† Letter to Beaton. *Dung* is the preterite of *ding*, to strike down violently.

‡ Buchanan's "History of Scotland," translated by Bond, vol. ii. p. 323.

Darnley was strangled in the orchard, as he hurriedly attempted to escape, and that his page shared his fate. The bodies of four of his servants were found in the ruins. Herries gives a circumstantial relation that Darnley and his attendant were strangled by Bothwell and his accomplices, in the bedroom; and being carried out by them by a back-gate, they fired some barrels of powder which they had put in a room below the king's chamber, and so blew up the house. This was the room which the queen had occupied; and according to the confessions of two servants who brought the powder, it was deposited in that room whilst Mary was with her husband above. An opinion has been expressed, with great plausibility, that the gunpowder, brought in a mail and trunk, was insufficient to destroy the house as it was destroyed; that the walls had been undermined by another set of conspirators; that Bothwell was uninformed of this, and was left to take his own course; and that "in consequence, he was looked upon as the sole deviser of the murder, which, however, there are strong reasons for believing was not perpetrated by his means." * This opinion opens up the great question of the guilt or innocence of the queen—the question which we shall have briefly to notice when we come to the judicial examinations which followed Mary's flight to England. Meanwhile, no one has attempted to deny that Bothwell was deeply concerned in this crime; that his servants placed the powder under Darnley's chamber; that he left the palace at midnight, and "went straight to the Kirk of Field, up Roblock's Wynd;" † that he returned to the palace under cover of the night; and that when a servant rushed into his chamber to tell the news of the catastrophe, he started up in well feigned terror and cried "Treason." Mary was made acquainted with the event by Bothwell and Huntley, two of the conspirators, and she shut herself up in her chamber, as one lost in grief.

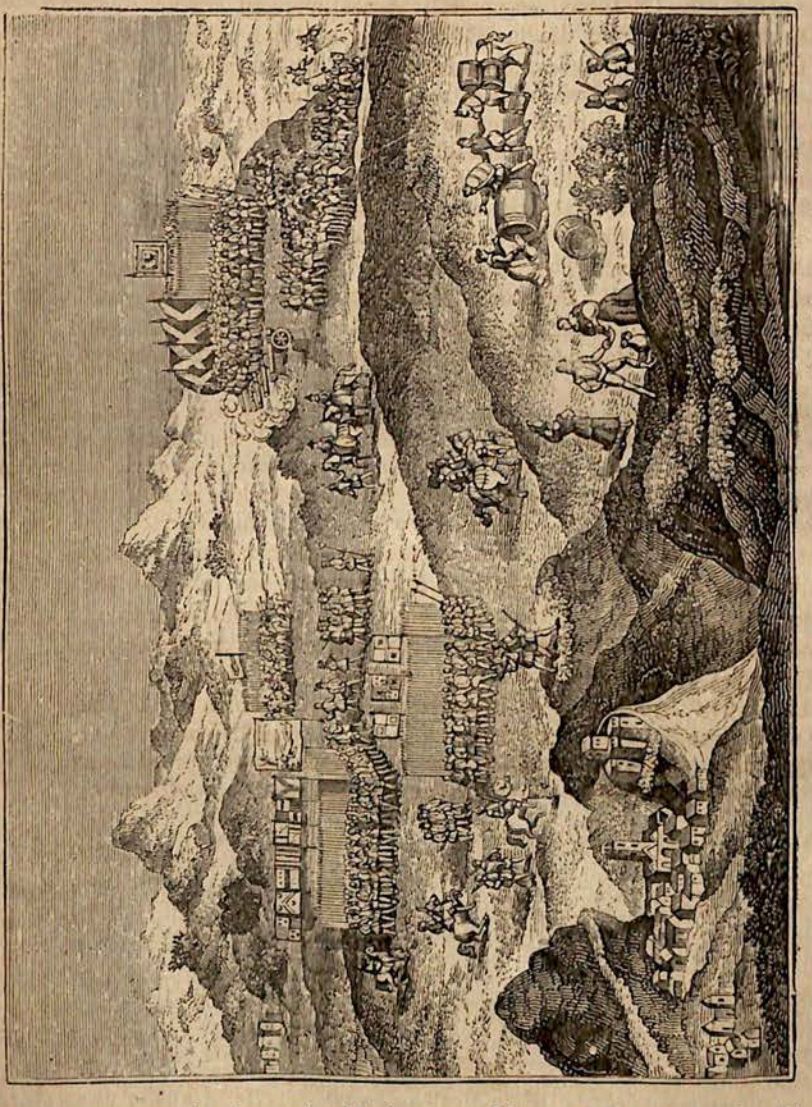
Two days elapsed before any public steps were taken to discover the perpetrators of this deed. Then a proclamation was issued offering a large reward. Placards were soon displayed in the city denouncing Bothwell, James Balfour, and others, as the murderers. Mary removed to the seat of lord Seaton. Darnley was buried with great privacy; and his father made ineffectual solicitations to the queen that she should take steps for the immediate apprehension of those named in the placards. Bothwell continued about the queen, having the chief management of public affairs; and the Court at Seaton was occupied with somewhat ill-timed amusements. The opportunities for a searching inquiry into the circumstances of the murder were passing away. Some of the inferior agents who were suspected were leaving Scotland. Bothwell rode through the streets of Edinburgh with fifty guards; passionately declaring, that if he knew the authors of the placards he would wash his hands in their blood. The chief nobles, including Murray, absented themselves from court, as if in disgust. Even Beaton, the queen's ambassador at Paris, wrote to her in the following plain terms: "Of this deed, if I should write all that is spoken here, and also in England, of the miserable estate of the realm by the dishonour of the nobility, mistrust and treason of your whole subjects,—yea, that yourself is greatly and wrongously calumniated to be the motive principal of the whole, and all

* W. E. Aytoun, Notes to "Bothwell," p. 263. † Herries.

done by your command,—I can conclude nothing besides that which your majesty writes to me yourself that since it hath pleased God to preserve you to take a rigorous vengeance thereof, that rather than it be not actually taken, it appears to me better, in this world, that you had lost life and all." Mary did not do what this honest adviser exhorted her to do—"that you do such justice as the whole world may declare your innocence." She received from Elizabeth a message of condolence and advice; and she promised the queen of England's envoy that Bothwell should be brought to an open trial. But she immediately admitted the guilty man to greater favour than ever; bestowed upon him new marks of her confidence, such as the custody of Edinburgh castle; and enabled him so to strengthen himself, that the promised trial was a mockery and an imposture. No one dared to accuse the man who commanded all the military power of the state. The father of Darnley now besought Mary to delay the trial, so that the accused should be less able to control its issue by force. He applied to Elizabeth, who exhorted her sister-queen to listen to so reasonable a request. The provost-marshal of Berwick arrived with Elizabeth's letter on the 12th of April, the day appointed for the trial. The city was wholly in the power of Bothwell, who had four thousand of his followers in the streets and the court of the palace. The castle was under his command. Bothwell's armed men surrounded the Tolbooth, where the trial was to take place. Lennox was commanded to enter Edinburgh with no more than six attendants, and he naturally shrunk from the danger that appeared imminent, and declined to appear in person. A gentleman, on his part, boldly re-iterated the charge against Bothwell, but requested delay. There was no accuser and no evidence, and a verdict of acquittal was pronounced. The parliament confirmed the acquittal. Murray had returned to France. Bothwell received new marks of the queen's favour; and his ultimate elevation was anticipated by the signatures of many nobles to a bond, in which they recommended him as a suitable husband for the queen. But some of the most important men in Scotland were roused by the insolence of the favorite and the infatuation of Mary; who, according to a letter written by sir William Kirkaldy, the laird of Grange, to the earl of Bedford, had said, with reference to Bothwell,—"She cared not to lose France, England, and her own country for him, and shall go with him to the world's end in a white petticoat, before she leave him." * The indignation of the people was soon completed by a most extraordinary proceeding. The queen had been on the 21st of April to Stirling, to see her child. As she was returning to Edinburgh, on the 24th, she was surrounded by a great band of Bothwell's followers, to the number of eight hundred, led by him; and was conducted, as if by force, to his castle of Dunbar. Grange, on the 26th, addressed a letter to Bedford, in which he accuses Mary of complicity in this seizure, "to the end that she may sooner end the marriage whilk she promised before she caused Bothwell murder her husband." Proceedings for a collusive divorce between Bothwell and his wife, the lady Jane Gordon, were hurried through the courts. Craig, a protestant minister, was ordered to proclaim the banns of matrimony between the queen and Bothwell, which he did in the High Church, adding, "I take Heaven and earth to witness that

* Letter in State Paper Office, Tytler, vol. vii. p. 106.

I abhor and detest this marriage." On the 12th of May the queen came to Edinburgh, and created Bothwell duke of Orkney and Shetland. On the 15th they were married. If there could be happiness in such an union it was quickly over. The French ambassador, within a fortnight after, wrote to Catherine de Medici, " On Thursday the queen sent for me, when I perceived



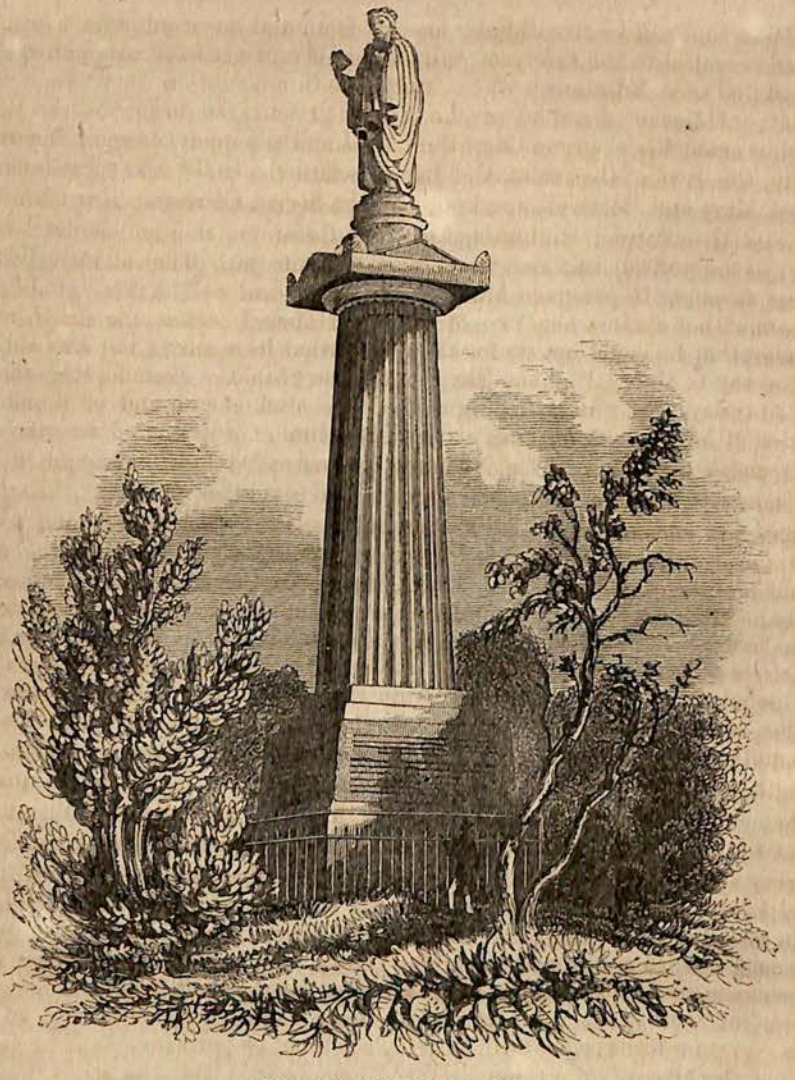
Surrender of Mary, Queen of Scots, at Carberry-hill. From the ancient print published by the Society of Antiquaries.

something strange in the mutual behaviour of her and her husband. She attempted to excuse it, and said, 'If you see me melancholy, it is because I do not choose to be cheerful; because I never will be so, and wish for nothing but death.' " * It is related that she was treated with indignity by the man

* Raumer, p. 99.

for whom she had sacrificed her peace of mind and her reputation; and that on one occasion when she had been subjected to his insults, she called aloud for a knife to stab herself.

A confederacy of nobles was soon formed, with the declared intention of putting down the power of Bothwell. He and the queen were at Borthwick castle, about ten miles from Edinburgh, when the place was surrounded by an armed force. Bothwell escaped by a postern, and reached his own castle of Dunbar. Mary fled, disguised as a man, and joined her new husband in his fortress. The confederates secured the capital. The queen called her followers round the royal banner at Dunbar; and on the 14th of June advanced with a considerable force towards Edinburgh. She entrenched herself on Carberry-hill—a place remarkable as the position which the English held before the battle of Pinkie. On Sunday the 15th the confederates marched out of Edinburgh; and the two armies were soon in presence of each other. Bothwell sent by a herald his personal defiance of any one who accused him of Darnley's murder. The challenge was accepted by Lindsay; but Mary forbad the encounter. Her own army began to desert her, and a general panic soon ensued. The queen demanded a parley. Grange came to meet her, and tendered the obedience of the lords in arms if Bothwell were dismissed. She did dismiss him. There was a brief farewell; and they met no more. He became a pirate and an outcast. Mary was conducted to the camp of the confederates; and she soon perceived that she was a prisoner. "Give me your hand," she said to Lindsay; and placing her delicate fingers in his rough palm, she exclaimed, "By the hand which is now in yours, I'll have your head for this." Riding between Athol and Morton, she was conducted into Edinburgh amidst the execrations of an infuriated populace. The soldiers carried a banner, on which was painted the body of the murdered Darnley lying under the tree near the Kirk of Field, and a child kneeling beside it, with the legend, "Judge and avenge my cause, O Lord." This terrible flag was paraded before her; and when she awoke next morning, and looked out of the window of the provost's house in which she had been lodged, the same dreadful representation was hung up to meet her first gaze. In her despair she attempted to address the people, who were moved to some pity at her agony. That day she was carried as a prisoner to Lochleven.



Monument to Knox, at Glasgow.

CHAPTER X.

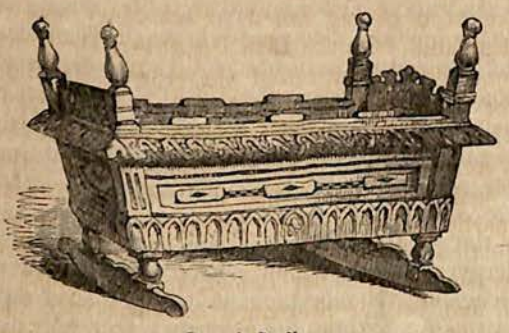
Mary compelled to resign the Crown—Murray accepts the Regency—Escape of Mary from Lochleven—Circumstances of her escape—Battle of Langsyde—Mary takes refuge in England—Mary's detention in England—Conferences of York and London—Mary placed under charge of the Earl of Shrewsbury—Anxiety for her safe custody—The duke of Norfolk and Mary—Lady Catherine Grey.

THE captivity of queen Mary was the signal for the return of John Knox to Scotland. If he were not privy to the conspiracy for the assassination of

David Riccio, he did not withhold his satisfaction at an event which he considered essential to the safety of religion and the good of the commonwealth. He had fled from Edinburgh when Mary was in a condition to revenge that murder. He came back when she was a prisoner, to urge the strongest measures against her; grounding "the lawfulness to punish her upon Scripture history, the laws of the realm, and her coronation oath." * The confederacy against Mary and Bothwell was known as the Secret Council. Knox heartily embraced their cause; stipulating that the Reformed religion should be restored to the position in which it was placed by the parliament of 1560. After various attempts to persuade Mary to renounce Bothwell, Knox "thundered out cannon-shot against her." † Morton told Throckmorton, the English ambassador, that he could not do for the queen what he wished; but was obliged to give way to the zeal of the clergy and the people. Elizabeth, no doubt with sincerity, was remonstrating against the confinement and proposed deposition of Mary; but she was, at the same time, not prepared to take any strong measures of forcible interference for her safety. The unhappy queen was hemmed about with violent enemies and doubtful friends. Elizabeth charged her ambassador to insist that subjects were not to be judges of a sovereign;—it was "contrary to Scripture and unreasonable, that the head should be subject to the foot." Knox, Buchanan, Craig, and other preachers boldly maintained, and it was "a public speech amongst the people," that "their queen hath no more liberty nor privilege to commit murder nor adultery than any other private person, neither by God's laws nor by the laws of the realm." The people were inflamed to the highest fury. Mary's life appeared in danger, and she talked of seeking refuge in a French nunnery. The General Assembly of the Church united with the lords of the Secret Council in desiring the queen to be brought to trial, and, if found guilty, to be put to death; "and there seemed every probability that this dreadful result was about to take place, had it not been for the interference of Throckmorton." ‡ Murray was absent in France. At last, another course was resolved upon. Lord Lindsay, under whose severe custody she had been five weeks at Lochleven castle, and who had come to the capital to attend the General Assembly, now returned to the queen with three instruments to which her signature was demanded; whose tenour was, to resign the crown in favour of her son; to appoint Murray regent of the realm during her son's infancy; and to constitute certain lords regents till Murray's return, or permanently if he should decline the office. Mary long refused compliance; but the stern Lindsay terrified her into submission. The immediate coronation of the infant prince was their next measure. The English ambassador was invited to attend the ceremony, but he gave a peremptory refusal, stating that the proceedings of the Secret Council had been wholly against the advice and remonstrances of Elizabeth. The abdication of Mary took place on the 24th of July; the coronation of James on the 29th. The earl of Mar, his governor, bore the infant prince to the throne at the High Church of Stirling: the deeds of resignation by his mother were read, and Lindsay and Ruthven swore that they were her voluntary acts; Knox preached; the child was crowned; Morton

* Report of Throckmorton, July 18. † Throckmorton to Cecil.
‡ Tytler, vol. vii. p. 164.

swore for him that he would maintain the Reformed religion and extirpate heresy; the lords took the oath of allegiance; and the infant of thirteen months was carried back to his cradle. The indignation of Elizabeth at this proceeding was expressed in the strongest terms through her ambassador; but he was assured, without any reserve, that the hostility of the English government would only shorten Mary's days; for that those who pretended to be her friends, the party of the Hamiltons, had, within the last forty-eight hours, proposed to the interim-regents to put her to death. All that Throckmorton could accomplish in favour of the prisoner, was that so fearful a measure, "the outgait" of the question, as they termed it, should be suspended till the return of Murray.*



James's Cradle.

Murray came from France at the beginning of August. The French government showed indifference to the fate of Mary, and great efforts were made by that government to secure the interest of the powerful man who had been chosen regent. He decided to communicate with Elizabeth. Alleged proofs of Mary being privy to her husband's murder had been put into his hands; and he was disposed to take part with the confederate lords. He had an interview with the queen of England, who took a high tone, and expressed her determination to restore Mary to her crown. Elizabeth's advisers would have moderated her indignation at Mary's rebellious subjects; but she kept to her resolution to support the cause of a sovereign held captive by an authority that set itself above the throne. When Murray reached Scotland he was irresolute as to the acceptance of the regency. On the one side, he was pressed by those who held in their hands letters and papers which they exhibited as proofs of Mary's guilt; on the other, it was represented to him that Mary's abdication was extorted from her. He determined to see her himself. On the 15th of August, in company with Morton, Athol, and Lindsay, he visited her at Lochleven. Mary appealed to him as her brother and her friend. He set before her all that had been alleged as the follies and crimes of her life; and a conversation, which lasted till midnight, ended in his exhorting her to seek refuge in the mercy of God. In the morning they had another interview, when Mary exhorted him to save her life, and pressed him to accept the regency. On the 22d of August Murray was proclaimed regent. At a meeting with the English ambassador, he declared his intention to make common cause with the lords. Though he had not been a party to their past doings, he commended what they had done;

* The undoubted details of this treachery of Mary's pretended friends are given by Mr. Tytler, vol. vii. pp. 170 to 175, in complete disproof of the statements of "our popular historians."

"and seeing the queen my sovereign and they, have laid on me the charge of regency, a burden I would gladly have avoided, I am resolved to maintain their action, and will reduce all men to obedience in the king's name, or it shall cost me my life." Throckmorton having asked to see Mary, was refused; and he was recalled to England. On the 15th December, the regent summoned a parliament. The queen's resignation of the crown, the king's coronation, and the regency of Murray, were confirmed. The pope's authority was abolished; the Confession of Faith of 1560 was sanctioned; all heretics and hearers of mass were declared liable to various punishments; and the Presbyterian Church was fully established as "the Immaculate Spouse of Christ." An Act of parliament was passed to exonerate those who had risen in arms to demand justice on the murderers of Darnley; which Act declared that the queen was confined for her demerits, seeing that by her private letters to Bothwell, and by her pretended marriage with him, she was cognisant, art and part, of the murder of the king her husband. These "divers her privy letters written wholly with her own hand," have been the subject of interminable controversy. They were said to have been found in a silver casket, which Mary had given to Bothwell, and which came into the hands of Morton after her surrender at Carberry-hill. Hume holds that "the objections made to their authenticity are, in general, of small force." * These letters afterwards formed part of the evidence upon an elaborate inquiry into the guilt or innocence of Mary. After the queen had been six months under restraint, opinions came to be more divided about her conduct and character. The sympathy naturally inspired by the misfortunes of a young and beautiful woman began to operate as a counterpoise to the severe denunciations of the stern reformers. New factions began to be formed, each having its objects of personal ambition. Murray, as was almost inevitable, screened the higher delinquents in Darnley's assassination, and proceeded severely against their tools. The Romanists, now a marked and proscribed minority, were anxious for some revolution which might restore their influence. On the 2d of May, 1568, Scotland was convulsed by the tidings that Mary had escaped from that prison whose walls were girded by the waters of Lochleven, seeming to present an insurmountable barrier to her release. In that isolated castle she had passed nine months of sorrow and anxiety —possibly of penitence—but never without hope of restoration to sovereign authority. Admiration she could command under the greatest reverse of fortune. George Douglas, the younger brother of William Douglas, the owner of Lochleven castle, was subdued by her charms; and even his proud mother, whose son was the regent Murray, had mitigated her original severity under Mary's fascinating influence. By the aid of George Douglas she had attempted to escape in the disguise of a laundress; but her delicate white hands had betrayed her real condition, and she was brought back to her solitary prison. This attempt was made on the 25th of April, and is described in a letter from Drury to Cecil. Mary had put on the hood of her laundress and had covered her face with a muffler or veil; and so, with a bundle of

* History of England, vol. v. Robertson and Laing agree in this opinion. Hume supports his conviction by an argument for their genuineness under fifteen heads (Notes to vol. v.) Mr. Aytoun boldly says, "The letters are now, I believe, universally admitted to be rank forgeries." Notes to "Bothwell," p. 293.

clothes she entered a boat that was about to cross the Loch. "After some space, one of them that rowed said merrily, 'Let us see what manner of dame this is,' and therewith offered to pull down her muffler, which to defend she put up her hands, which they espied to be very fair and white." Thus discovered, the boatmen heeded not her commands to row her over to the shore, but carried her back again to the castle. George Douglas, John Beaton, a brother of the archbishop of Glasgow, and other friends, were waiting at Kinross. A more successful attempt quickly followed. On the 2nd of May she accomplished her purpose by the aid of the same devoted admirer, the younger Douglas, who, dismissed from the castle, was still able to carry on a secret correspondence with the queen, and contrived to organise a formidable confederacy in her favour.

The story of Mary's escape has been worked up into the most picturesque of narratives by the great novelist of Scotland, and with no important deviation from the actual circumstances. These are related with some minuteness in an account transmitted by John Beaton to the king of France, and, upon his authority, repeated in an Italian letter to Cosmo de Medici from his envoy at Paris.* Beaton, nothing discouraged by the failure of the 25th of April, had contrived a new plan for her escape; and on the evening of the 2nd of May, there are anxious watchers on the neighbouring hills, and in the village of Kinross. One solitary man is gazing towards the castle from the edge of the lake. The outer gate opens, and a female hastens towards a boat. She leads a girl of ten years old by the hand; and a youth stays behind for a minute to lock the gate through which they have passed. He is a page of the castle, called the little Douglas. He has been won to Mary's succour, and he has rendered the most effectual aid by adroitly removing the massy key as he places a plate before the castellan, who is intent upon his evening meal. "The lad, Willie," as he is called in a letter from Kirkaldy to Douglas, has done his work like a true hero of romance; and he has been immortalised under another name.† The female and her two youthful attendants enter the boat. There is a white veil, with a broad red fringe, waving in the setting sun; and the gazers upon the boat know by this signal that it remains for them to insure success to this perilous enterprise. It was lord Seaton and his friends who were watching the going in and the return of the boat, from their quiet hidings on the hills. It was George Douglas who was the first to receive Mary on the edge of the lake. The instant she landed the queen was on horseback—she who once regretted "that she was not a man, to lie all night in the fields, or to walk upon the causeway with a jack and a knapscap, a Glasgow buckler and a broadsword." She rode at full speed to Niddrie castle, where she rested a few hours; wrote a letter to France; commanded a Hepburn to go to Dunbar to claim the castle for her; and then to carry to Bothwell, in Denmark, the news of her deliverance. She then again took horse, and arrived at Hamilton, where she considered herself secure. In a few hours she was surrounded by numerous lords and their followers. The deposed prisoner of a dreary castle on the 2nd of May, was on the 5th a queen at the head of an army.

* Tytler, "Proofs and Illustrations to History of Scotland," vol. vii. p. 457.
† Roland Græme, the page in "The Abbot."

But the earls and bishops, the barons and abbots, who, to the number of a hundred and fifty, had assembled at Mary's Council at Hamilton, and had declared the proceedings which had ended in Murray's regency as treasonable and of none effect,—these, in the want of a commanding leader, and each with his motives of vague ambition,—were unequal to cope with the master-mind of the regent, supported as he was by able counsellors who had every thing to lose, and by enthusiastic reformers whom no peril could turn away from the great cause for which they were as ready to fight as to preach. Murray was at Glasgow, only eight miles from Mary's camp at Hamilton, with an ordinary train, who attended upon his presidency in a court of justice there. Offers of negociation were sent to him from the queen's council; but he issued a proclamation in which he avowed his resolve to support the government of the king. Some advised retreat. He decided not to move, but to gather assistance for an instant attack upon the queen's force. In ten days he was at the head of four thousand disciplined men. Mary's soundest advisers first counselled that she should remove to Dunbarton, which castle had been secured for her; and there, without the hazard of a battle, to endeavour to regain that influence in the kingdom which she had lost from the time of her fatal marriage with Bothwell. But the party of the Hamiltons thought themselves strong enough to destroy Murray, and secure their own ascendency. The march to Dunbarton on the 13th of May, was, however, decided upon; but it was to be made in the face of an enemy who had his choice of attack or delay. Murray's camp was on the moor on the right bank of the Clyde, near Glasgow. The queen's army had its line of advance on the opposite bank. They had to defile through a narrow lane. Grange, who commanded under Murray, saw his advantage, and fording the Clyde with his horsemen, each having a foot-soldier behind him, placed them amongst cottages and gardens on each side of this lane. The queen's vanguard were driven back by the heavy fire which awaited their progress. Murray and Morton had crossed the river by a bridge, with their border pikemen. Morton led an advance, and the conflict was for some time doubtful. Murray had stood for a short time on the defensive against the charges of cavalry; but by an attack upon the queen's ranks with his main force the battle of three-quarters of an hour was decided. The number slain was comparatively small—not more than three hundred on the queen's side, and only two persons on the side of the regent. There is an account in the State Paper Office, headed, "Advertisements of the Conflicts in Scotland," dated May 16, which, in mentioning the flight of the queen's party, says, "At the beginning of which chase the earl of Murray willed and required all his to spare for shedding of more blood." We learn from the narrative, that "the queen beheld this conflict within half a mile distant, standing upon a hill." In that civil warfare she would ill distinguish between her friends and her foes; for "there were divers of the queen's part taken and not brought in, for there was the father against the son, and brother against brother, as namely, three of the Melvins of the lords' side, and two of the queen's." When all hope was lost on the dispersion of her army, Mary rode at full speed towards Dumfries; and never halted till she had reached the abbey of Dundrennan, near Kirkcudbright. On the 16th, having determined to take refuge in England, she crossed the Solway in a small boat, and landed at Workington,

in Cumberland. On the 17th, while remaining at Workington, she addressed a letter in French to Elizabeth, in which she enumerates the wrongs she had received from her rebellious subjects; describes the battle of Langsyde; and implores the queen that, having come into her country, she would receive her for safety of her life, and further assist her in her just quarrel. She adds, "I entreat you to send to fetch me as soon as you possibly can, for I am in a pitiable state not only for a queen but for a gentlewoman; for I have nothing in the world but what I had on my person when I made my escape, travelling sixty miles across the country on the first day, and not having since dared to proceed except by night."* When Mary arrived at Workington, she was received with kindness by the country gentlemen; and was conducted with respect to Carlisle by Mr. Lowther, the deputy-governor. She was attended by her friends, lords Herries and Fleming. Herries had taken the precaution to write to Lowther on the 15th, to know if the queen could come safely to Carlisle; but Mary was too impatient to wait for the answer, which was to the effect that, without instructions, he could only undertake to receive her with due honour, and to keep her in safety till the pleasure of the queen of England was known.

The position in which the English government was placed by the sudden events of a single fortnight was one of real embarrassment. We say the English government; for to attribute the policy pursued towards Mary to the personal feelings of Elizabeth, and not to the deliberate advice of her counsellors, is one of those mistakes which, in deference to popular views, historical writers have not been sufficiently careful to avoid. There is a paper extant in Cecil's handwriting which shows his extreme solicitude to arrive at a safe judgment upon the most difficult question that had ever presented itself to the sober regard of a statesman. That the queen of Scots should continue to be deprived of her crown, and that the administration of the country should remain under the regency, he holds to be the best way for England, but not the easiest. The escape from Lochleven, the claim of aid from Elizabeth of succour and protection, complicated that safer position which existed when the matters in dispute were confined to Mary and her own people. The queen of England had been strongly opposed to the deposition of Mary; but to take measures for her restoration, in opposition to an established authority which had been confirmed by the Scottish parliament, was to enter upon a war against those Protestant opinions upon which the rule of Elizabeth herself was founded. To permit Mary to return to Scotland without conditions, or to seek for aid from France, would either be a course of no light danger. To suffer her to remain in perfect freedom in England would have been to endanger Elizabeth's own position, by giving encouragement to that Roman Catholic party that held Mary as the legitimate heir of the English throne. Cecil saw all these difficulties, when he had to consider whether Mary's demand of an interview with Elizabeth could be conceded. Sir James Mackintosh holds that in the arguments which Cecil had set down for the guidance of his sovereign, he "had taken a comprehensive view of all the mixed considerations of policy and justice which arose on that peculiarly debateable ground, on which the safety of a people seems to

* Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 236.

create a species of moral right, and to justify those acts which are necessary to secure the undisturbed quiet of the state, even when they deviate from rules which are, with reason, deemed inviolable in any but the most extreme and extraordinary cases."* The detention of Mary, the deposed queen of the Scots, and of Napoleon, the abdicated emperor of the French, when each had put themselves in the power of the English government, without conditions, have some parallel in their exception from ordinary rules. Pointing out this general resemblance of the cases, the same wise teacher of political philosophy says, "The imprisonment, though in neither case warranted by the rules of municipal or international law, was in both justified by that necessity from which those rules have sprung, and without which no violence can rightfully be done to a human being." †

The policy of the English government with regard to Mary resolved itself into a determination that there should be a solemn investigation into the truth of the charges against her of being accessary to the murder of her husband. Elizabeth, whatever might have been her notion of the abstract right of sovereigns, was too wise, or had too wise advisers, to listen to the exhortation of Catherine de Medici, "to persevere in the same opinion which you have hitherto maintained, that princes should assist each other to chastise and punish subjects who rise against them, and are rebels to their sovereigns." Sir Francis Knollys, a kinsman of Elizabeth, was sent by her to confer with Mary at Carlisle; and he used an argument towards her, as reported by him to his queen, which opens a large field of exception to the doctrine of the queen-mother of France: "I objected unto her that in some cases princes might be deposed from their government by their subjects lawfully, as if a prince should fall into madness. And, said I, what difference is there between lunacy and cruel murdering; for the one is an evil humour proceeding of melancholy, and the other is an evil humour proceeding of choler: wherefore the question is whether your grace deserved to be put from the government or not." At this argument the tears fell from the eyes of the unhappy Mary. Whether Elizabeth wholly approved of the logic of her representative, or not, the decision of her government was put upon this issue.

The detention of Mary at Carlisle, near the Scottish frontier, being thought dangerous, she was removed in July to Bolton castle. Her indignation at being considered a prisoner was unabated. The factions in Scotland were at open war. A French army was expected with eagerness by Mary's adherents, though she herself disclaimed any knowledge of their intended landing. An armistice was at length concluded between the opposing parties; and a conference was opened at York on the 4th of October. The queen of England was represented by three commissioners, the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and sir Ralph Sadler, who were to hear the allegations of the queen of Scots against her rebellious subjects; and the counter-charges against herself, made by those who had raised war against their sovereign. Mary chose the bishop of Ross and lord Herries, with others, to be her commissioners. Murray was accompanied by four commissioners, with Lethington and Buchanan as assistants. The representatives of Mary set forth the

* "History of England," vol. iii. p. 115. † *Ibid.*, p. 121, note.

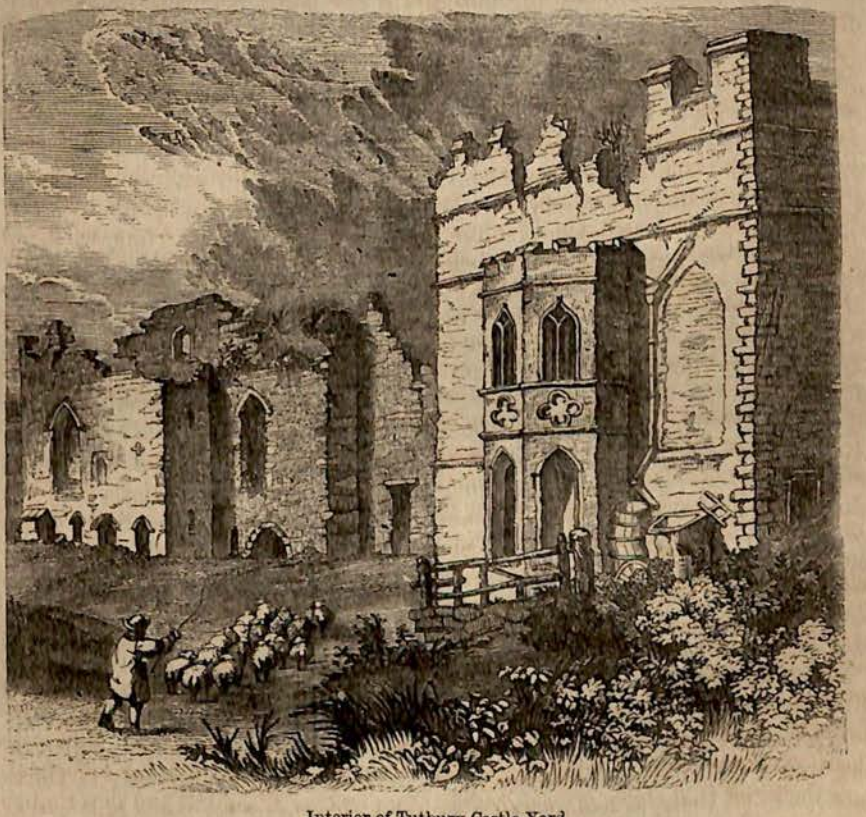
notorious facts of the revolt against her by the usurpers of her authority, of her imprisonment, her deposition, the coronation of her infant son, the regency of Murray, her enforced flight into England. Murray was placed in a position of extreme difficulty if not of danger. Before he brought forward proofs of the crimes of Mary, which could alone justify the course he and his friends had pursued, he sought to receive some assurance that, if the queen of Scots should be declared guilty, he should be sanctioned by the English government in his proceedings, and supported in his office. The assurance was not given; for the question was to be submitted to Elizabeth's own decision. The duke of Norfolk, who afterwards paid a terrible penalty for his espousal of the cause of Mary in the desire to become her husband—not without some inclination to favour her claim to the English crown—influenced Murray to withhold his accusations against the queen of Scots. "The English queen, his mistress," he said, "was resolved during her life to evade the question of the succession, careless what blood might be shed, or what confusion might arise upon the point: as to the true title, none doubted that it lay in the queen of Scots and her son; and much he marvelled that the regent, whom he had always reputed a wise and honourable man, should come hither to blacken his mistress, and, as far as he could, destroy the prospect of her and her son's succession." * In consequence of this influence Murray withheld the real defence of himself and his friends, and made no public charge against Mary. But he privately exhibited to Norfolk, Sussex, and Sadler, the written proofs of Mary's guilt, alleged to have been found in the silver casket. The commissioners of Elizabeth transmitted to her an abstract of these papers, with this strong opinion of their authenticity:—"The letters discourse of some things which were unknown to any other than herself and Bothwell; and as it is hard to counterfeit so many, so the matter of them, and the manner in which these men came by them, are such that as it seemeth that God, in whose sight murder is abominable, would not permit the same to be hid or concealed." † The commissioners of Mary had now an interview with Elizabeth, when she informed them that the enemies of their queen had entirely failed in their defence; but that another conference should be held in London. Murray, after some further hesitation, made his accusation against the queen in the strongest terms; and Lennox, the father of the murdered Darnley, also accused Mary of conspiring his death. Mary's commissioners now required that she should be heard in person by Elizabeth; which Elizabeth refused, until Murray had brought forward his proofs. The commissioners of Mary then took an extraordinary step. They made a proposal for a compromise, by which Murray and the queen should be reconciled. This proposition was rejected by Elizabeth. The bishop of Ross, and his associates, now declared that the conferences were at an end, as Elizabeth had determined to receive from Murray proofs of his injurious charges against Mary, before she was herself heard in the presence of her sister-queen. The discussions and recriminations were prolonged for some time. Murray delivered his proofs as regarded the written evidence of Mary's complicity in the guilt of

* Melvil's Memoirs, quoted by Tytler as unquestionable authority, "as he was not only present at York, but the regent made him privy to this secret interview." See also Jardine's "Criminal Trials," vol. i.

† Letter from York, October 11, 1568

Darnley's assassination; and her commissioners still persisted in their refusal to re-open the conferences. Elizabeth, as Norfolk had intimated, would come to no final decision. Mr. Tytler, after fully narrating these remarkable proceedings, in which he holds that "both Elizabeth and the queen of Scots acted with great art," says, "so far as we judge of these conferences by themselves, they leave the mind under the unsatisfying and painful impression that the conduct of the Scottish queen, throughout the whole investigation, was that of a person neither directly guilty, nor yet wholly innocent." *

During the conferences at York and London, Mary Stuart had remained under the care of Lord Scrope, at Bolton. By an order of Council in January, 1569, she was placed with George, earl of Shrewsbury, and was removed to his castle of Tutbury, on the 2nd of February. The earl, one of the highest



Interior of Tutbury Castle Yard.

of the peers of England, had the burthensome, dangerous, and not very honourable office imposed upon him, of having the custody, for many years, of the deposed queen, who, however strictly watched, was in correspondence, from first to last, with the enemies of Elizabeth and her government; and

* "History of Scotland," vol. vii. p. 268.

who was the pivot of most of the domestic and foreign intrigues for the overthrow of English Protestantism. Before the end of 1568 the earl of Shrewsbury had written to his energetic wife, known as "Bess of Hardwick," that the queen had told him she meant to trust him as she would trust few, by which he understood that he was to have the custody of the queen of Scots. It is difficult to understand how any nobleman of great riches and influence, if possessed of a high spirit, could have submitted to the slavery of such an office. Shrewsbury and his wife were to be ever at Mary's side. She was carried about with them from Tutbury to their various castles and manor-houses—to Sheffield, to Buxton, to Worksworth, to Chatsworth, to Winfield. These, indeed, were pleasant places, surrounded by cultivated fields and rich woods—far different from the solitary Lochleven. Tutbury castle stood upon a high hill, at the foot of which runs the river Dove; with Needwood forest around it, and the Peak mountains in the distance. Sheffield castle was upon an eminence overlooking the little town, where "the whittle" was then forged without the tilt-hammer. In the grand old halls where John Talbot had held his state, Mary spent fourteen years of her captivity, with a few temporary changes. Tradition says that Hardwick was amongst her prison-houses; and in that fine mansion of the Tudor days we are shown her bedroom and her tapestry-work. But tradition is wrong, according to modern archæology;* although bishop Kennet, a hundred and sixty years ago, said of Mary, "Her chamber and rooms of state, with her arms and other ensigns, are still remaining at Hardwick; her bed was taken away for plunder in the Civil Wars."† But wherever Mary was, the anxiety of Elizabeth for her safe detention was unremitting. In August, 1569, Cecil writes to the earl that the queen was troubled to hear that he, Shrewsbury, was going, or gone, to the baths at Buxton; "and," he says, "if you were gone, which she said she would hardly believe, then I should seek to understand what order your lordship had left for attendance upon the said queen, and that yourself should not be long absent from thence." Cecil adds, what may be considered as a piece of court duplicity, that "her majesty said she did as much esteem for her own honour to have the queen of Scots to be honourably attended, as for any matter of surety."‡ Within a fortnight after this letter, Shrewsbury is warned not to permit persons coming to himself or his lady, "to have resort to the queen of Scots' presence." In another month, the earl of Huntingdon, in consequence of the sickness of Shrewsbury, is commanded to repair to Shrewsbury's house, with his own trusty servants, "and there to take the charge of the said queen." In this letter from Elizabeth herself to Huntingdon, she says, "We will have you also, after conference with our said cousin of Shrewsbury, to devise how the number of the queen of Scots' train might be diminished, and reduced only to thirty persons of all sorts, as was ordered, but, as we perceive, too much enlarged of late time. You shall also, jointly with the earl of Shrewsbury, give order that no such common resort be to the queen as hath been; nor that she have such liberty to send posts as she hath done."§ A short note from Cecil to Shrewsbury, of the same date, shows a cause for all this jealous vigilance:

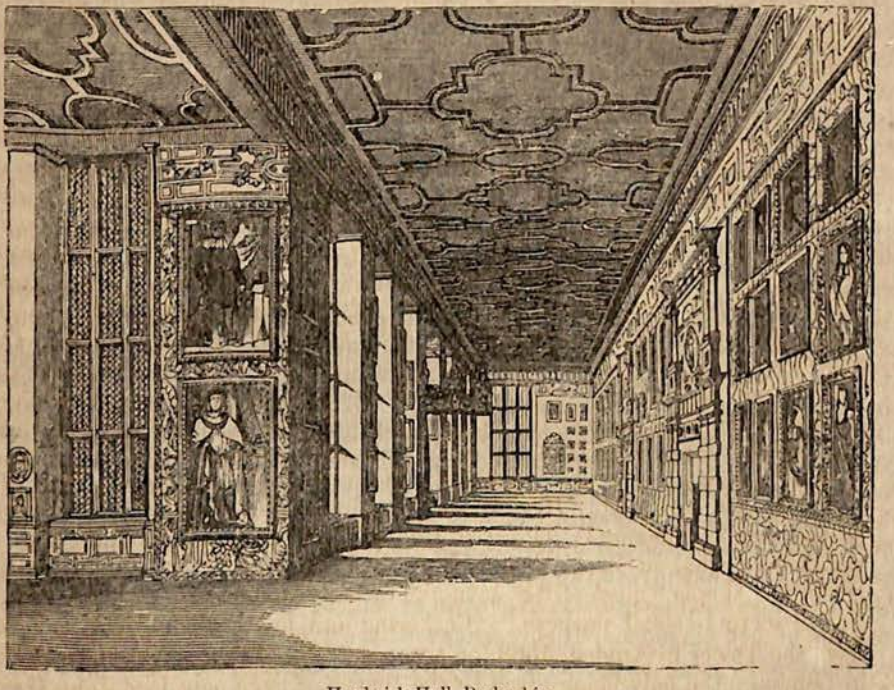
* See a paper by the Rev. J. Hunter, in "Archæologia," vol. xxxii.
† Quoted in Mr. Craik's "Romance of the Peerage," vol. iii. p. 178.
‡ Lodge's "Illustrations," 4to, vol. ii. p. 18. § *Ibid.*, p. 21.

"The queen's majesty is entered into no small offence with the intention that she thinketh hath been to devise of a marriage with the Scottish queen." * We have seen how, during the conferences at York, the duke of Norfolk prevailed upon the regent Murray to suppress his charges against Mary. When Murray was goaded into a public accusation, Norfolk was greatly angered against him; but they became reconciled, and Murray consented to favour Norfolk's project of a marriage with Mary. In 1569 this scheme was promoted by some English nobles, without the privity of Elizabeth; and a letter was written by Leicester, and three other lords, to Mary, urging her to consent to such a marriage, to which she returned a favourable answer. A formal contract of marriage was afterwards drawn up. In August, 1569, some ladies of Elizabeth's court got to the knowledge of this secret—with the feminine "sagacity in smelling out amatory affairs." † Leicester, who was subsequently accused by Norfolk as the inventor of this scheme for his ruin, revealed the transaction to the queen, and was forgiven. Elizabeth then invited the duke to dine with her; and, when he rose to leave, significantly told him "to beware on what pillow he laid his head." This is Camden's anecdote, no doubt founded upon what was urged against the duke by the queen's serjeant, upon his trial in 1572; namely, that the queen having understood his intention to marry with Mary, he complained to her of the rumour; "in which complaint," says the serjeant, "as I have heard her majesty herself declare it, and some here of my lords have likewise heard it, he said, 'To what end should I seek to marry her, being so wicked a woman, such a notorious adulteress, and murderer? I love to sleep upon a safe pillow. I account myself, by your majesty's good favour, as good a prince at home in my bowling-alley at Norwich as she is, though she were in the middle of her kingdom. The revenues of the crown of Scotland are not comparable to mine own, that I enjoy by your goodness, as I have heard of the chief officers of that realm; besides, her kingdom is not in her own hand, but possessed by another. If I should seek to match with her, knowing, as I do know, that she pretendeth a title to your crown, your majesty might justly charge me with seeking to take your own crown from your head.' This the duke spake to the queen's majesty, in his excuse, when the rumour was spread of his proposed marriage with the Scottish queen; and yet, at that time, he had dealt earnestly in it." ‡

The duke of Norfolk was committed to the Tower on the 9th of October, where he continued a prisoner till the 4th of the following August. Cecil honestly protested against the duke being brought to trial for high treason upon insufficient evidence. But this autumn of 1569 was a period of great anxiety, which sufficiently justified the vigilance and suspicion of Elizabeth's government. Immediately after the arrest of Norfolk an insurrection broke out in the northern counties, headed by the catholic lords, Percy, earl of Northumberland, and Neville, earl of Westmorland. They proclaimed their design of restoring the old religion, and it was their intention to release the queen of Scots, and to place her upon the English throne. They also contemplated the release of Norfolk. Mary was

* Lodge's "Illustrations," 4to, vol. ii. p. 23.
† Camden. ‡ Jardine, p. 162.

hurriedly removed from Tutbury castle to Coventry. The details of this insurrection will be better understood after a brief view of the progress of the country towards a settled government and established religion, since the accession of queen Elizabeth.



Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire.

In the desire not to interrupt the course of our narrative as regards Mary, queen of Scots, we passed over an interesting matter of public and personal history—the touching story of lady Catherine Grey. This second sister of lady Jane Grey had been betrothed to lord Herbert; but upon the fortunes of the house of Suffolk falling before the ascendency of Mary Tudor, the alliance was repudiated, and Herbert was married to a daughter of the earl of Shrewsbury. After the death of the duchess of Suffolk, the niece of Henry VIII., in the first year of Elizabeth's reign, her daughter, lady Catherine Grey, stood next to Mary Stuart as the heir to the crown after the death of Elizabeth; and, according to the will of Henry VIII., she was considered by some as having the true title to its immediate possession. Lady Catherine had a court-appointment under Elizabeth, and was the intimate friend of Jane Seymour, the daughter of the Protector Somerset, who was also one of the Maids of Honour. Her brother, Edward Seymour, who had been created earl of Hertford, was fascinated by Catherine; and these lovers were privately married, the bride being about twenty-one, and the husband a year older. Hertford went abroad in 1561, and Catherine, having been unable to conceal the consequences of this hasty union, was sent to the Tower. The widow of the Protector writes to Cecil denying all knowledge of her son's

marriage, and hopes the wilfulness of her unruly child will not diminish the queen's favour.* Harsh as the imprisonment of Catherine Grey may seem, we must bear in mind the extreme jealousy with which alliances of persons of royal blood, made without the consent of the reigning sovereign, have at all times been regarded. But the evidence of this marriage was not forthcoming. The young people had made their way on foot from Whitehall to the earl's house,—according to their own statements after Hertford had returned home and had been also imprisoned,—and a priest, whose name was unknown, had married them, the sole witness being Jane Seymour, who had soon after died. A commission of inquiry was appointed, consisting of archbishop Parker and certain divines and lawyers; and it was declared that there had been no legal marriage. A second son was born in 1563, Hertford and Catherine being still in confinement. Some additional severity was now thought necessary, and Hertford was fined in three several sums of five thousand pounds, by process in the Star-Chamber.† From this period, till her death in 1568, Catherine continued under the queen's displeasure; and there are some touching letters of her uncle, which show how deeply she felt this anger, which kept her in a dishonourable position, and separated her from him who she maintained was her true husband. But the common narratives which state that she wore out her life in strict confinement in the Tower, and there died, are not founded in fact. We can trace the course of her suffering years of marriage distinctly, from authentic documents. She was sent to the Tower in August, 1561. Her rooms were furnished somewhat sumptuously by the queen's command; but, according to the petition of the lieutenant of the Tower, who, in September 1563, asked to have "the stuff" for his perquisite, it was "most of it so torn and tattered with her monkeys and dogs, as will serve to small purpose." Catherine and her husband were removed from the Tower in August, 1563, on account of the plague having broken out in London; the lady being given to the charge of her uncle, lord John Grey. The displeasure of Elizabeth might probably have passed away, had not John Hales, a partisan of the claims of the house of Suffolk to the crown, published a book in April, 1564, in which he attempted to confute the pretensions of the Scottish queen, and maintained the validity of the marriage of Hertford and Catherine Grey. On May 26, 1564, we find that the earl of Hertford was committed to the custody of the lieutenant of the Tower;‡ but the common statement that both he and his wife were re-committed to that prison in 1565, appears to be supported by no very clear evidence. Catherine's uncle died in November, 1564, and she was then given in charge to Mr. Secretary Petre. On the 14th of May, 1566, sir John Wentworth writes to the Council, saying he has received a letter from the queen commanding him to take charge of the lady Catherine, but he prays to be excused. But no doubt the responsibility was forced upon him, for on the 2nd of October, 1567, the queen directs Sir Owen Hopton, in consequence of the demise of Sir John Wentworth, to take into his charge the lady Catherine Grey, but to keep her from the access of all strangers. On the 11th of January, 1568, Hopton

* "Calendar of State Papers," August 22, 1561.

† The legitimacy of the children of this marriage was established in 1606, by an action at law, when the priest who married Hertford and Catherine was produced.

‡ "Calendar of State Papers."

writes to Cecil that she has kept her bed three days. On the 27th of that month she died at his house at Yoxford, in Suffolk. The common assertion that she, who was reserved for a more lingering misery than her sister Jane, died in the Tower, is altogether incorrect. There is a very affecting account of the death-bed of this poor lady, and her last conversation with sir Owen Hopton; who perceiving her draw near her end, said to a bystander, "Were it not best to send to the church, that the bell be rung."* Upon this subject we have received the following interesting communication.†

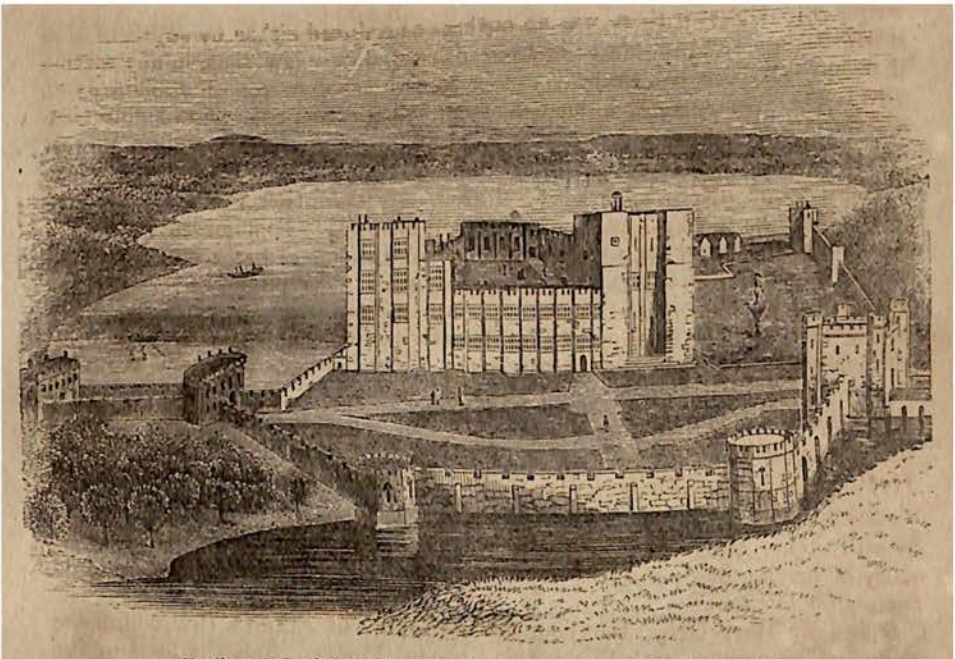
"When vicar of Yoxford, in Suffolk, I found the record of her burial there. It was the first entry I noticed in the register. This led me to examine the Manuscript in the British Museum, giving an account, as stated, of her death in the Tower. The heading of the Manuscript, indeed, is to this effect; but the heading is not in the handwriting of the original scribe, and is of more recent date. The error is obvious, and so is its cause. Sir Owen Hopton, afterwards lieutenant of the Tower,‡ was present, and asked, should the passing bell be tolled? The writer of the heading was not aware that sir Owen Hopton was lord of Yoxford, and that Catherine resided under his charge at Cockfield hall. Here her great chest with the royal arms of England may be still seen. One of the heralds in his Visitations mentions the affecting story of her lap-dog persisting to lie upon her grave there, and expiring in sorrow for her loss."

The lady Mary Grey, the youngest daughter of Frances Brandon, made also a rash marriage with Elizabeth's Serjeant Porter. She, the least of the court, married the biggest gentleman—as Cecil described them. They also had to endure the anger of the queen, and were sent to prison. The tiny woman survived her husband, but died many years before Elizabeth.

* Harl. MS., Ellis, Second Series, vol. ii. p. 288.

† Letter to the author of this History, from the Rev. Joseph D'Arcy Sirr, D.D., Assistant Chaplain to the Forces.

‡ The first notice of sir Owen Hopton being Lieutenant of the Tower is found ("Calendar of State Papers") under the date of March, 1571.



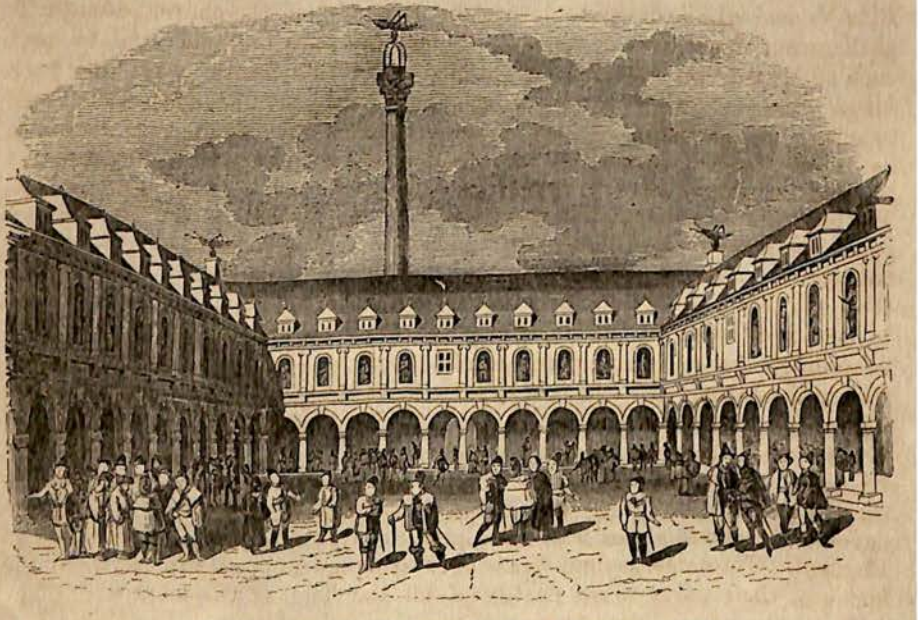
Kenilworth Castle in 1620. From the fresco painting at Newnham Paddox.

CHAPTER XI.

General view of the first ten years of Elizabeth—Movement of Rome against Protestantism—The persecutions in the Netherlands and in France—Intrigues against Elizabeth—Insurrection of the north—Pius V. issues a bull of excommunication against Elizabeth—Parliament of 1571—Statutes against papists—Puritanical party in the House of Commons—Motion for reform of abuses in the Church—Trial and execution of the duke of Norfolk—Troubles of Scotland—The Huguenots of France propitiated by the marriage of the prince of Navarre—Coligny shot—The massacre of Saint Bartholomew resolved upon—Its perpetration—Effect of the news upon the court and people of England—New danger of the queen of Scots.

The contemporaries of Elizabeth regarded the first ten years of her reign as "her halcyon days." The transition from the fiery Catholicism of Mary Tudor to the temperate Protestantism of her sister Elizabeth had been accomplished without bloodshed or convulsion. In the parliament of 1559, the nation was quietly led back to its ecclesiastical condition in the time of Edward VI.; and conformity was not rendered difficult or impossible by any needless stringency towards those who adhered to the old religion. In the parliament of 1563 measures of a stronger character were adopted against papists. Symptoms began to manifest themselves of a more active opposition to the civil and religious settlement under Elizabeth, induced by the arguments of catholic teachers who were spread about the country. Some persons, lay and ecclesiastical, were deterred from conformity, and others left

the realm. But still there was no outbreak produced either by supineness or persecution. The parliament of 1566 passed no new law that, in any matter of importance, touched the subject of religion. Differences of opinion as to ceremonial observances had arisen amongst the English protestants themselves; and those who were called Puritans were fast becoming an organised power. But at the time when Mary Stuart had crossed the Solway, and the great question of policy had been raised as to her detention, the state of Protestantism in Europe, upon the maintenance of which in England the government of Elizabeth was to stand or fall, was one of great insecurity and alarm. The halcyon days were fast passing away. The people of this country had been prospering in the labours of peace. They had been extending their commerce to distant lands where the benefits of inter-communication had been little appreciated by earlier adventurers. Their sailors had gone forth to



Sir Thomas Gresham's Exchange, London. Completed in 1570.

make maritime discoveries. Frobisher was seeking a new passage to India; and Hawkins had found a fresh source of wealth in the hateful African slave-trade. Gresham was building an Exchange in London, where the merchants of all nations might meet to buy and sell. The great principles of commerce were so far understood that merchandise was allowed to be exported and imported in foreign ships, upon the payment of alien imposts; and the English and Flemish merchants united their contributions for marine insurance. The people were lightly taxed, for the government was an economical one. Whatever were the religious differences of the community, its various members united peaceably in the duties of their several callings. They felt that they were under a firm government; and in the security of such a government,

despotic enough but not corrupt or lavish, the wealth and intelligence of England were steadily progressing.

In 1568, when Elizabeth and her ministers were displaying towards Mary Stuart a policy which it is easy to call unjust and cruel, treacherous and ungenerous, the heretical queen of England and her protestant subjects were the objects of the bitterest hatred of those who thought the time was come to extirpate heresy by fire and sword. A Dominican monk of the severest life —a zealot who had distinguished himself as an inquisitor—became pope in 1566, under the title of Pius V. A more furious bigot never sat on the papal throne; and his bigotry was the more terrible from the circumstance that it was conscientious. When he sent a force to the aid of the French catholics, he told their leader "to take no Huguenot prisoner, but instantly to kill every one that fell into his hands." * When the savage duke of Alva was butchering without remorse in the Netherlands, the holy father sent him a consecrated hat and sword, in admiration of his Christian proceedings. Pius V. avowed his desire to devote the treasures of the church, even to its chalices and crucifixes, to carry a religious war into England; and to head such an expedition himself. The influence of this frantic persecutor over kings who made their religious intolerance an instrument of their cruel tyranny, such as Philip II., was enormous. This Pope of the Inquisition, as he has been called, arose, with his sole idea of extirpating heresy by force, at a time when the two great religious principles were coming into open conflict. The period for accommodation had passed away. In 1568 Alva was appointed by Philip, Captain-general of the Netherlands. His mission was to destroy the heretics, root and branch; and he accomplished his work with a success that left his master and his master's holy counsellor nothing to desire. While Alva was, in Valenciennes, Ghent, Brussels, Antwerp, hanging, beheading, racking, burning, and confiscating, the secretary of Philip said to the papal nuncio, "are you now satisfied with the proceedings of the king?" The smiling nuncio answered, "quite satisfied." The tribunal which condemned the victims whom their officers had ferreted out, was called the "Council of Blood." From the great commercial cities of the Netherlands there were hosts of fugitives, although the most terrible penalties were denounced against those who attempted to fly. Many came for refuge to England. The same asylum was sought by Huguenots of France, when the hopes of their party were destroyed on the field of Moncontour. They said,—

> "Our hearths we abandon, our lands we resign;
> But, Father, we kneel to no altar but thine." †

Amongst these refugees were not only a great number who professed Calvinistic opinions, but others who carried their principle of liberty of conscience into the avowal of doctrines which even liberal protestants considered dangerous. Those who were opposed to infant baptism were held, with great injustice, to belong to the old sect of anabaptists, whose social opinions were deemed adverse to all regular government. Whilst the general body of exiles, by the recital of their injuries, diffused a popular hatred of papal persecution, some strengthened that dislike to many of the ceremonial

* Ranke, vol. i. p. 383.

† Macaulay, "Songs of the Huguenots."

observances of the English church, which gradually established a large class who, in their hatred of popery, would tolerate no forms that appeared derived from the ancient worship. A few became obnoxious to that intolerance which, in the earlier days of the Reformation, hunted out those who, deservedly or not, were suspected of holding to the opinions which John of Leyden rendered infamous. But the puritan doctrines, or the more heterodox, as yet gave slight trouble to the government of Elizabeth, compared with the civil and religious dangers apprehended in the present crisis of Catholic hostility to every form of Protestantism. The furious pope had his agents in England denouncing the queen as a heretic. Philip was maturing plots by advances of money to his spies in London. Alva was devising plans for an invasion of the island that had cast off the successor of St. Peter. Around Mary Stuart were concentred all the intrigues that sought to place the orthodox and legitimate descendant of Henry VII. upon the throne of the heretical and illegitimate daughter of Anne Boleyn. The insurrection of the north, of 1569, was no immature combination of a few discontented papist nobles, but a result of the general movement against the reformers that was agitating Europe. Those who regard this crisis through the thick veil of their sentimentalities about the unfortunate Scottish queen, with the usual trashy belief in Elizabeth's jealousy of her superior charms, will do well to abstain from the study of what they call history, and surrender themselves with an undivided trust to the professed writers of poetry and romance. History has to deal with serious truths, and not with morbid sympathies and blind nationalities. It was the glory of the first ten years of Elizabeth's reign that "no English blood had been shed on the scaffold or in the field for a public quarrel, whether civil or religious." * If, during the next twenty years, we have, amidst a constant advance of national prosperity, to trace the course of conspiracies and insurrections, we must look at England as the arena where the two great principles that were dividing Europe were fought out. The victory remained with the sagacious statesmen who best understood the character of the nation—statesmen led by a ruler unsurpassed in the highest attributes of a sovereign; one who in every danger was equal to the emergency; who felt the grandeur of her position as the head of the Reformation; whose force of character made that Protestantism secure which was once more than doubtful; who, in the hour of her greatest trial, when the catholic world gathered together all its strength to crush the heretic islanders, threw herself boldly upon the affections of her people, one and all, and the danger was overpast; the sovereign to whom we chiefly owe that, after the lapse of three hundred years, the faith which she built up is so safe that it allows the widest toleration to take the place of the exclusive conformity of her time. This is the queen that history should paint. The foibles of the woman belong to a lower province of literature.

In the autumn of 1569 there were symptoms of disquiet in the northern counties. Cecil, in a letter of the 13th of October, to the earls of Shrewsbury and Huntingdon, says, in a postscript, "My lords,—It may be that you have [heard] or shall hear of a fond rumour stirred up the 6th of

* Mackintosh.

this month, in the North Riding and the Bishopric, of a rising should be; but it was a vain smoke, but without any spark of any account." * When the wary minister wrote this he probably knew perfectly well that the smoke was not without fire. The general disaffection of the northern catholics was well known. Sadler wrote, from the border counties, "There are not in all this country ten gentlemen that do favour and allow of her majesty's proceedings in the cause of religion." † Dr. Norton, who had been a prebendary of York in the time of queen Mary, had come from Rome with the title of apostolical penitentiary. He had incited the catholic priests and the northern gentlemen by statements that the pope was about to issue a bull of deposition against Elizabeth. He was a relative of the families of Norton and Markenfeld, whom Mary Stuart numbered amongst her friends. The earls of Westmorland and Northumberland were in secret communication with her. The adroitness by which Mary contrived to elude the vigilance of those who had her custody is one of the most remarkable points of her character. She was always borne up by the belief that she had the right to the throne filled by Elizabeth, and that the people of England would support her in that right if she had her liberty. The arrest of Norfolk precipitated the insurrection. The schemes for foreign aid were devised but not perfected. Alva was to have sent an auxiliary force to land at Hartlepool. These schemes and preparations could not be concealed from the vigilance of Elizabeth's ministers. On the 10th of November the earls of Westmorland and Northumberland were summoned to repair to court. Apprehensive of arrest Northumberland marched with his vassals to join Westmorland at the castle of Brancepeth. There was no longer any disguise. A proclamation was issued, addressed to all professing the catholic faith, to restore the ancient worship; and the earls marched on to Durham with a banner representing the bleeding Saviour—"the banner of the five wounds." It was borne by a brave old man, whose fate, and the fate of his eight sons, have been preserved from the oblivion of dry annals by the legends which a true poet has invested with almost historical reality.‡ The Nortons of Rylstone may claim our tears; but we have little pity for the weak earls, who, when Sussex appeared against them with a strong force, fled to Scotland, leaving their followers to the terrible vengeance that followed a suppressed revolt. Northumberland, after a confinement of several years at Lochleven, was given up to the English government, and executed. Westmorland died an exile in Flanders. There was a subsequent revolt under lord Dacres of the North, which was put down after a battle, in which the catholics fought with desperation. The English Bible and Common Prayer had been burnt by the insurgents of 1569 in the cathedral of Durham. Their avowed intention was to march to Tutbury, and release Mary. Had they succeeded, the nation would have been plunged into a terrible civil war. The Catholics of the thinly-inhabited border counties were numerous as well as desperate; but the Protestants of the more densely peopled parts of England, and especially of the great towns, were far too united to have the old worship forced back upon them, the contest involving a new struggle for the crown. Their horror of the past

* Lodge, vol. ii. p. 26. † Quoted in Lingard, vol. viii. p. 54.
‡ Wordsworth, "White Doe of Rylstone."

days of martyrdoms—their dread of a foreign domination, with a Council of Blood and an Inquisition—made the ascendant party furious and the government revengeful. The triumph of 1569 was disgraced by fearful executions. It might have been disgraced by a more terrible act of vengeance. There is a letter written by Leicester to Walsingham in 1586, in which he urges the execution of the queen of Scots, and says, "Remember how, upon a less cause, how effectually all the Council of England once dealt with her majesty for justice to be done upon that person; for, being suspected and informed to be consenting with Northumberland and Westmorland in the rebellion, you know the great seal of England was sent then, and thought just and meet, upon the sudden, for her execution." * Had the powers of the great seal thus been exercised — and the expressions of Leicester do not imply that any trial was contemplated — the reign of Elizabeth would have been stained with a greater crime than the eventual execution of Mary, after seventeen years more of hopeless plots and ever-present suspicions. But, whatever justification there may have been for the intrigues to recover liberty and power made by this victim of an almost insurmountable state necessity, there can be no doubt that her life was a constant source of alarm to the English nation; and that at every hostile movement against Protestantism her death was loudly called for. If the unhappy Mary had warm friends amongst the Catholic party in both divisions of the island; if there were many who regarded her as innocent of the crimes laid to her charge, and were touched by a real pity for her misfortunes; the great body of the English people, who lived in security under the sagacious government of the queen, and looked with admiration upon her extraordinary abilities and strength of character, would have most gladly heard of the removal, even by some violence to which long years of despotism had familiarised them, of one whom they justly regarded as a public enemy. The nation was in a more earnest mood than when it had quietly passed from the Protestantism of Edward to the Catholicism of Mary, and back again to the Protestantism of Elizabeth. The number of enthusiasts on either side was rapidly increasing. Puritan and Jesuit were coming into closer warfare. There was a great battle of principle still to be waged by the Reformers; for their victory could scarcely be held as thoroughly achieved. Opposed to them were men as zealous, and more united. The power of the state was with the Protestant cause; the ancient habit of implicit obedience to the head of the universal church gave a coherence to every movement of the Romanists. When Pius V., on the 25th of February, 1570, signed the threatened bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, which anathematised her and her adherents as heretics; absolved all her subjects from their oath of allegiance; and enjoined them, under pain of excommunication, not to obey her commands; it was not likely that the principles at issue would approach nearer to accommodation. We are told by the catholic historian, "the time was gone by when the thunders of the Vatican could shake the thrones of princes." † When Alva sent copies of the bull to England, and Felton, an enthusiastic catholic, fixed it up on the gates of the

* "Leycester Correspondence," edited by Mr. Bruce, p. 481.
† Lingard, vol. viii. p. 67.

bishop of London's residence, they could scarcely have meant its publicity as harmless sport. Felton was executed; but he died, avowing himself a martyr, and gave the queen the title of "the pretender." There was at this time a conspiracy detected in Norfolk. With a less vigilant government the thunder might not only have alarmed, but the lightning might have struck. The danger was not so much to be apprehended from the catholics in a united body, as from the jesuits and refugee priests who were constantly passing from the continent to England to dissuade the wavering from conformity, and to stimulate the hostile to acts of rebellion. An English college for these zealous missionaries had been established at Douay, about a year before the issue of the bull of excommunication. The natural issue of these attempts to shake the government and the established religion was the enactment of more stringent laws against Roman Catholics,—laws, which in the happier spirit of our own age we may justly decry as harsh and unjust, but which we can scarcely venture to consider as simply tyrannical.

The parliament met on the 2nd of April, 1571, after a suspension of legislation for more than four years. The speech of the lord-keeper, sir Nicholas Bacon, sets forth, with considerable eloquence, the past blessings of the queen's reign,—the setting at liberty God's Word, and deliverance from Roman tyranny; the inestimable benefit of peace; and the clemency and mercy of the government. "I pray you," he says, "hath it been seen or read, that any prince of this realm during ten whole years' reign, and more, hath had his hands so clean from blood?" That this peace had been disturbed and this clemency interrupted, he then imputes to "the raging Romanist rebels." This is the prelude to the first Statute of the session, which makes it treason to set forth that the queen ought not to possess the crown but some other persons; or to affirm that she is a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper. The second clause of this Statute is evidently directed against Mary Stuart, enacting that all persons of any degree, nation, or estate, who during the queen's life should claim title to the crown should be disabled from inheriting the same; and that any claimant to the right of succession, contrary to any proclamation on the matter that might be issued by the queen, should be declared guilty of high treason. The queen's advisers were desirous to carry the principle of exclusion further; and to make a law that the queen of Scots was unable and unworthy to succeed. A committee of the Commons presented an address to Elizabeth, asking her to proceed criminally against Mary. Divines and statesmen concurred in urging violent measures against the prisoner. With archbishop Parker she was "one desperate person." With Walsingham she was "that dangerous woman." Each called for "justice." It is the fashion to represent Elizabeth as always thirsting for her rival's blood; yet it is perfectly clear that she resisted Council and Parliament when they called for extreme proceedings against "the pretended Scottish queen." Parker asked for justice upon the desperate person that "the papists' daily expectation" might be "vanquished." The difficulties of the crisis were held to be met by the enactment of strong laws against the papists themselves. The statute of the 5th of Elizabeth against upholding the jurisdiction of the See of Rome had been transgressed by bringing in bulls and instruments of absolution. It was now enacted, that the putting in use or publishing any such bull, or giving absolution under the same, or

obtaining such an instrument from Rome, shall be adjudged high treason; and that such as brought into the kingdom crosses, pictures, beads, or other "vain and superstitious things," claiming to be hallowed by the bishop of Rome, or under his authority, should incur the penalties of præmunire. This statute was more comprehensive in its severity than at first sight appears; for the outward conformity of Romanists had been tolerated under absolution, without which they were excluded from the communion of their own church. How far it was politic to force the pliant and wavering into the established religion against the rights of conscience, or to render them liable to extreme dangers in asserting these rights, is a question of which we cannot wholly judge. Of the injustice of such a proceeding there can be no doubt. But we cannot quite go along with the belief of one whose opinion is entitled to the utmost respect, that "the nation, as it was clearly ready to profess either religion, would, beyond all doubt, have been ready to tolerate both;" and that "Elizabeth might have united all conflicting sects under the shelter of the same impartial laws and the same paternal throne, and thus have placed the nation in the same situation, as far as the rights of conscience are concerned, in which we at last stand." * We can as readily believe that, without the experience of three centuries, Elizabeth might have bestowed upon her people the relief from the system of commercial restriction which we have at length attained. "Confidence," said Chatham, "is a plant of slow growth;" and so is toleration. Lament as we may with the great historian over "the heart-burnings, the persecutions, the conspiracies, the seditions, the revolutions, the judicial murders, the civil wars, of ten generations," we have no assurance that the rights of conscience could have been established without such fearful trials of a nation's courage and endurance. Whilst the storm of papal bigotry was raging in the Netherlands and in France,—whilst Knox was proclaiming in Scotland that one mass was more fearful to him than ten thousand armed men, and carrying the people with him,—it is difficult to imagine that England could have been smoothed into a perfect indifferentism, or that England would have been what she is if she had been so "rocked and dandled" into liberality. But there was, moreover, a strong party in England that would not have endured anything approaching to union between Protestant and Roman Catholic. The Act of the 5th of Elizabeth, which excluded Roman Catholics from the House of Commons, gave an ascendency in that house to the more earnest reformers—those who had very influential supporters in the queen's own councils, though their hostility to any ceremony or practice of the church supposed to be an approach to the old worship, was very obnoxious to the queen herself. That contest between the establishment and the Puritans which convulsed England for many a year, and of which the traces are by no means extinct, was actively beginning before the "halcyon days" were past. That spirit which would admit of no toleration for papists had, in a few years, to fight its own battle against intolerance. But the "ice-brook temper" of the sword, then in its sheath, which was to be drawn seventy years afterwards, was known to some in this parliament. A motion for a further reformation of religion was made in the House of Commons on the 6th of April, by Mr. Strickland, "a grave and

* Macaulay, "Essays—Burleigh and his Times."

ancient man, of great zeal," says the reporter, sir Simonds D'Ewes. Having set forth various abuses he moved that a convenient number of the house might have conference with the Lords spiritual. During the Easter recess, Mr. Strickland was called before the Privy Council, and commanded not to resume his seat in the house. Then rose in his place Mr. Carleton, and moved that Mr. Strickland should be sent for to the bar of the House, "forasmuch as he was not now a private man, but specially chosen to supply the room of a multitude;" and Mr. Yelverton "showed it was fit for princes to have their prerogatives, but yet the same to be straitened within reasonable limits." The ministers of Elizabeth understood the force of such words, and they whispered with the Speaker. The debate was suspended; and the next day Mr. Strickland took his seat, amidst cheers whose echoes reverberated in that Chapel of St. Stephen, when kings, long afterwards, had forgotten their import.

The duke of Norfolk had been released from his imprisonment in the Tower on the 4th of August, 1570. On the 7th of September, 1571, he was again arrested. During the thirteen months of his comparative freedom he was in a sort of honourable custody, and was not called to Council or to Parliament. Before his release from the Tower he had sent a declaration to the queen, in which he had solemnly engaged "never to deal in that cause of marriage of the queen of Scots, nor in any other cause belonging to her, but as your majesty shall command me." In April, 1571, a correspondence was detected, which showed that some treasonable project was in course of formation. Further correspondence was intercepted in August, and various persons were arrested. Amongst these was the bishop of Ross, who, after pleading in vain that his privilege as an ambassador from the queen of Scots ought to shield him from answering questions, made a full declaration, which was corroborated by the confessions of the other prisoners. The duke was tried on a charge of high treason by his peers, on the 16th of January, 1572. All the previous transactions connected with the plan of marriage with the queen of Scots were entered into; and it was urged that his continued desire for that alliance had a view to Mary's claim to the present possession of the crown of England. This was very slight matter upon which to found the accusation of an overt act of treason. The more serious charge was, that through the agency of Rudolphi, an Italian, who had been sent by Mary to the pope, the king of Spain, and the duke of Alva, he had received assurances of the support of these personages to a plan for uniting Mary with the duke, for seizing the person of Elizabeth, and for landing a foreign army in England. Mr. Jardine, in his excellent report of this great trial, expresses his opinion, from a critical examination of the voluminous documents connected with the Rudolphi conspiracy, that, "though the duke was probably a tool in the hands of persons more artful than himself, he probably participated in the scheme." The trial itself was conducted with such fairness as is compatible with evidence mainly resting upon the confessions of absent persons, some of which were extorted by the rack, or by its terror. Norfolk was unanimously condemned; but his execution was deferred till the 2nd of June. Again and again, Elizabeth revoked the warrant which consigned him to the block. The duke was the chief of the English nobles. He was of royal lineage. He was the son of the illustrious Surrey who had perished under the jealousy of

her father. There were many causes for Elizabeth hesitating when, for the first time, she was called to shed the blood of an English peer, besides the dissimulation which some are ready to impute to her. There is a real struggle of mind to be traced in her letter to Burleigh, received by him at two o'clock of the morning of the 11th of April, when, in her obscure style, she writes, "My lord, methinks that I am more beholding to the hinder part of my head than well dare trust the forwards side of the same, and therefore sent to the lieutenant and the S. [sheriff?], as you know best, the order to defer the execution till they hear further. . . The causes that move me to this are not now to be expressed, lest an irrevocable deed be in mean while committed."*

The spectacle of a great nobleman perishing upon the scaffold was not amongst the experiences of the rising generation of England. The catastrophe of Norfolk made a popular impression in proportion to the rarity of such an exhibition. The very aspect of the place of punishment was suggestive of political remembrances. "Upon Tower-hill," says Holinshed, "a scaffold had been builded many years ago, serving for execution; which being old was both rotten and ruinous. For queen Elizabeth having with mercy governed her commonwealth, there was no punishment there inflicted upon any for the space of fourteen years; wherefore a new scaffold must needs be made." The penalty which the duke had incurred by meddling with the affair of the queen of Scots could not deter others from the same dangerous course. Two Derbyshire gentlemen were tried and executed in May, upon a charge of having corresponded with Mary for the purpose of delivering her from the custody of the earl of Shrewsbury. The affairs of Scotland had become more and more distracted since the period of the detention of the queen. The regent Murray had been assassinated, from motives of private revenge, at Linlithgow, in January, 1570. Lennox, the father of Darnley, had succeeded him. He, also, was assassinated in September, 1571. The country was enduring some of the worst miseries of a civil war between the two factions of catholic and presbyterian, contending, one in the name of Mary, and the other in the name of her son. On the 30th of July, 1572, there was a truce between these fierce opponents; and it is possible that some negociations might have successfully proceeded between those who made the restoration of Mary a condition of pacification, and the reformers, who might have thought it possible to secure their ascendency, even under "the wicked woman" whom Knox continued to denounce, had not an event occurred which produced a rage against the Romanists, both in England and Scotland, compared with which all previous indignation was moderate.

The Huguenots of France were a body isolated from their countrymen, who viewed them with dislike,—sometimes conciliated and sometimes persecuted by the Court, as their support was sought or rejected by the mere ambitious factions that alternately prevailed. In 1570, a treaty was concluded between them and the young king, Charles IX.; who professed great anxiety for reconciliation with this portion of his subjects. The great Huguenot leader, Coligny, Admiral of France, was earnestly pressed to repair to the king's court; to which, after some manifestations of distrust, he went in the autumn of 1571. The sister of Charles was pressed in marriage

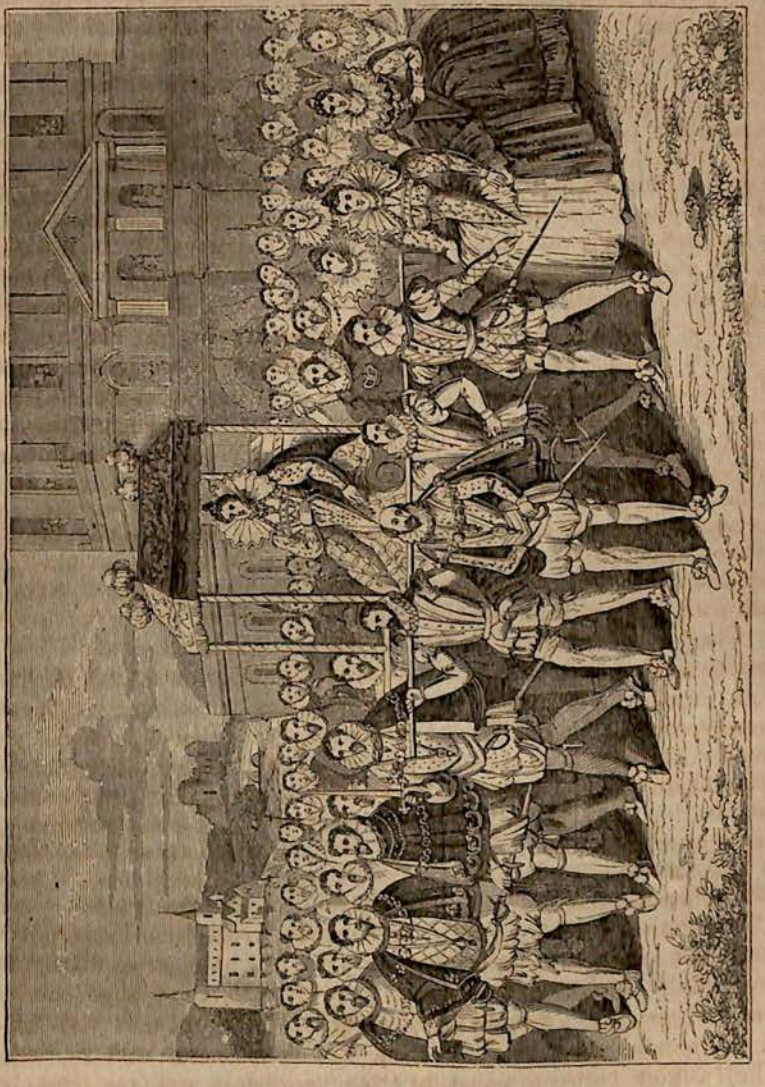
* Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 263.

upon the prince of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV.; and that marriage was celebrated with great magnificence on the 18th of August, 1572. England had made a treaty with France, which had for one of its objects to wrest the Netherlands from Spain; and the advisers of Elizabeth had recommended a marriage with the duke of Alençon, the younger son of Catherine de Medici, who had given intimation of his disposition to favour the Protestants. Like many other recommendations of her Council and her Parliament, the queen of England treated this proposal with civility, but with a secret determination, from whatever cause it proceeded, not to marry at all. Under these circumstances the apprehension that there was a deep confederacy for the annihilation of Protestantism began to be lessened. The Huguenots were drawn in large numbers to Paris by the festivities of the marriage of the French princess with Henry of Navarre, their acknowledged head. On the 22d of August, Coligny was shot from the window of a house occupied by a dependant of the duke of Guise. His wounds were not dangerous. The king, with his mother, Catherine, visited the wounded man. The queen-mother could ill disguise her alarm when the admiral began to speak earnestly with the king, whilst the house was filled with Coligny's armed retainers. She had concerted the assassination with the duke of Anjou and the duchess of Nemours, whose first husband had been slain by a Huguenot. A cautious historian says, speaking of Catherine de Medici, "The Huguenots won over the king, and appeared to supplant her influence over him. This personal danger put an end to all delay. With that resistless and magical power which she possessed over her children, she re-awakened all the slumbering fanaticism of her son. It cost her but one word to rouse the populace to arms, and that word she spoke. Every individual Huguenot of note was delivered over to the vengeance of his personal enemy."* This is, perhaps, a better solution of a disputed question than the theory that Charles IX., a very young man, weak and impulsive, vacillating and ferocious, was such a master of dissimulation, that for several years he could have deceived the English ambassador, Walsingham, into a belief that he was favourable to the Protestants whilst meditating their destruction. On the other hand, the jealousy of Catherine is a more rational explanation of her conduct, than the belief that the Massacre of St. Bartholomew had been part of a plan for the extirpation of Protestantism, settled between that fearful woman and the duke of Alva, in their conferences at Bayonne, in 1564. These questions have formed the subject of much historical controversy. The terrible events that followed the attempt to assassinate Coligny admit of no dispute. On the 23rd of August, according to the account given by Charles himself to his sister Margaret, after the noontide dinner of the court he was told of a treasonable conspiracy of the Huguenots against himself and his family. It would be necessary, his relations said, to anticipate the designs of the conspirators by their previous destruction. He gave his consent, and expressed his hope that not a single Huguenot would be left alive to reproach him with the deed. Night had descended upon Paris. There was no alarm, as bands of assassins silently congregated in the streets. A signal was to be given when the work of slaughter was to commence.

* Ranke, "History of the Popes," vol. ii. p. 69.

The king, his mother, and Anjou sate amidst darkness and stillness in a balcony of the Louvre. The noise of a pistol is heard, and Charles trembles in the agony of guilty expectation. At length the clocks of Paris strike two. Then the bell of St. Germain l'Auxerrois tolled forth the signal. The duke of Guise bursts into the defenceless courts where Coligny slept, and three hundred men slaughter him and his followers. His body is cast out of the window, and the cry of 'Death to the Huguenots,' amidst the sound of the tocsin, wakes up the fanatical citizens, and one universal butchery of the protestants is being accomplished. For three days the slaughter goes on; and the fury extends to Orleans, Lyons, Troyes, Rouen, Toulouse, Bourdeaux, and other towns. We may choose what estimate we please of the number of victims, from the highest estimate of a hundred thousand, to the extenuating calculation of Dr. Lingard that there might be about sixteen hundred. Whatever was the number, the massacre was considered as a glorious triumph for the catholics. The pope, now Gregory XIII., celebrated the event by a solemn procession; and the pious Venetians expressed their satisfaction at this mark of God's favour. Charles, in his despatches to foreign courts, bewailed the massacre, and imputed it to the populace of Paris. To his parliament he avowed himself the author, and claimed the glory of having given peace to his kingdom. He sent an ambassador to England, to explain away the causes of this termination of his proposed tender mercies to the Protestants. The queen was at Woodstock; and when the envoy was admitted to a public audience, he had to pass between two lines of lords and ladies in deep mourning. Not a word was uttered as he advanced towards the queen, who also wore the deepest black. It was the chamber of death which he seemed to have entered. Motionless and silent was every courtier as he made his salutations. Elizabeth heard with perfect calmness the lying excuses which he was intrusted to utter. Charles wrote letters to her, which she first refused to answer; but afterwards replied to with courteous words. But her measured civility produced an impression in France that Elizabeth was about to arm. There was a general terror in England that the example of St. Bartholomew's day would spread. The bishop of London writes to lord Burleigh, on the 5th of September, "These evil times trouble all good men's heads, and make their hearts ache, fearing that this barbarous treachery will not cease in France, but will reach over unto us. . . . Hasten her majesty homeward; her safe return to London will comfort many hearts oppressed with fear." The bishop, Edwin Sandys, then advises, amongst other precautions, "Forthwith to cut off the Scottish queen's head." Walsingham writes from France that "certain unsound members must be cut off," for "violent diseases will have violent remedies." Elizabeth would not comply with these suggestions, pressed on her, as they were, by the terrors of her subjects and the counsels of her ministers. But there appears little doubt that she was cognisant of a plot between some of these ministers and the earl of Mar, the regent of Scotland, to deliver Mary up, that she might be put to death by her own people. It is not so clear, as Mr. Tytler believes, that she was to be secretly made away with. The death of Mar put an end to these dark intrigues; and Burleigh was left to make his moan that "if her majesty will continue her delays, for providing for

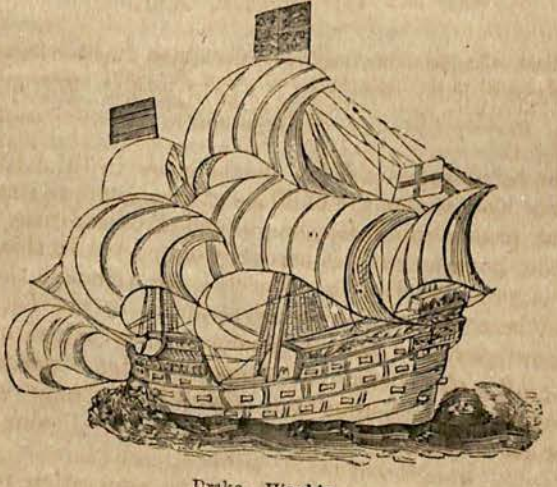
her own surety by just means given to her by God, she and we shall vainly call upon God when the calamity shall fall upon us." Those means "for her own surety" were not employed by the queen for fourteen years; and, however indefensible they may have been when called into exercise, it is an abuse of historical evidence to represent that her perpetual anxiety was to get rid of



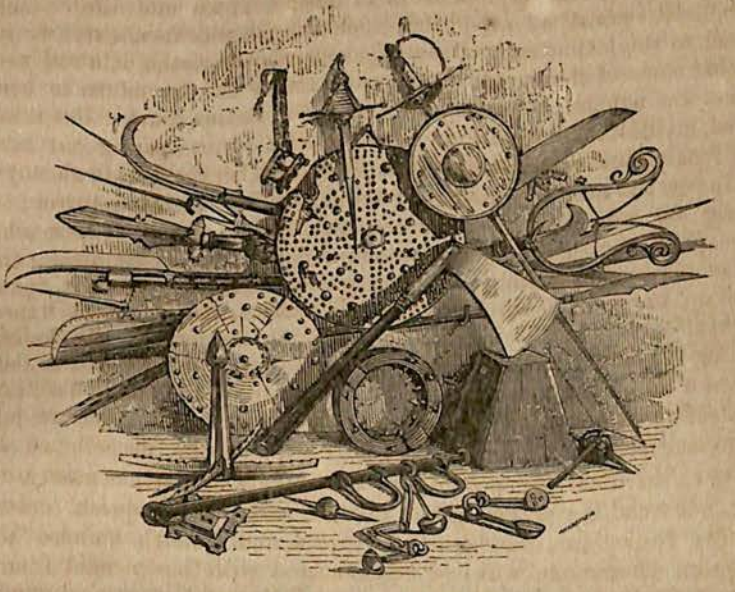
Queen Elizabeth surrounded by her Court. (From a Print by Vertue.)

her hated rival. There might be deep policy in Elizabeth's delays; but her jealousies and fears must have been under some subjection to a higher feeling, when she was hounded on by those in whom she had the surest trust; by the petitions of the Commons and the clamour of the populace; to do a deed for which all the bells of London would have rung, but which she shrunk from, to

remain in perpetual apprehension of losing crown and life. Unless we can believe, against all proof, that such danger was imaginary, we must be content to think that each of these queens was the victim of a sad necessity; and that some of the wretchedness which Mary had to endure in her lonely prisons was not unfelt by Elizabeth in her gorgeous court. But it awakens, indeed, a painful contrast to imagine the one queen wearing out her life in some inaccessible castle; working tapestry with her maidens in gloomy rooms; walking in the narrow garden, or gazing from the guarded turret; waiting eagerly for news which never comes; sending secret letters which are intercepted; watched by a stately earl and his haughty countess: and then to read of the other making joyful progresses, and smiling upon loving subjects; borne on the willing shoulders of handsome courtiers, amidst "throngs of knights" and "store of ladies;" feasting at Kenilworth with Leicester, or opening the Royal Exchange with Gresham; speaking Greek with the Greek professor at Oxford, or correcting the exercises of the scholars at Eton. It is indeed a sad contrast. But in our pity for the one queen we must not forego our respect for the other,—for the queen who, despotic as she was, always relied upon the people—who, as Mr. Macaulay has most justly said, "did not treat the nation as an adverse party:" the queen under whose auspices Drake circumnavigated the world, and Raleigh founded Virginia; the queen whose name will be ever associated with the splendid literature of her age, for that sprang out of the emancipation of the national mind which she was the great instrument of accomplishing.



Drake. His ship.



Arms, &c., from the Tower Armoury.

CHAPTER XII.

Jesuits in England—Campion—Increased severities against Papists—Expedition to the Netherlands—Leicester in the Netherlands—Death of Sir Philip Sidney—Naval successes under Drake—Babington's conspiracy—Trial of the conspirators—Alleged complicity of Mary in the plot—Mary's papers seized—She is removed to Fotheringay Castle.

FROM the terrible day of Saint Bartholomew in 1572, to the detection of the conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth in 1586, the struggles between the two great principles of Romanism and Protestantism was incessant in England. The government was earnestly supported in this contest by what was now a large majority of its subjects; for although the opinions of the Puritans had become a serious source of alarm to the Established Church, this party never swerved from a general loyalty to the queen, even under persecution. We shall defer, till another chapter, a general notice of this Protestant schism; and here confine ourselves to a rapid view of the events in which the hostility between the old and the new religions was the principal element.

In 1580, the pope, Gregory XIII., at the suggestion of William Allen, despatched a body of Jesuits to England. The mission of these religious enthusiasts was to attempt the re-conversion of the heretic islanders. They were led and organised by Robert Parsons and Edmond Campion, who had formerly belonged to colleges in Oxford, and had been avowed Protestants before their conversion to Romanism. Out of the college of Douay, in which

Campion was professor of divinity, came many of those ardent spirits who professed to interpret the bull of Pius V. against Elizabeth in a purely religious sense, but who, nevertheless, were not regarded by the English government as other than secret and most dangerous traitors. The parliament of 1581 met this inroad of able Englishmen, trained in the school of Loyola to extraordinary subtlety and invincible determination, by the most stringent enactments. The first Act of the session of the 23rd of Elizabeth recites that the Statute against bringing in bulls and writings from Rome has been evaded; and that "divers evil-affected persons have practised contrary to the meaning of the said statute, by other means than by bulls written and printed, to withdraw the queen's majesty's subjects from their natural obedience to her majesty," &c. This is distinctly levelled against those who interpreted the decrees of the see of Rome through their oral communications; who, invested with especial authority, moved quietly about from town to town, and from village to village; who were cherished and concealed in mansions where they were cautiously introduced to persons of wavering opinions. The statute makes it a treasonable offence to pretend to any power of absolving subjects from their obedience, or practising to withdraw them to the Romish religion; and all subjects thus willingly absolved or withdrawn from their obedience were also to be deemed traitors. Those who said mass or attended mass, and those who did not attend church, were subject to heavy penalties. The proceedings against Campion and others are such as strikingly exhibit the unfairness and cruelty of trials for treason, as then conducted. Campion was arrested in Berkshire, in July, 1581; and was lodged in the Tower with two other priests. He was tortured; and revealed the names of those who had sheltered him. He was questioned, again and again, upon the power of the pope to depose sovereigns, and, his answers being evasive, he was racked with increased severity. Finally, he was tried for high-treason, not under the statute of 1581, but under that of Edward III., for compassing and imagining the queen's death. Others were tried and convicted with him; but three were spared, who renounced the pope's deposing power. It was a principle of the Jesuits that the pope had an undoubted right to deprive kings of their crowns. The Romanist exiles had proclaimed throughout Europe that the heretic Elizabeth was an usurper. The English government rested its defence of the severities which it had practised, upon the ground that the persecutions were not directed against religious tenets; that catholics, whether of the laity or the priesthood, lived unmolested on the score of their faith, when they paid due temporal allegiance to their sovereign; and that none were indicted for treason but such as obstinately maintained the pope's bull depriving the queen of the crown. Gregory XIII. had opened the door to evasion of this charge, by granting to Romanists a permission to dissemble, under the colour of an explanation, "that the bull should be considered as always in force against Elizabeth and the heretics, but should only be binding on catholics when due execution of it could be had:" *—that is, that they should obey till they were strong enough to throw off their allegiance. The queen's High Court of Commission would not accept this interpretation: "The prisoners were called upon to say, if the pope were to absolve them from their oath of

* Hallam, "Constitutional History,"

allegiance, and to attack England, what they should do, and which side they should support. The miserable frightened men knew not how to extricate themselves from this dilemma. They answered that they would render unto God what was God's, and unto Cæsar what was Cæsar's; but this evasion was itself interpreted into a confession by their judges. Thus the prisons were filled; execution followed upon execution; and Catholicism, in its turn, had its martyrs." * The severities of the laws against papists went on increasing. In 1584, all Jesuits, seminary priests, and other priests, were commanded by Act of parliament, to depart from the kingdom within forty days, on pain of being adjudged traitors; and penalties were to be inflicted upon those, who knowing any priest to be within the realm, should not denounce him to a magistrate. These intolerant enactments produced the very opposite consequences that were contemplated by the legislature. It was probably difficult to restrain the zealotry of some of the more fiery Protestants. In a memorial to the queen in 1583, Burleigh thus sensibly speaks of the results of enforcing penal laws against such as refused the oath of supremacy: "I account that putting to death does no ways lessen them; since we find by experience that it worketh no such effect, but, like hydra's heads, upon cutting off one, seven grow up; persecution being accounted as the badge of the church: and, therefore, they should never have the honour to take any pretence of martyrdom in England, where the fulness of blood and greatness of heart is such, that they will even for shameful things go bravely to death, much more when they think themselves to climb to heaven; and this vice of obstinacy seems to the common people a divine constancy; so that for my part, I wish no lessening of their number, but by preaching and by education of the younger under schoolmasters." †

The reign of Elizabeth was, happily for the progress of the country, singularly exempt from foreign wars. Her policy was of the most cautious nature; involving upon the face of it some insincerity. In her relations to France and to Spain, when the governments were oppressing their Protestant subjects, she abstained, except in 1562, from sending troops to the assistance of those with whom she was identified in principle. But indirect aid she on many occasions afforded. Thus, in 1577, she had assisted the revolted provinces of the Netherlands, whose commissioners had, in 1575, offered her the sovereignty, which she declined to accept. But ten years later it had become of essential importance to England to weaken the power of Philip of Spain, by keeping alive the cause of independence and religious freedom in the Low Countries. The assassination of the prince of Orange in 1584, by a religious fanatic, excited by the reward which Philip II. had set upon his head, had produced a fierce indignation in England against the bigoted king of Spain. The schemes of Philip and pope Sixtus V. for the invasion of the contumacious island were no longer concealed. The Jesuits and seminary priests had been steadily endeavouring to weaken whatever spirit of patriotism remained amongst the English catholics. It was a wise resolve, therefore, of Elizabeth's government to break through that superstitious love of peace which influenced the queen, and boldly encounter Philip on his own ground. Elizabeth was very slow to consent to engage in a war

* Ranke, vol. ii. p. 168.

† Quoted in Hallam, chap. iii.

in the Netherlands. To support subjects against their sovereign, appeared to her as treason against the rights of monarchs. The democratic government of the United Provinces was to her an anomaly which she held in scorn. Above all, she dreaded, and wisely, expenses which would fall heavily upon her people. But her old sagacious counsellor, Burleigh, the acute Walsingham, and the favourite Leicester, prevailed over her scruples, and an expedition was determined upon at the end of 1585. Burleigh, writing to

Earl of Leicester.

Leicester, who was appointed to its command, says, "For the avancement of the action, if I should not with all the powers of my heart continually both wish and work avancement thereto, I were to be an accursed person in the sight of God; considering the ends of this action tend to the glory of God, to the safety of the queen's person, to the preservation of this realm in a perpetual quietness." * Elizabeth had again declined the sovereignty which had been again offered her by the commissioners of the States; and she now instructed Leicester also to refuse their offer to put themselves under the absolute control

* "Leycester Correspondence," p. 21.

of the lieutenant she should send with her army, but to exhort them to listen to his advice. The extreme eagerness of the ambitious earl to undertake this command, offering even to pawn his estates to the Crown to cover some of the expenses of the undertaking, seems to indicate that he had personal designs upon that sovereignty which his queen had rejected. On the 10th December, the English fleet was near Flushing. Leicester was received with pageantries which appear to have thrown him off that balance which it was somewhat hazardous for one of Elizabeth's ministers to lose. On New Year's Day, 1586, the States General, by a solemn deputation, offered the queen of England's lieutenant the absolute government of the United Provinces. He first hesitated, then yielded to further supplications, and on the 25th of January accepted the dangerous honour. On that day, a letter was written to him expressive of the queen's dislike of his proceedings. He had sent his secretary with explanations, but his arrival was unaccountably delayed. Then the queen herself wrote a letter to the earl, which is one of the most remarkable examples of that force of character which she frequently displayed in the nervous words of her correspondence. There was no chance of mistaking the meaning of such sentences as these: "We could never have imagined, had we not seen it fall out in experience, that a man raised up by ourself, and extraordinarily favoured by us above any other subject of this land, would have in so contemptible a sort broken our commandment in a cause that so greatly toucheth us in honour. . . . Our express pleasure and commandment is, that all delays and excuses laid apart, you do presently, upon the duty of your allegiance, obey and fulfil whatsoever the bearer hereof shall direct you to do in our name: whereof fail you not, as you will answer the contrary at your uttermost peril."* One who could thus write might not be an amiable mistress to serve; but she was a queen fit to be at the head of a great nation. She had sent an army to assist the people of the Low Countries to maintain their civil privileges and their religious faith against Philip and against Rome; and was she to contradict her own published declarations? was her servant to disobey her positive instructions? It was very long before the anger of the queen could be softened. She withdrew from her first intention to compel Leicester publicly to lay down his authority, but she restricted its exercise in many ways which were irksome to so proud a man. The war was altogether mismanaged. The prince of Parma, who commanded the troops of Spain, was an experienced general. Leicester was always hesitating; sometimes successful through the bravery of his captains; but gradually losing fortress after fortress, and obtaining petty advantages with no permanent results. There was one in his army who, in this disastrous campaign, closed a short career of military experience, but who has left a name which Englishmen still cherish amongst their most eminent examples of real greatness. Few were the heroic deeds of Philip Sidney, but his heart was the seat of true heroism. The rare scholar, the accomplished writer, the perfect gentleman, might have been forgotten as a soldier, if his night-march upon Axel, and its daring capture, had been his chief title to distinction. But his demeanour when he was carried wounded

* "To my lord of Leycester from the queen by sir Thomas Heneage," "Leycester Correspondence," p. 110.

from the walls of Zutphen, will never be forgotten. His friend, lord Brooke, has told the story, which, known as it is to every schoolboy, must be repeated in every History of England if that history is to show of what material our heroes have been made. "Passing along by the rear of the army where his uncle [Leicester] the general was, and being thirsty with excess of bleeding, he called for some drink, which was presently brought him. But as he was putting the bottle to his mouth he saw a poor soldier carried along, who had

Sir Philip Sidney.

eaten his last at the same feast, ghastly casting up his eyes at the bottle; which sir Philip perceiving took it from his head before he drank, and delivered it to the poor man with these words, 'Thy necessity is yet greater than mine.'" Being repulsed at Zutphen, Leicester shortly went into winter-quarters. The expedition came to an end without calling forth any higher qualities in the general than might naturally be expected from an intriguing courtier; showing, indeed, that the raw levies of England might be led to fight valiantly; but also showing that, without the habitual discipline of a regular army, they could not stand up against starvation and other consequences of mismanage-

ment. There had been a long peace; and even in the warlike times of the Plantagenets armies were often lost from the natural difficulties of obtaining supplies. But in those times the feudal relations of lord and vassal kept men together under the direst pressure of want. Leicester's army was without food or clothes; and they deserted by hundreds. The old organisation was broken up; the organisation of modern times was not established.

The partial failure of the expedition to the Low Countries was in some measure compensated by the naval successes against Spain. Philip had laid an embargo upon English vessels and property, through the extent of his wide dominions. Elizabeth did not fit out royal fleets; but she gave her subjects permission to seize Spanish ships or merchandise wherever they were to be found. This war of privateering was perfectly suited to the Anglo-Saxon character. The spirit of the old Norsemen was revived; and the hope of gain sent hardy adventurers into distant seas, and eager colonists to search for new lands to subdue. The daring spirits of Elizabeth's reign have a strong similitude to the pirates and buccaneers that became odious when they were no longer wanted, and to the filibusters that are still offensive to European civilisation. But they led the way to England's maritime and colonial glories; and if they plundered somewhat too freely, and destroyed too mercilessly, they had large national objects in view as well as private lucre. Drake, in his expedition to the West Indies in 1585, with twenty-five ships, of which only two belonged to the crown, destroyed several Spanish settlements; took Carthagena and San Domingo; and brought home a considerable amount of treasure and two hundred and forty pieces of ordnance.

Whilst the battle between the two great principles that were dividing Europe was being fairly fought out by England and Spain, horse to horse, and ship to ship, there was a more deadly strife about to be waged, with all the inveteracy of war without its honours. In a letter from Walsingham in London to Leicester in the Low Countries, dated the 9th of July, 1586, we hear the first mutterings of the coming storm. The secretary alludes to "the discovery of some matter of importance, in the highest degree, through my travail and cost;" a secret about which he cannot write, but which the gentleman who bears the letter is to communicate to the earl. He then adds, "my only fear is that her majesty will not use the matter with that secresy which appertaineth . . . and surely, if the matter be well handled, it will break the neck of all dangerous practices during her majesty's reign."* The handling of such a matter by Francis Walsingham could not be other than successful—if success it could be called to "break the neck of all dangerous practices" by a deed which the historian of the Reformation mildly deems "the greatest blemish of this reign;" which others describe as an act of unparalleled wickedness; but which was then held as a political necessity, of which we, who live in happier times, and are trained to very different feelings, are no competent judges. Walsingham saw that the conspiracy of a missionary priest with some enthusiastic young men for the deliverance of Mary might involve her in their plot for the assassination of Elizabeth. The

* "Leycester Correspondence," p. 341.

secretary, though a statesman of rare disinterestedness and general integrity, was so vigilant in the detection of plots against his mistress, that his spies and secret agents were in every court abroad, and in every suspected house at home. In what is meant for panegyric it is said of him, "he outdid the Jesuits in their own bow, and over-reached them in their own equivocation and mental reservation. . . . He would cherish a plot some years together, admitting the conspirators to his own and the queen's presence familiarly. His spies waited on some men every hour for three years."* This was the man, with his maxims that "knowledge is never too dear," and that "secresy is policy and virtue," whom a dozen rash young catholics, incited by a fanatical priest, thought to circumvent.

In February, 1585, Dr. William Parry was convicted of high treason, and he was executed on the 2nd of March. His career was a very extraordinary one. He was, after 1580, employed as "a collector of secret intelligence in foreign countries." He had a pension given him in 1584. He is tried as a public enemy six months afterwards. On his trial he made a confession which implicated one Morgan, an agent of Mary at Paris for the receipt and administration of her dower as queen of France. His statement was to this effect: "In October [1582] I came to Paris, where (upon better opinion conceived of me amongst my catholic countrymen) I found my credit well settled, and such as mistrusted me before ready to trust and embrace me. And being one day at the chamber of Thomas Morgan, a catholic gentleman (greatly beloved and trusted on that side), amongst other gentlemen, talking of England, I was desired by Morgan to go up with him to another chamber, where he told me that it was hoped and looked for that I should do some service for God and his church. I answered him, I would do it, if it were to kill the greatest subject in England, whom I named, and in truth then hated. 'No, no,' said he, 'let him live to his greater fall and ruin of his house. It is the queen I mean.' I told him 'it were soon done if it might be lawfully done, and warranted in the opinion of some learned divines.' And so the doubt once resolved (though, as you have heard, I was before reasonably well satisfied), I vowed to undertake the enterprise for the restitution of England to the ancient obedience of the see apostolic."

Elizabeth was greatly enraged against Morgan, and called upon the king of France to deliver him up. This was refused; but Morgan was sent to the Bastile. Full of plans of revenge, he procured means of correspondence with Mary, and had various agents in England, some of whom were unable to elude the vigilance of Walsingham, and yielded up their secrets to the wary minister, or became his own dark sentinels.† In the summer and autumn of 1585, a catholic priest came to England, who was dressed as an officer, and moved about under the name of Fortescue. His real name was John Ballard. One of Walsingham's intelligencers obtained his confidence; and after visiting various parts of this island they proceeded to Paris. Here Ballard saw Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador; and proposed to him, that during the absence of English forces in the Netherlands, an army should be landed,

* Lloyd, "State Worthies," pp. 514–516.
† Lloyd's happy definition of a spy was "a dark sentinel."

whose presence would be the signal for a general rising in favour of the queen of Scots. The ambassador gave little encouragement to this scheme; and Ballard turned to other devices. There was an English officer of the name of Savage, who had undertaken to assassinate Elizabeth; and Ballard came back to England to tempt violent partisans into listening to this proposal. He addressed himself to Anthony Babington, a gentleman of Dethick, in Derbyshire. He had always professed a chivalrous devotion to the cause of Mary; and had been the medium of transmitting letters to her when she was at Sheffield castle. He adopted the proposal that Savage should kill the queen; but he held that it was a plan of too much importance to be left to one man's resolution; and that six should engage in that service, whilst others should liberate the queen of Scots. There can be no doubt that here was a real plot. Young men, the friends of Babington, were induced to enter into the scheme, to their eventual destruction. One of the most interesting of these was Chidick Titchbourne, of Porchester, in Hampshire; and in the address which he delivered at his execution, we may see how such rash and criminal projects found acceptance with ardent and generous minds: —"I had a friend, and a dear friend, of whom I made no small account, whose friendship hath brought me to this; he told me the whole matter, I cannot deny, as they had laid it down to be done; but I always thought it impious, and denied to be a dealer in it; but the regard of my friend caused me to be a man in whom the old proverb was verified; I was silent, and so consented. Before this thing chanced, we lived together in most flourishing estate. Of whom went report in the Strand, Fleet-street, and elsewhere about London, but of Babington and Titchbourne? No threshold was of force to brave our entry. Thus we lived, and wanted nothing we could wish for; and God knows what less in my head than matters of state. Now give me leave to declare the miseries I sustained after I was acquainted with the action, wherein I may justly compare my estate to that of Adam's, who could not abstain one thing forbidden, to enjoy all other things the world could afford; the terror of conscience awaited me. After I considered the dangers whereinto I was fallen, I went to sir John Peters, in Essex, and appointed my horses should meet me at London, intending to go down into the country. I came to London, and then heard that all was bewrayed; whereupon, like Adam, we fled into the woods to hide ourselves."

The employment of spies by a government necessarily leads to the belief that the spy incites the enterprise which he is commissioned to discover. Walsingham was acquainted with this conspiracy through a seminary priest of the name of Gifford; and, says Dr. Lingard, "that artful minister, while he smiled at the infatuation of the youths, who had thus entangled themselves in the toils, was busily employed in weaving a new intrigue, and planning the ruin of a more illustrious victim." What that artful minister did is clear enough. He removed the difficulties which prevented Babington's correspondence with Mary; and he possessed himself of copies of that correspondence. The ruin of the more illustrious victim was accomplished by her own readiness to enter into a plan for her deliverance, founded upon invasion and insurrection, and the assassination of Elizabeth. This was the charge justly sustained against her, if the documents produced upon her trial were not forgeries.

On the 13th, 14th, and 15th of September, fourteen persons accused as treasonable conspirators were brought to trial. Babington, Ballard, and Savage, with four others, pleaded guilty. The remainder were also convicted. The executions of seven, on the 20th of September, were attended with the horrible barbarities of the full penalty of treason. In the case of the others these cruelties were dispensed with. Babington is held "to have behaved ungenerously. He it was who sought to inveigle the others into the conspiracy; and yet his confession was the chief proof against them." * In that confession, as given upon the trial of Mary, was also found what was alleged as a corroborative proof of her complicity with this attempt:—"He set down at large what conferences passed between B. [Ballard] and him, and the whole plot of conspiracy for the murder of Elizabeth, and deliverance of Mary. He declared further, that he did write a letter to the queen of Scotland touching every particular of this plot, and sent it by the same unknown boy [through whom he had corresponded previously]. She answered twenty or thirty days [after] in the same cipher by which he wrote unto her, but by another messenger. The tenour of both which letters he carried so well in memory, that he reported and set down all the principal points of the same, as upon conference of the said declaration with the copies of the said letters it appeared. Babington in all particular points prayed her direction; for instance, that six noble gentlemen would undertake that tragical execution." †

The queen of Scots had two secretaries, De Naou, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot. It appears from a letter of Elizabeth to Shrewsbury, that de Naou was recommended by the French king; and that she consented to his appointment, he having "promised that he shall carry himself in that even manner that becometh an honest minister." ‡ When the knowledge of the conspiracy was sufficiently mature, these secretaries were arrested, and the papers of Mary were seized and transmitted to the council. The queen of Scots was at Chartley,§ in the county of Stafford. She had been removed from Tutbury in the beginning of 1586, which place she appears to have greatly disliked, saying, in one of her letters, "I suffered here so much rigour, insult, and indignity, that I have ever since looked on it as wretched and unfortunate." Mary was residing at Chartley when the discovery of the suspicions against her was abruptly communicated. She was riding to the chase, with sir Amyas Paulet, her two secretaries, and her usual attendants. On the way sir Thomas Gorges told her that he had received orders from the queen to take her to Tixhall, a country seat at a short distance, and that de Naou and Curle were to be arrested. She was very angry, and even called upon her people to protect her. But Gorges went one way with the secretaries, and Paulet another with the queen. Meanwhile a messenger from the Council had taken possession of Mary's papers.‖ Some days after, Mary was conducted back to Chartley; and found that her private cabinets had been opened, and her papers removed. On the 27th of August, Paulet thus reports of her demeanour as she left Tixhall, a seat of the Astons:—"As Mary was coming

* Lingard, vol. viii. note at p. 261. † Raumer, p. 344.
‡ Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. p. 278.
§ Lingard, perhaps by a typographical error, speaks of Mary's residence at Chertsey.
‖ Letter from M. d'Esneval. Raumer, p. 315.

out of sir Walter Aston's gate, she said with a loud voice, weeping, to some poor folks which were there assembled, 'I have nothing for you, I am a beggar as well as you; all is taken from me.' And when she came to the gentleman, she said, weeping, 'Good God; I am not witting or privy to anything intended against the queen.' . . . On her coming hither Mr. Darell delivered the keys as well of her chamber as of her coffers to Bastian, which he refused by direction of his mistress, who required Mr. Darell to open her chamber-door, which he did, and then this lady, finding that the papers were taken away, said in great choler, that two things could not be taken away from her—her English blood and her catholic religion, which both she would keep unto her death, adding further these words, 'Some of you will be sorry for it,' meaning the taking away of her papers. I was not present when these words were spoken, but no doubt they reached unto me, in what sense she only knoweth. I may be sorry for others, but I know there is nothing in her papers that can give me cause to be sorry for myself."

The sensation produced upon the citizens of London, when the news of the Babington conspiracy first opened upon them, and the determination in the mind of Elizabeth to regard Mary as a principal in the design, are described in a letter of Chateauneuf, the French ambassador, to his king, Henry III.:—"I have not been able to send your majesty any information for the last fortnight, all the roads to France being closed on account of a conspiracy which was directed against the queen and the state. She told me herself that she has had from twenty-five to thirty persons, all catholics, arrested on account of it, and this continues daily. A great sensation was caused by it in this town, where the people are much incensed against the catholics; nay, for eight or ten days there was reason to apprehend that acts of violence would be committed upon all who were considered to be catholics. Bonfires were lighted in every street, and the bells rung for twenty-four hours together, because the queen had escaped from so great a danger. It was determined, it is said, to shoot the queen on the 15th of August, and, according to the plan agreed upon, every catholic in the kingdom was to take up arms, and place queen Mary on the throne. Elizabeth, at least, ascribes the whole undertaking to her, for which reason M. d'Esneval and I repaired to Windsor last Sunday, when she said to me, 'I know that the queen of Scotland contrived this. This, in truth, is repaying evil for good, and the more so as I have several times saved her life. The king of France will have news in a few days that will little please him.' . . . . For the understanding of this, I must inform your majesty, that during the ten or twelve days that the investigations were carried on with the greatest ardour, there was a report in the city that this conspiracy had its origin in France, and that even your majesty and the king of Spain took part in it; that your fleet was in readiness to aid it, and that those leaders of the plot who had not yet been discovered were concealed in my house, and that it ought be forcibly searched. . . . . I have accordingly complained of this report, and also of a thousand scandalous and insulting words which my people are exposed to in the streets; and that I was as if besieged, and in danger of being plundered. The only answer I received was, 'The people are greatly excited, and cannot be restrained.'" *

* Raumer, p. 317.

From Chartley, the queen of Scots was transferred to Fotheringay castle. This feudal pile, of which scarce a trace remains, was demolished by order of James VI., when he came to the English throne. Here Richard III. was born, and here Mary Stuart closed her life. Its associations were necessarily painful to James; and they probably offered some reproach to his conscience.

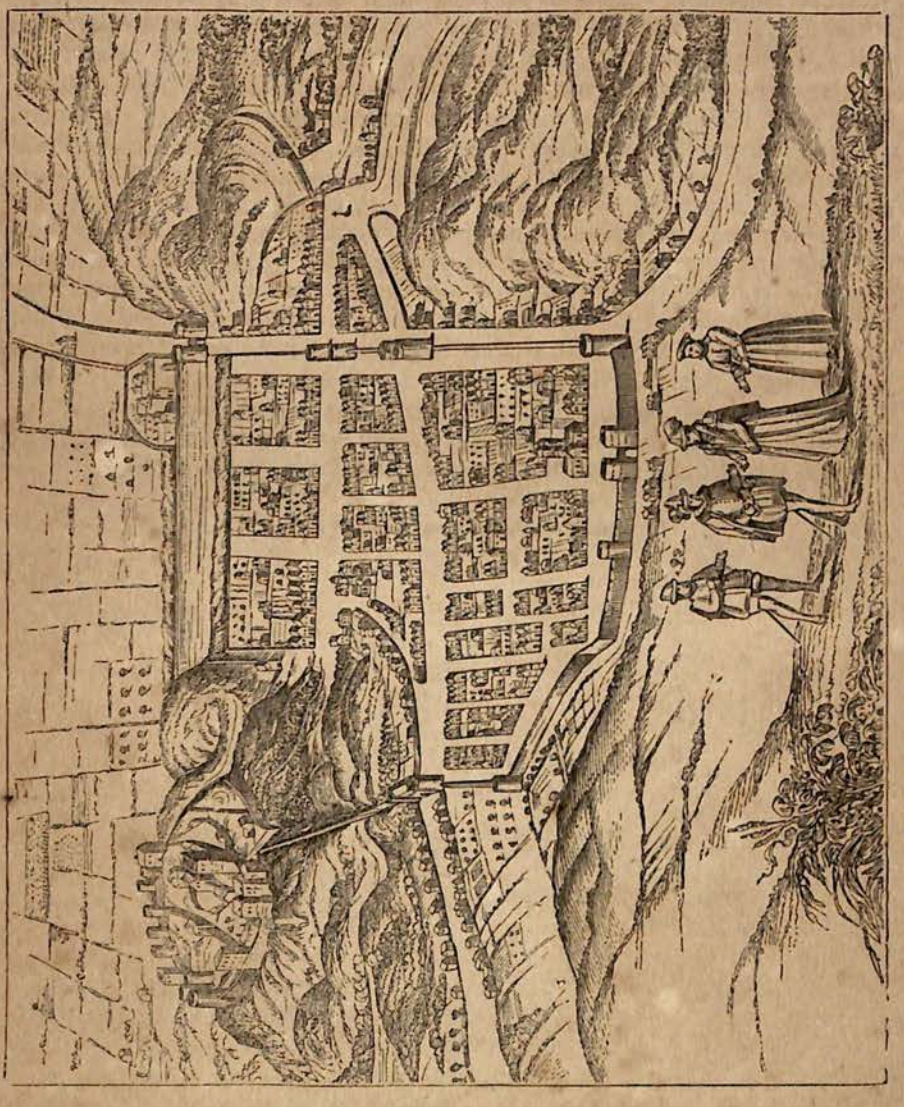
Fotheringay, as it appeared in 1718.

As we proceed to the close of the tragical history of his mother, we shall find sufficient evidence of the weakness and selfishness of this king. His endeavours to procure a mitigation of the fate of Mary, and his final resentment, were never very strenuous. He was always thinking of the splendid lot that was before him as successor to both thrones. It may be very reasonably conjectured, from the whole tenor of Elizabeth's conduct, that she designed James to succeed her; that she was perfectly aware of the inestimable benefits that would result to both countries from their union under one sovereign. Her solicitude was far greater for the good government of Scotland than was to be ascribed to her desire for a peaceful and protestant neighbour. She took James under her tutelage, and read him many a sage, and many a stern, admonition. There is a remarkable letter from Elizabeth to James VI., dated the 4th of October, 1586, which is a reply to a letter of James in which he congratulates the queen upon her escape from the conspiracy directed against her life. This characteristic letter of Elizabeth gives a dark hint of her

belief that the mother of the king of Scotland was accessary to this design. He would, indeed, shortly "hear all;" for at this very date it had been determined to put Mary upon her trial. A league between England and Scotland had been concluded a short time before this eventful season. "And for that the curse of that design rose up from the wicked suggestion of the Jesuits, which make it an acceptable sacrifice to God, and meritorious to themselves, that a king not of their profession should be murdered, therefore I could keep my pen no longer from discharging my care of your person, that you suffer not such vipers to inhabit your land. They say you gave leave under your hand that they might safely come and go. For God's love regard your surety above all persuasions, and account him no subject that entertains them. Make not edicts for scorn, but to be observed. Let them be rebels, and so pronounced, that preserve them. For my part, I am sorrier that they cast away so many goodly gentlemen than that they sought my ruin. I thank God I have taken more dolor for some that are guilty of this murder than bear them malice that they sought my death. I protest it before God. But such iniquity will not be hid, be it never so craftily handled; and yet, when you shall hear all, you will wonder that one accounted wise will use such matter so fondly." * There can be no doubt to whom the singular expression "one accounted wise" refers.

* "Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.," p. 38.

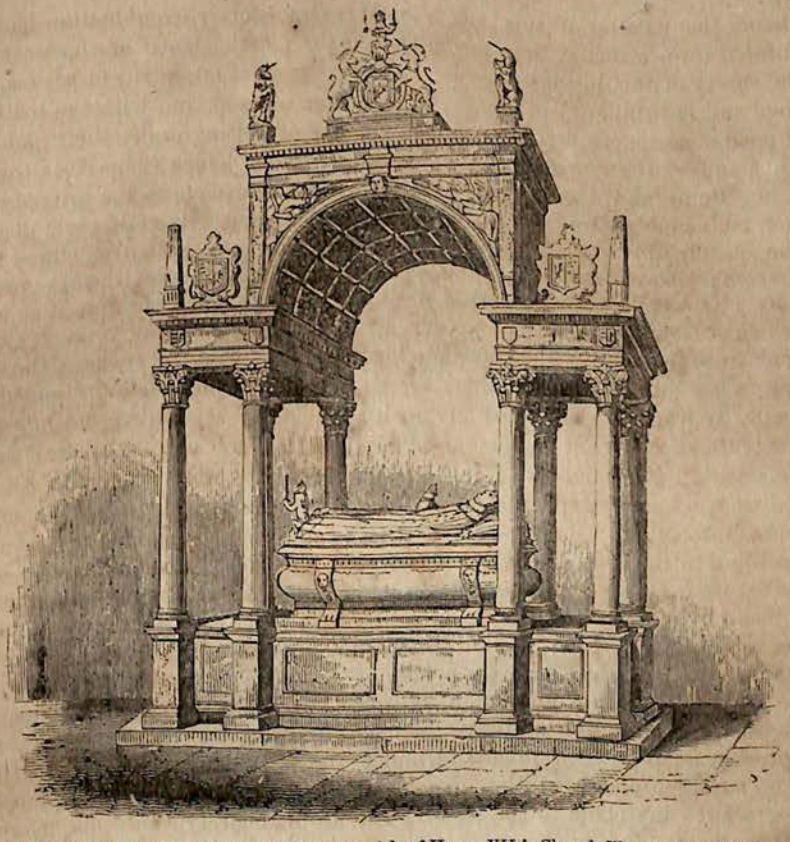
NOTE ON SCOTTISH AFFAIRS.



Plan of Edinburgh, from a print of the early part of the 17th century.

*** The affairs of Scotland having, after the accession of queen Elizabeth, become more intimately connected with those of England; and some of the narratives of the preceding chapters having reference to events that occurred in and near the Scottish capital, we subjoin the above plan, which will enable the reader better to judge of the state of that interesting locality at this period, and in the early part of the next century.

LAUD.
HAMPDEN.
STRAFFORD.
FALKLAND.



Tomb of Mary, Queen of Scots, in the south aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster Abbey.

CHAPTER XIII.

The Association—Statute for the surety of the queen's person—Commission for trial of Mary—Proceedings on the trial—Judgment against Mary—Conflicting opinions on this judgment—The parliament urge the execution of the sentence—The judgment proclaimed—Conduct of Elizabeth—Interview with Davison—Warrant of execution—Mary beheaded at Fotheringay—Elizabeth disavows her responsibility in this proceeding—The disavowal a self-deception—Note on the statements that Elizabeth desired that the Queen of Scots might be privately assassinated.

To judge correctly of the course of proceedings against the queen of Scots, we must go back to the session of parliament of 1584-5, when the nation was alarmed by well-founded apprehensions of a Spanish invasion, and by decisive indications of plots for the deposition of Elizabeth and the recognition of Mary's claim to the English crown. In that session a law was passed, entitled, "An Act for provision to be made for the surety of the queen's majesty's most royal person, and the continuance of the realm in peace." *

* 27 Eliz., c. 1.

Before the passing of this Act, a most extraordinary combination had been entered into, which is thus recognised in the fourth clause of the statute for the surety of the queen's person: "And whereas of late many of her majesty's good and faithful subjects, have, in the name of God, and with the testimony of good consciences, by one uniform manner of writing under their hands and seals, and by their several oaths voluntarily taken, joined themselves together in one Bond and Association, to withstand and revenge to the uttermost all such malicious actions and attempts against her majesty's most royal person." The specific object of the Association was much more explicitly defined in the instrument to which the good and faithful subjects had set their hands and seals. It was to the effect that if any attempt against the queen's person "shall be taken in hand or procured," whereby any should pretend title to come to the crown by the untimely death of the queen so procured, the Associators not only bind themselves never to allow of any such pretended successor, by whom or *for whom* any such act shall be attempted, but engage to prosecute such person or persons to death. It is not correct to state that in the statute for the surety of the queen's person, "the terms of this Association were solemnly approved by parliament." * It provided that the articles of the Association "shall and ought to be in all things expounded and adjudged according to the true intent and meaning of this Act;" and the Act expressly limited its meaning by the condition "that if any invasion or rebellion should be made by or for any person pretending title to the crown after her majesty's decease, or if any thing be confessed or imagined tending to the hurt of her person," it should be "*with the privity of any such person.*" In that case it was provided that a commission, composed of peers, privy councillors, and judges, should examine and give judgment on such offences; and that, after a proclamation of such judgment under the great seal, all persons against whom such sentence shall be given and proclaimed should be disabled for ever to have any claim to the crown; and all her majesty's subjects, by virtue of this statute, and by the queen's direction, might pursue the said persons to death. In case of the violent death of the queen, the privy council, with others, might proclaim the guilty parties, and use force in pursuing them to death. Mr. Hallam has pointed out that "this statute differs from the associators' engagement, in omitting the outrageous threat of pursuing to death any person, whether privy or not to the design, on whose behalf an attempt against the queen's life should be made." † Such was the law when the Babington conspiracy was discovered; and Mary was put upon her trial under this law, and not under the old Statute of Treasons, to determine whether that conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth was "with the privity of any person that shall or may pretend title to the crown of this realm." ‡

On the 5th of October, 1586, a commission was issued to a large number of the most eminent persons of the kingdom, including twenty-nine peers, nine privy councillors, the chancellor, and five judges. In this commission it was recited, that since the first day of June, in the 27th year of the queen, "divers matters have been compassed and imagined tending to the hurt of our royal person, as well by Mary, daughter and heir of James the fifth, king of Scots, and commonly called queen of Scots and dowager of France, pretending title

* Tytler, vol. viii. † "Constitutional History." ‡ 27 Eliz., c. 1 clause 1.

to this realm of England; as by divers other persons, *cum scientia*, in English with the privity of the same Mary, as we are given to understand." To the commissioners was assigned full power to examine all such matters, and to give sentence and judgment, under the act for the surety of the royal person. Thirty-six commissioners repaired to the castle of Fotheringay; and letters from Elizabeth were delivered to Mary, apprising her of the proceedings that were to be taken against her. At some preliminary interviews with a deputation from the commissioners, Mary maintained that she was an absolute queen; that she was no subject; and rather would die a thousand deaths than acknowledge herself a subject. She especially objected to the recent law,—upon which the authority of the commissioners wholly depended,—as unjust, as devised of purpose against her. But Hatton, the vice-chamberlain of Elizabeth, urged her to lay aside the bootless privilege of regal dignity, and by appearing before the commissioners have the means of showing her innocence. She ultimately yielded. The court was opened on Friday, the 14th of October, in the great hall at Fotheringay castle. Amongst the Cottonian MSS. there is a rough plan, in the hand-writing of lord Burleigh, for the arrangement of the hall. The "Great Chamber" was to be divided by "a rail as is in the Parliament Chamber." Within the bar was to be a cloth of state, with a chair for the queen of England; and opposite, nearer the rail, a chair for the queen of Scots. On the right of the queen of England's chair, a form for four justices, and a form for fourteen earls. On the left a form for the queen's counsel; a form for seven counsellors; and a form for thirteen barons. The space below the bar was "for all persons not being in commission, nor of the queen's learned counsel." *

It is scarcely possible, within reasonable limits, to furnish an adequate relation of this so-called trial. Like all other trials for high-treason at that period, the witnesses were not examined in open court; the accused was not allowed counsel. There sat, facing the empty chair of royal state, this acute and courageous woman, with those before her whom she regarded as her enemies, ready to overwhelm her by their accusations or their arguments. She repeated her declaration, that whatever answers she gave were made under protest against the authority of the commission to try a princess who was no subject of the queen of England. Gawdy, the queen's sergeant, went through the history of the Babington conspiracy, and brought forward arguments that she knew of it, approved it, and showed the means of its execution. She maintained that she knew not Babington; had never received any letters from him, nor written any to him; that she never plotted the destruction of the queen; and that to prove the same her subscription under her own hand ought to be produced. Copies of Babington's letters to her were read. "Let it be proved," she answered, "that I received them." The confessions of Babington and others were then recited, to prove that she had written letters which showed knowledge of the conspiracy. She said this was second-hand evidence. A copy of a letter was read, as of one written by her to Babington. She demanded that the original, said to be in cypher, should be produced. She hinted that Walsingham, who had placed spies about her, might have caused her cypher to be counterfeited. Walsingham protested that as a private

* See plan in Ellis, First Series, vol. ii.

person he had done nothing unbeseeming an honest man, nor as he bore the place of a public person had he done anything unworthy his place. Burleigh took part in the charges against the undaunted queen; who thus fought a battle single-handed against the most adroit statesmen of that age. It was not a trial, but a most unequal debate; and it is painful to see how Burleigh, in many points so worthy of respect, could describe the keen encounter between himself and an inexperienced woman. "This queen of the castle was content to appear before us again in public, to be heard, but, in truth, not to be heard for her defence, for she could say nothing but negatively, that the points of the letters that concerned the practice against the queen-majesty's person were never by her written, nor of her knowledge. The rest, for invasion, for escaping by force, she said, she would neither deny nor affirm. But her intention was, by long artificial speeches, to move pity, to lay all blame upon the queen's majesty, or rather upon the Council, that all the troubles past did ensue, avowing her reasonable offers and our refusals; and in this her speeches I did so encounter her with reasons out of my knowledge and experience, as she had not that advantage she looked for; as I am assured the auditory did find her case not pitiable, her allegations untrue; by which means great debate fell yesternight very long, and this day renewed with great stomaching." *

This letter of Burleigh refers to the proceedings of the second day. Mary then acknowledged that notes had been written to Babington by her secretaries; but said that they wholly referred to plans for her escape. She did not deny that she sought this deliverance, even through an invasion of the realm. Letters were produced, of which the genuineness is now scarcely disputed,† in which she minutely expounded plans for the king of Spain "to set on the queen of England;" which invasion she would aid by inducing the Catholic lords of Scotland to join the enterprise; and, seizing the young king James, deliver him into the hands of the king of Spain, or of the pope, to make him to be instructed and reduced to the Catholic religion. Another letter was read, in which Mary expressed her intention of bequeathing to the Spanish king her right of succession to the English throne. The plots for invasion and the overthrow of Elizabeth's government were almost necessarily connected with the assassination of the queen. Whether Mary was cognisant of one part of these plots, and wholly ignorant of the other, may be reasonably questioned.

At the close of the proceedings at Fotheringay, on the second day, the court was adjourned to the 25th, at Westminster. Naou and Curle, Mary's two secretaries, were then examined, in the absence of their mistress. Camden says that they voluntarily confirmed all and every the letters and copies of letters, before produced, to be most true. But this historian adds, "I have seen Naou's apology to king James, written in the year 1605, wherein, laboriously protesting, he excuseth himself, that he was neither author, nor persuader, nor the first revealer of the plot that was undertaken, nor failed of his duty through negligence or want of foresight; yea, that this day [the 25th of October] he stoutly impugned the chief points of accusation against his

* Letter to Davison, October 15, Ellis, First Series, vol. iii. p. 12.

† "These, if they were genuine, and of that there can be little doubt, showed that she had not only approved of the invasion devised at Paris, but had offered to aid its execution."—Lingard.

lady and mistress; which, notwithstanding, appeareth not by records." The commission unanimously delivered as their sentence "that the Babington conspiracy was with the privity of Mary, pretending title to the crown of England; and that she hath compassed and imagined within this realm, divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of our sovereign lady the queen." The commissioners added that this sentence did not derogate from James, king of Scots, in title or honour, but that he was in the same place, degree, and right, as if the sentence had never been pronounced.

Between the trial of Mary and the execution of the sentence there was an interval of four months. They were four months of intense anxiety, not only to the unhappy queen of Scots, but to Elizabeth, to her ministers, to the parliament, to the people. There are many doubtful points in the recorded transactions of this period, and historians have too often cut the knot instead of attempting to unloose it. Starting upon the hypothesis that, if Mary were not wholly innocent, the judgment against her was illegal, she is usually represented as the victim of remorseless statesmen, of a fanatical parliament, of a ferocious people, and of a cruel and dissembling rival queen. In the natural sympathy of mankind for a woman who had so long been acquainted with misery, the fact seems to have been overlooked that she was thrust from her legitimate throne by her own subjects, under charges of the most atrocious nature, and with the conviction that she would never cease to plot with foreign powers for the overthrow of the reformed religion. It is equally clear that her detention in this country was upon the ground that she was a public enemy; that she had never given up her claim to the actual possession of the crown; that her efforts to induce the Catholic powers to support her claims were unceasing; and that for years she was the centre around which all the intrigues for destroying the heretical governments of England and Scotland revolved. During her life, however strictly Mary was watched, the government of the Protestant Elizabeth was in perpetual danger It was no popular delusion which ascribed to the bigoted popes who held the queen of England accursed, the doctrine that—

> "blessed shall he be that doth revolt
> From his allegiance to a heretic;"

that the hand which took away Elizabeth's "hateful life" should be deemed "meritorious." When Mary was pronounced guilty of privity to the Babington conspiracy, the most extensive preparations for the overthrow of Elizabeth were rapidly maturing. Invasion from without, treason from within, were to work together to place upon the throne one who would call in foreign aid to destroy the religion which had been generally adopted by a whole generation of English, and which no differences of opinion were otherwise likely essentially to disturb. Assuming Mary to have been privy to the various plots that had ripened during the last two years of her detention,—and one of the soberest of historians says, "in Murden's State Papers we have abundant evidence of Mary's acquaintance with the plots going forward in 1585 and 1586 against Elizabeth's government, if not with those for her assassination" *—the question arises whether the deposed queen of Scots was

* Hallam, Note to chap. iii.

amenable to any English tribunal? Camden says, that amongst contemporaries, "divers speeches were raised about the matter according to the divers dispositions of men." Some held that "she was a free and absolute princess, under the superior command of God alone,—that she could not commit treason because she was no subject." Others maintained that she was "only a titular queen, because she had resigned her kingdom, and when she first came into England had subjected herself under the protection of the queen of England." These abstract differences were no doubt settled, for the most part, by the doctrine, with which Camden concludes his statement of the opinions of those who defended the sentence against Mary,—"that the safety of the people is the highest law." Whatever violent historical partisans may maintain, we concur in the opinion of Mr. Hallam, that those who held Mary to be only a titular queen were in the right. "Though we must admit that Mary's resignation of her crown was compulsory, and retracted on the first occasion; yet, after a twenty years' loss of possession, when not one of her former subjects avowed allegiance to her, when the king of Scotland had been so long acknowledged by England, and by all Europe, is it possible to consider her as more than a titular queen, divested of every substantial right to which a sovereign tribunal could have regard?" * If we accept of the doctrine that "the safety of the people is the highest law," we must further agree that the sentence against Mary, "if not capable of complete vindication, has at least encountered a disproportioned censure." † But there must be censure, more or less. The contending feelings excited by the fate of Mary have been as correctly analysed by the great contemporary poet as by any historian. There can be no doubt that Spenser's "False Duessa" was the type of Mary, the "untitled queen." Following out the poet's brief enumeration of the crimes of Duessa, Authority opposed her; the Law of Nations rose against her; Religion imputed God's behest to condemn her; the People's cry and Commons' suit importuned for care of the Public Cause: Justice charged her with breach of law:—

> "But then, for her, on the contrary part,
> Rose many advocates for her to plead;
> First there came Pity with full tender heart,
> And with her joined Regard of Womanhead;
> And then came Danger, threatening hidden dread
> And high alliance unto foreign power;
> Then came Nobility of Birth, that bred
> Great ruth through her misfortune's tragic stour,
> And lastly Grief did plead, and many tears forth pour." ‡

The Pity, the Regard of Womanhead, the ruth for fallen Nobility of Birth, the Grief that speaks in tears, will always prevail over political considerations when we peruse the sad story of Mary Stuart. But it is not to read the past aright if we wholly shut our eyes to Justice and the Public Cause. It would be worse than mere tenderness to impute to Elizabeth and her advisers, to the parliament and to the people, a blind hostility to a suffering and harmless captive. Mary was for years the terror of England. Her destruction was "the Great Cause" to which the highest and the humblest in the land looked as a relief. If her death were a crime it was a national crime. To regard it at the present day as an outrage upon Scotland, and to talk of it, as some do,

* "Constitutional History," chap. iii. † *Ibid.* ‡ "Faery Queen," book v. canto ix.

in this spirit, appears to us one of those hallucinations of a distempered patriotism, with which men vainly endeavour to call up the shadows of long-buried rivalries and forgotten discontents.

The parliament was opened by Commission, an unusual course, on the 29th of October. The chief business was to bring before the houses the proceedings against the queen of Scots; and the principal discussions were upon what was commonly termed "the Great Cause." The members of the Council appear to have been firmly persuaded of the duty of urging Elizabeth to the most extreme course. Davison, one of her secretaries, writes to Leicester on the 4th of November, "Your lordship's presence here were more than needful for the great cause now in hand, which is feared will receive a colder proceeding than may stand with the surety of her majesty, and necessity of our shaken estates." * On the 10th of November, a committee of both houses declared the sentence against Mary to be just; and the houses agreed in a petition to Elizabeth, that proclamation of the judgment might be made, and that further proceedings might be taken against the Scottish queen; "because, upon advised and great consultation, we cannot find that there is any possible means to provide for your majesty's safety, but by the just and speedy execution of the said queen." † The answer of Elizabeth is generally considered hypocritical: "If my life alone depended hereupon, and not the safety and welfare of all my people, I would, I protest unfeignedly, willingly and readily pardon her. Nay, if England might by my death obtain a more flourishing condition and a better prince, I would most gladly lay down my life. For, for your sakes it is, and for my people's, that I desire to live." This is egotism; but egotism which has not only the "princely dignity," but the "motherly tenderness," with which Elizabeth always spoke of her people. On this occasion, she requested time to consider. The houses again resolved that no safety can in any wise be had as long as the queen of Scots doth live. Again Elizabeth hesitated: "If I should say unto you," she replied, "that I mean not to grant your petition, by my faith I should say unto you more than perhaps I mean. And if I should say unto you I mean to grant your petition, I should then tell you more than is fit for you to know. And thus I must deliver you an answer answerless." But the government acceded to one part of the petition of parliament to the queen At the beginning of December the judgment of the Commissioners against Mary was solemnly proclaimed in London and other places. Our historians record the joy of the citizens of the capital; the ringing of bells and the bonfires. They pass over the statutory effect of this proclamation: "After such sentence or judgment given, and declaration thereof made and published, by her majesty's proclamation, under the great seal of England, all persons against whom such sentence or judgment shall be so given and published, shall be excluded and disabled for ever to have or claim, or to pretend to have or claim, the crown of this realm." ‡ The dread of the great body of Protestants had been that, in the event of Elizabeth's death, a Romanist successor would come, in the person of Mary, the next heir. The proclamation under the statute put an end to that chance; and hence the joy. For two months

* "Leycester Correspondence," p. 453. † "Parliamentary History." ‡ 27 Eliz.

a more fatal termination of the "great cause" had been suspended. When Elizabeth was threatened by the French ambassador, she wrote a letter of defiance to his master, Henry III. When James sent commissioners to England upon a mission of intercession, she delayed and protested her desire to save Mary, although in a letter to James she called her "the serpent that poisons me." As these efforts became more strenuous Elizabeth became more determined; and wrote to James, "though like a most natural good son you charged them [the ambassadors] to seek all means they could devise with wit or judgment to save her life, yet I cannot, nor do not, allege any fault to you of their persuasions; for I take it that you will remember that advice or desires ought ever agree with the surety of the party sent to and honor of the sender." * Camden has described the state of Elizabeth's mind at this period. "She gave herself over to solitariness, sat many times melancholy and mute; and often sighing muttered to herself, *aut fer, aut feri*,—that is, either bear strokes or strike; and, out of I know not what emblem, *ne feriare, feri*,—that is, strike, lest thou be stricken." At last the struggle, or the simulated struggle, seemed over. On the 1st of February, the queen sent for Davison, one of the secretaries, at ten in the morning. After various talk, she asked if he had brought the warrant for the execution of the Scottish queen. He had been desired by the lord admiral Howard to bring it, and he delivered it to Elizabeth. That warrant had been in his hands five or six weeks; but now, as he was told, the queen had resolved to sign it, in consequence of rumours of invasions and rebellions spread abroad. The queen signed the warrant, and ordered Davison to carry it to the great seal, and then dispatch it with all expedition. She told him to show the warrant to Mr. secretary Walsingham, who was sick; saying, merrily, that she thought the sight thereof would kill him outright. This might be cruel indifference, or forced levity to hide a conflict within. He showed the warrant to Burleigh and Leicester, and then went to the chancellor, and afterwards to Walsingham. The next morning the queen sent him a message, that if he had not been already to the chancellor he should forbear till he knew her further pleasure. He went therefore to the queen, and told her that the warrant was sealed; and she said, "what needeth that haste?" She objected that this course threw the whole burthen upon herself. Davison, fearing to take the responsibility of dispatching the warrant, went to Burleigh, who assembled a Council, and gave his advice that they should join in sending the warrant to the commissioners "without troubling her majesty any further in that behalf, she having done all that in law or reason could be required of her." Burleigh undertook to prepare letters to accompany the warrant; and the next day, the 3rd, the warrant and despatches were delivered by Burleigh to Mr. Beale, who was thought the fittest messenger. Two or three days after, the queen spoke to Davison about another course "that had been propounded to her underhand by one of great place," against which Davison gave reasons, "wherewith she seemed to rest satisfied without any show of following the new course, or altering her former resolution in any point." At this interview Elizabeth complained that the warrant was not already executed. Such is the straightforward account contained in a Manuscript which is amongst the papers in

* "Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.," p. 441.

the Harleian Collection. This is, in substance, the same account as that given by Camden. But there are other statements by this unfortunate secretary, who was prosecuted in the Star Chamber for not obeying Elizabeth's commands in the matter of the warrant, which are familiar to the most cursory reader of history, and which are usually accepted as evidence of a desire of the queen that Mary should be privately murdered. Camden refers to these statements of how Davison "excused himself in private," which he gives "compendiously," with this addition to what we have related as found in the other narrative: "Moreover she blamed Paulet and Drury that they had not eased her of this care, and wished that Walsingham would feel their minds in this matter." On a subsequent day, "she asked me whether I had received any answer from Paulet, whose letter, when I had showed her, wherein he flatly refused to undertake that which stood not with honour and justice, she waxing angry, accused him and others, which had bound themselves by the Association, of perjury and breach of their vow." We forbear to enter here upon this remarkable story, of which, holding the evidence to be very doubtful as regards assassination, we have thrown the minuter details into the form of a note, so as not to interrupt the main narrative.*

The last hours of Mary Stuart have been described with an exactness which is far more interesting than the highest efforts of imaginative art. Indeed, the art of Schiller has borrowed its most effective touches from an official narrative whose authenticity is established by an indorsement in lord Burleigh's hand. † The scenes immediately preceding the fatal morning of the 8th of February have been derived from various sources, and some of the incidents are conflicting. The relations, however, agree in the most essential particulars. The earls of Shrewsbury and Kent, to whom the Lords of the Council had specially sent Mr. Beale, arrived at Fotheringay on the 7th of February, after dinner. They communicated to Mary the purpose for which they had arrived; and Beale read the queen's commission for her execution. She bowed her head, made the sign of the cross, and thanked her God that the summons so long expected had come at last. She asked at what time she should die, and was informed at eight the following morning. Having desired the presence of her priest and almoner, she was refused; and was told that in the place of her confessor she might have the spiritual assistance of the dean of Peterborough. She necessarily declined this. This ferocious bigotry would be incomprehensible, if we did not bear in mind that the severe Protestant and the rigid Catholic were equally convinced that it was their duty to urge their own doctrines, even whilst the axe or the fagot were ready for those who were about to perish for their opinions. The "bachelor of Divinity, named Elye, of Brazennose College," who pressed Cranmer to recant when he was chained to the stake; and the earl of Kent, who attempted to convert Mary, on the evening before her death, were misjudging zealots, but they meant not cruelty. Camden has it, that the earl of Kent said to Mary, "Your life will be the death of our religion, as, contrariwise, your death will be the life thereof." The doomed one saw her advantage in this speech; and afterwards said to her physician, "They say that I must die

* See page 205.

† "8 Feb. 1586. The manner of the Q. of Scott's death at Fodryngbay, wr. by R. Wy." This is amongst the Lansdowne MS. Ellis, Second Series, vol. iii. p. 102.

because I have plotted against the queen's life; yet the earl of Kent signifieth unto me that there is no other cause of my death but that they doubt their religion because of me." Mary then looked over her will; distributed money to her attendants; wrote letters; prayed long and fervently; and went quietly to sleep.

At the upper end of the great hall of Fotheringay had been erected a scaffold, two feet in height and twelve feet in breadth, railed round, and covered with black cloth. On that scaffold were a low stool, a long cushion, and a block; all covered also with black. There were many persons assembled in that hall. The queen had dressed herself "gorgeously and curiously," says Camden, "as she was wont to do on festival days." She came forth from her chamber, at the bidding of Thomas Andrews, sheriff of Northamptonshire; and was met in the entry next the hall, by Shrewsbury and Kent, "with divers knights and gentlemen." Melvin, one of her old servants, fell on his knees before her; and said that it would be the most sorrowful message he ever carried when he should report in Scotland that his queen and mistress was dead. The official narrative thus continues: "Then the queen of Scots, shedding tears, answered him, 'You ought to rejoice rather than weep for that the end of Mary Stuart's troubles is now come. Thou knowest, Melvin, that all this world is but vanity, and full of troubles and sorrows; carry this message from me, and tell my friends that I die a true woman to my religion, and like a true Scottish woman and a true French woman. But God forgive them that have long desired my end; and he that is the true Judge of all secret thoughts knoweth my mind, how that ever it hath been my desire to have Scotland and England united together. Commend me to my son, and tell him that I have not done any thing that may prejudice his kingdom of Scotland; and so, good Melvin, farewell;' and kissing him, she bade him pray for her."

We have again a scene characteristic of an age in which to be tender was too often accounted to be weak, and to be tolerant was held to be impious. Mary requested that her servants might be present at her death. The earl of Kent refused, lest they should trouble her grace, and disquiet the company by their speeches. She replied that she would give her word that they should do nothing of the kind. After some consultation two of her female servants and Melvin, with two medical attendants and an old man, were allowed to enter the hall. Melvin carrying her train, she stepped up the scaffold with a cheerful countenance, and sat down on the stool; and there stood by her side the two earls, and the sheriff, and two executioners. The commission was read; Mary "listening unto it with as small regard as if it had not concerned her at all." The dean of Peterborough, Dr. Fletcher, standing outside the rail, directly before her, began an exhortation; but she stopped him, saying, "Mr. Dean, I am settled in the ancient Catholic Roman religion, and mind to spend my blood in defence of it." The pertinacious dignitary replied, with more zeal than charity, "Madam, change your opinion, and repent of your former wickedness, and settle your faith only in Jesus Christ, by him to be saved." Mary told him to trouble himself no further; and Shrewsbury and Kent said they would pray for her. She thanked them, "but to join with you in prayer I will not, for that you and I are not of one religion." The dean then prayed aloud from the English liturgy; and Mary

with stedfast voice, having in her hand a crucifix, began to pray in Latin; and she finally prayed in English for Christ's afflicted church, for her son, and for the queen of England. The callous earl of Kent was not moved even by this solemn earnestness, but told her to "leave those trumperies." Such is fanaticism, from whatever perverted view of the religion of love it may spring.

The last dread trial was sustained with equal fortitude and stedfastness by Mary, in whom, whatever were her faults, were many of the elements of true heroism. As her two women wept, she besought them to be calm: "I have promised for you." A Corpus-Christi cloth being pinned over her face, she knelt down upon the cushion "most resolutely," reciting aloud the Latin psalm, *In te confido*, "In thee, O Lord, do I trust." Groping for the block, she laid down her head, and cried, *In manus tuas, Domine*, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit." Her head was severed in two strokes. One poor servant there was who went upon that scaffold without permission. Her little dog was taken from beneath her robes; and "afterwards would not depart from the dead corpse."

Fifteen months after this tragedy, Elizabeth wrote to James, "God, the searcher of all hearts, ever so have misericorde of my soul as my innocency in that matter deserveth, and no otherwise; which invocation were too dangerous for a guilty conscience." Opposed as the narratives of Davison are to each other, in many essential particulars, we cannot wholly reject them. We must believe, with one of these, that Elizabeth only desired the non-performance of the warrant for execution, that her prompting of some form that would shift the burthen from herself *might* be adopted—for which purpose she caused letters to be written to Paulet and Drury: or, with the other, that she was always resolved upon the execution; and accept the statement of both "apologies" of Davison, that the very day before that of the Scottish queen's death, "she fell of herself into some earnest expostulation with me about the execution of her said warrant, complaining greatly of myself and the rest of her Council, as men careless of her safety and our own duties, commanding me to write a sharp letter to sir Amias Paulet to that effect." And yet the Council, when the news of the execution arrived, says Davison, "did not think fit to break suddenly to her majesty, who nevertheless, by other means, understood thereof that night." The next morning he met the other members of the Council, who told him that "her majesty seemed greatly offended against them all about this action, disavowing that she had either commanded or intended any such proceeding therein." Davison was sent to the Tower, and tried in the Star Chamber. Burleigh was forbidden to appear in court. The assertions of Elizabeth have been attributed to "the earnestness of a dreadful self-deception." * Her conduct during the four months from the trial to the last act of this terrible drama, has been designated as "hollow affectation." But nevertheless we believe that she was not of those whose "feet are swift to shed blood;" that there was a real contest in her mind between her private and her public feelings; and that in her violent declarations of innocency she deceived herself into throwing the whole blame upon parliament and her ministers. Six days after

* Bruce, in Introduction to "Letters of Elizabeth," &c. † Hallam.

the execution she wrote to James to express "the extreme dolor that overwhelms my mind, for that miserable accident which, far contrary to my meaning, hath befallen." She further says, "As I know this was deserved, yet if I had meant it I would never lay it on other shoulders." She persisted in this assertion, without any variation. There can be little doubt that she shielded herself by some technical objection to the mode in which her Council had proceeded, upon the representations of Davison. At Davison's trial in the Star Chamber, on the 28th March, sir Roger Manwood, lord chief baron, said, "This thing, then, being so high a point of justice, was not in any respect to be done otherwise than her majesty's express commandment would bear. . . . . The instrument was not so peremptory and irrevocable as he [Davison] took it; nor a sufficient warrant for any kind of proceeding against the Scottish queen, neither for his associates, nor for any other: for the last statute, besides the condition and proclamation, doth require the queen's direction; and that must be either general, that all men may do it, which is not here granted, or particular, who or by what means; neither is there here any such, especially her majesty having no knowledge of the thing done."* The statute of the 27th Elizabeth certainly says, that after sentence and judgment, and proclamation of the same, "all her highness's subjects shall and may lawfully, by virtue of this Act, and *her majesty's direction in that behalf*, by all forcible and possible means pursue to death every such wicked person." Elizabeth had signed a general instrument of this nature; which the chief baron says was "not a sufficient warrant for any kind of proceeding against the Scottish queen." The Council, upon the representations of Davison, chose, honestly interpreting the queen's wishes, to supply what was deficient in that instrument. Burleigh told the Council, having read the instrument to them, that they were met to advise of "such means as might be most honourable and expedient for the dispatch thereof; seeing her majesty had for her part performed as much as in any honour, law, or reason, was to be required at her hands." They took upon themselves the responsibility, fully understanding "her doubted inclination to drive this burthen, if it might be, from herself;" and they determined to apply no more to the queen, lest she, "upon such a needless motion, should have fallen into any new conceit of interrupting and staying the course of justice." † There was some slight foundation for a "dreadful self-deception."

* Report of the Trial, by an eye-witness. Nicolas, p. 343.
† Davison's 'Discourse.' Nicolas, p. 241.

NOTE ON THE STATEMENTS THAT ELIZABETH DESIRED THAT THE QUEEN OF SCOTS MIGHT BE PRIVATELY ASSASSINATED.

THE popular impression of the guilt of Elizabeth with regard to the death of Mary Stuart has been considerably aggravated in modern times. The worst belief formerly was, that the queen of England was most anxious for the execution of the queen of Scots, but long dissembled; was exhorted by her council and by parliament to issue the fatal warrant; resisted only that she might cast the odium of the act upon others; and meanly persecuted Davison the secretary for really obeying her commands. Hume and Robertson briefly notice a far more odious charge against Elizabeth. Robertson says, "She often hinted to Paulet and Drury, as well as to some other courtiers, that now was the time to discover the sincerity of their concern for her safety, and that she expected their zeal would extricate her out of her present perplexity. But they were wise enough to seem not to understand her meaning." It is now the almost uniform practice of historical writers perfectly to understand that the meaning was, private assassination. This accusation against Elizabeth is now generally related in the most circumstantial manner, and as generally accepted as resting upon unquestionable testimony. It appears to us, at the risk of being tedious, a duty to examine the evidence upon which this accusation is founded.

There are four narratives, or "apologies," attributed to Davison. The one with which the general reader is best acquainted is given in Robertson's "History of Scotland," Appendix xix. vol. ii. It contains no word respecting any suggestion for the removal of Mary, except by public execution. The original is amongst the Cottonian MSS.* The second "apology," with which Hume, Robertson, and other historians of the last century were acquainted, is printed in Kippis' "Biographia Britannica," Art. "Davyson," as "transcribed by Mr. John Urry, of Christchurch, from the papers of Sir Amias Paulet." † But it was first printed in the third volume of Dr. George Mackenzie's "Lives and Characters of Scottish Worthies," in 1722; and he derived his knowledge of it from Mr. John Urry. In this "apology," the command of Elizabeth to Davison, that he and Walsingham should write to Paulet and Drury "to sound their dispositions, aiming still at this, that it might be so done as the blame might be removed from herself," is detailed at some length. These are the materials which, with two letters which we shall have especially to notice, were known before the close of the last century. These letters, according to the ordinary belief, have converted the doubtful into the positive. Robertson says, "Even after the warrant was signed, she commanded a letter to be written to Paulet, *in less ambiguous terms*, complaining of his remissness in sparing so long the life of her capital enemy, and begging him to remember at last what was incumbent on him as an affectionate subject, and to deliver his sovereign from continual fear and danger, *by shortening*

* Printed by Nicolas, "Life of Davison," Appendix D. † Printed by Nicolas, Appendix C.

the days of his prisoner." Paulet, adds this historian, "rejected the proposal with disdain." Conversations might have been misunderstood; rash expressions exaggerated. But letters of this import could not be capable of any other interpretation *than that Elizabeth desired Mary to be removed by secret murder.*

In 1823, Sir N. H. Nicolas published his "Life of William Davison," in which he gave two other apologies, which he describes as "the fullest and most satisfactory" of these papers, and which he believes have "never before been cited or published." The first of these is taken from the Cottonian MS., Titus, C. vii. f. 48, and the Cottonian MS. Caligula, C. ix. f. 149, and these "appear to be in Davison's hand."* The second is the Harleian MS., 290, f. 213, and, says Nicolas, "the manuscript is very similar to Davison's."† The one from the Harleian MS. is headed "A true relation of what passed between her majesty and me," &c. The other from the Cottonian MS. is headed "A Discourse sent by and from Mr. Secretary Davison, being then prisoner in the Tower of London, unto Secretary Walsingham," &c. There is another copy of the "Discourse" in the Harleian Collection, of which the Catalogue says, "written by the hand of Mr. Rafe Starkey." Nicolas points out that it varies very slightly from that in the Cottonian Collection. Three examinations of Davison, whilst he was a prisoner in the Tower, and reports of his trial in the Star-chamber, are the principal documents which further bear on the question.

The offence for which Davison was prosecuted in the Star-chamber, was,—as related in a letter written about three months after Mary's death—"for not proceeding with the queen of Scots according to his mistress' commandment at the delivery of the warrant, which was, not to put it in execution before the realm shall be actually invaded by some foreign power."‡ The examinations of Davison in the Star-chamber are recorded in several papers, in which there are allusions to some other mode of proceeding than that contemplated in the warrant. Thus, amongst questions put to Davison on the 12th of March, he is asked, "whether six or seven days after it [the warrant] was passed the great seal, and in your custody, her majesty told you not in the gallery that she had a better way to proceed therein than that which was before advised?" Would the courtly examiners have ventured to ask such a question if they had expected that Davison would have blurted out that the other way was assassination? The answer of Davison was this: "He remembereth that upon some letters received from Mr. Paulet, her majesty falling into some complaint of him upon such cause as she best knoweth, she uttered such a speech *that she would have matters otherwise done.*"§ Did this speech, that she would have matters otherwise done, contemplate assassination?

The two Reports purporting to be from Davison, which are preserved in the Harleian and Cottonian MSS., and have been reprinted by Sir N. H. Nicolas, have most important variations. The narrative of Sir N. H. Nicolas is mainly founded upon the Cottonian MS., which varies very slightly from that first published by Mackenzie. The Harleian Catalogue says of the two narratives, though they "differ in many circumstances, each containing several which the other wants, they are not repugnant one to the other, and therefore both may be true." They are so repugnant, however, that the most material averment of the "discourse" is not found in the "relation." The "discourse" purports to be sent by Davison to Walsingham when he was "a prisoner in the Tower," and bears the date as having been so sent, February 20, 1586 [1587]. It is an extraordinary circumstance that of this confidential communication there should be many copies; for it contains allegations against the queen which the writer, "a prisoner in the Tower," would scarcely entrust to any person but his, co-

* Printed by Nicolas, Appendix A.
† Printed by Nicolas, Appendix B.
‡ Ellis, Second Series, vol. iii. p. 126.
§ Sir N. H. Nicolas, "Life of Davison," p. 95.

secretary, Walsingham, who, according to this statement, was art and part with him in an unscrupulous act. Of the "relation" only one copy is known. This fact is certainly insufficient to impugn the authenticity of the paper bearing the date of February 20. But as there were evident pains taken to publish it, by a multiplication of copies, it is not impossible that it might be so circulated after the death of Elizabeth, when any insinuations against the great queen would not have been displeasing to her successor.

We proceed to point out the chief discrepancies between the two papers; and we give, in the first place, an example of one material deviation, placing the passages in parallel columns; each describing what took place immediately after the warrant had been signed on the 1st of February:

From the Cotton MS.

"And thereupon (after some intermingled speech to and fro), told me she would have it done as secretly as might be, appointing the hall where she was for the place of execution; and misliking the court, or green of the castle for divers respects she alleged, with other speech to like effect. Howbeit, as I was ready to depart, she fell into some complaint of Sir Amias Paulet and others, that might have eased her of this burthen, wishing that Mr. Secretary [Walsingham] and I would yet write unto both him and Sir Drue Drury, to sound their disposition in that behalf. . . . . The same afternoon I waited on my lord chancellor for the sealing of the said warrant. . . . . I returned back unto Mr. Secretary Walsingham, whom I had visited by the way, and acquainted him with her pleasure touching letters that were to be written to the said sir Amias Paulet and sir Drue Drury, which at my return I found ready to be sent away."

From the Harleian MS.

"She finally willed me to take up the said warrant, and to carry it immediately to the great seal, commanding me expressly to dispatch and send it down unto the commissioners with all the expedition I might, appointing the hall of Fotheringay for the place of execution, misliking the court-yard for divers respects she alleged; and, in conclusion, absolutely forbade me to trouble her any further, or let her hear any more thereof till it was done, seeing that for her part she had now performed all that either in law or reason could be required of her; and so, calling for the rest of the things I had to be signed, dispatched them all. This done, she entered into some speech with me of Mr. Secretary Walsingham, delivering me a message to be imparted unto him, and willing me withal to shew him her warrant in my way to the seal (he being then sick at his house in London), yielding merrily this reason, that she thought the sight thereof would kill him outright. . . . After dinner I repaired to the lord chancellor, according to my directions, having first visited Mr. Secretary Walsingham on my way, and acquainted him with those things her majesty had given me in charge."

In the above "relation" from the Harleian MS. there is not a word about the joint letter that was to be written, as the "discourse" states, to sound the disposition of Paulet and Drury. The warrant was to be dispatched and sent down to the commissioners with all expedition; the queen commanded that she should hear no more about it till it was done. The "discourse" has a very different story. Paulet and Drury were to be written to with reference to some irregular proceeding, for taking the life of Mary without the necessary forms: "Albeit I had before excused myself from meddling therein, upon sundry her majesty's former motions, as a matter I utterly prejudged, assuring her that it should be so much labour lost, knowing the wisdom and integrity of the gentlemen, whom I thought would not do such an unlawful act for any respect in the world; yet, finding her desirous to have the matter attempted, I promised for her satisfaction to signify this her pleasure to Mr. Secretary." Thus becoming an accessory to "an unlawful act," he goes to Walsingham, "he being then sick at his house in London;" and the most wary man in the world instantly adopts some illegal suggestion, full of peril and difficulty, at the very moment when the great object of himself and the other members of the council was accomplished, and Elizabeth's warrant for Mary's execution was

signed at last. The letter was such a matter of course that the sick man sets about its instant preparation; and when Davison returns, in an hour or so, he finds it "ready to be sent away." In the "true relation" of Davison there is not one word to indicate that any such letter was written, or ordered to be written. This relation, throughout, aims only at showing that the queen held firmly to her original command that the warrant should be quickly executed; "albeit she thought it might have been better handled, because this course threw the whole burthen upon herself." This was said on the 2nd of February; and Davison replies to the queen that he "saw not who else could bear it, seeing her laws made it murder in any man to take the life of the meanest subject in her kingdom but by her warrant." This is corroborated by the "discourse." She thought "that it might have been otherwise handled *for the form*, naming unto me some that were of that opinion, whose judgments she commended." Her ministers complained of Elizabeth that she hesitated to give that authority to the council that would have been their warrant to issue a writ for the execution of the queen of Scots. Davison distinctly separates the warrant which the queen signed from the writ of execution which was issued by the council. It is clear that the queen had a vague desire that the warrant should come from her council, as the writ of execution did come—a weak and crafty desire, but not a longing for assassination. Some such longing had indeed, according to the "true relation," been put into her head by one of her most dangerous advisers, some days after the sick Walsingham and the conscientious Davison had, according to the ordinary interpretation, proposed to Paulet and Drury that they should murder their prisoner. Thus Davison relates a subsequent interview with the queen: "Some two or three days after, having special occasion to attend her majesty, and finding her in her gallery at Greenwich all alone, she entered into some speech with me of a course that had been propounded unto her underhand by one of great place, concerning that queen; asked me what I thought thereof; which, being in truth very unsuitable to the rest of her public proceedings, I utterly misliked, delivering my reasons, wherewith she seemed to rest satisfied, without any show of following this new course, or altering her former resolution in any point." This, it seems, was "a new course,"—a course "very unsuitable to the rest of her public proceedings," which Elizabeth told Davison "had been propounded to her underhand by one of great place," but "without any show of altering her former resolution in any point"—the resolution that the warrant should take effect. And yet this "new course," according to the ordinary belief, was the "underhand" one which Walsingham and Davison had proposed to Paulet and Drury some days before, at the express desire of the queen herself.

The manifest discrepancies between the two papers attributed to Davison might perhaps have suggested some such doubts as we have stated, if not of their genuineness, at least of their real meaning, if there had not appeared other papers which profess to be the identical correspondence of Walsingham and Davison with Paulet and Drury. We give the letter of Elizabeth's secretaries as it was first discovered and presented to the world about a hundred and forty years after it professed to have been written. If this letter had never appeared, we might have most reasonably doubted whether the strongest statements of Davison had any reference to secret assassination.

"To Sir Amias Paulet.

"After our hearty commendations, we find by speech lately uttered by her majesty, that she doth note in you both a lack of that care and zeal for her service that she looketh for at your hands, in that you have not in all this time of yourselves, without other provocation, found out some way to shorten the life of

that queen, considering the great peril she is hourly subject to so long as the said queen shall live. Wherein, besides a kind of lack of love towards her, she noteth greatly that you have not that care of your own particular safeties, or rather of the preservation of religion, and the public good and prosperity of your country, that reason and policy commandeth; especially having so good a warrant and ground for the satisfaction of your conscience towards God, and the discharge of your credit and reputation towards the world, as the oath of Association, which you both have so solemnly taken and vowed, and especially the matter wherewith she standeth charged being so clearly and manifestly proved against her. And therefore she taketh it most unkindly towards her that men professing that love toward her that you do, should in any kind of sort, for lack of the discharge of your duties, cast the burthen upon her, knowing as you do her indisposition to shed blood, especially of one of that sex and quality, and so near to her in blood as the said queen is. These respects, we find, do greatly trouble her majesty, who we assure you hath sundry times protested, that if the regard of this danger of her good subjects and faithful servants did not more move her than her own peril, she would never be drawn to assent to the shedding of her blood. We thought it very meet to acquaint you with these speeches lately passed from her majesty, referring the same to your good judgments. And so we commit you to the protection of the Almighty.

"Your most assured friends,

"FRANCIS WALSINGHAM.

At London, Feb. 1, 1586 [1587]. "WILLIAM DAVISON."

Mr. Hallam has referred to doubts of the genuineness of this letter which were expressed in the original edition of the "Biographia Britannica," Note to Art. "Walsingham." Others, less candid, have avoided hinting that such a doubt had ever been expressed. The point is all-important. If this letter is a genuine one, there is an end of all doubt—Elizabeth desired that Mary should be secretly murdered. If it be a forgery, the charge falls to the ground; for there is nothing in the apologies of Davison that gives this meaning absolutely—nothing that is incapable of another interpretation. The writer of the note in the "Biographia Britannica" rests his scepticism upon his confident belief that Walsingham, the most wary of politicians,—who, according to Camden, had resisted every suggestion for dealing with Mary except by open trial,—would never have committed himself to an expression of the queen's regret that Paulet and Drury had not taken means to shorten her life. But there is another suspicious point of internal evidence, which that writer has not noticed. Davison signs a letter, in which he says that the oath of the Association (which was an engagement to pursue to death any person plotting against the life of queen Elizabeth) would be a ground for the satisfaction of their conscience in proceeding of themselves to the execution of that oath. The man who signs this exhortation had refused himself to join the Association, and sets forth, at a later period, that such refusal had been injurious to him. Is it possible that any conscientious man—as Davison is held to have been—would plead the obligation to shed blood imposed by an oath upon others, which oath he had refused to take, as being against his own conscience?

The answer of Paulet and Drury to the infamous proposal of Walsingham and Davison is as follows:—

"TO SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM, KNT.

"SIR,—Your letters of yesterday coming to my hands this present day at five in the afternoon, I would not fail, according to your directions, to return my answer with all possible speed, which shall deliver unto you great grief and

bitterness of mind, in that I am so unhappy to have liven to see this unhappy day, in the which I am required, by direction from my most gracious sovereign, to do an act which God and the law forbiddeth. My good livings and life are at her majesty's disposition, and am ready to lose them this next morrow if it shall so please her; acknowledging that I hold them as of her mere and most gracious favour. I do not desire them, to enjoy them, but with her highness's good liking; but God forbid that I should make so foul a shipwrack of my conscience, or leave so great a blot to my posterity, or shed blood without law and warrant; trusting that her majesty, of her accustomed clemency, will take this my dutiful answer in good part (and the rather, by your good mediation), as proceeding from one who will never be inferior to any Christian subject living in duty, honour, love, and obedience towards his sovereign. And thus I commit you to the mercy of the Almighty. From Fotheringay, the 2nd of February, 1586 [1587].

"Your most assured poor friends,

"A. PAULET.
"D. DRURY."

The following is a postscript:—

"Your letter coming in the plural number, seems to be meant as to sir Drue Drury as to myself: and yet because he is not named in them, neither the letter directed unto him, he forbeareth to make any answer, but subscribeth in heart to my opinion." (And yet he does answer, and appends his signature.)

If any one can readily believe that this is the boastful style in which two of Elizabeth's servants, the breath of whose nostrils was court favour, would answer a half-command of the queen herself, transmitted by her two secretaries of state, we can only say that they have more confidence than ourselves, not only in the public virtue of such men, but in their unexampled boldness in hurling foul scorn at their mistress and her ministers. We have seen how suspicious are all the circumstances connected with the dispatch of the letter held to contain a plain command of the queen "to shorten the life" of the unhappy prisoner of Paulet and Drury. According to Davison's "discourse," as explained by the letter itself, Elizabeth gives her order without any hesitation. She does not dally, as John dallied with Hubert:

"I had a thing to say,—But let it go."

Let us see how she receives the refusal of Paulet to execute this supposed unholy command. Does her conscience sting her when she reads what Paulet replies—"God forbid that I should make so foul a shipwrack of *my* conscience, or leave so great a blot to my posterity, or shed blood without law or warrant"—"to do an act which God and the law forbiddeth"—to be an assassin? Does she use any solemn oath to purge herself from a suspicion that her meaning was murder? With the same matchless impudence that prompted her command, she reads the refusal to obey it. "She rose up, and after a turn or two went into the gallery, whither I followed her; and there renewing her former speech, blaming *the niceness of those precise fellows*, as she termed them, who in words would do great things for her surety, but in deed performed nothing, concluded that she would well enough have done without them. And here, entering into particularities, named unto me, as I remember, one Wingfield, who, she assured me, would, with some others, undertake it." ("Discourse.") If to "undertake it" meant to poison, or to stab, no murderess that ever lived was so brazen-faced in her "particularities" as this Elizabeth. Mr. Tytler paraphrases this passage, and says, "Who this new assassin was to whom the queen alluded does not appear." Let us try to make the matter clearer. The earl of Shrewsbury had a castle called Wingfield, or Winfield. There Mary was, in 1584, under the charge of sir Ralph Sadler. Insert two letters in

the Davison MS., and we read, "One [*at*] Wingfield." The one who would "undertake it" would not necessarily be an assassin; and from the answer of Davison to this allusion of the queen, it is quite clear that he did not view the refusal of Paulet and Drury to "undertake it" as a refusal to perpetrate a *secret* murder. He "discoursed unto her the great extremity she would have exposed those poor gentlemen to; for if, in a tender care of her surety, they should have done that she desired, she must either allow their act, or disallow it." Whatever it was to be, it was to be an *open* act. Elizabeth,—if we altogether reject the two suspicious letters from the evidence,—desired an informal public execution, but not a mysterious removal of the condemned prisoner. The trial of Mary took place while Leicester was in the Netherlands. On the 25th of October he wrote from Utrecht a letter to Walsingham, in which he says, "My heart cannot rest for fear, since I heard that your matters are deferred . . . . . I do fear, if I had been there with you, I should rather have put myself into her majesty's place, than suffered this dreadful mischief to be prolonged, for her destruction." * Elizabeth wished some one to take upon himself the responsibility of "her majesty's place"—a wretched device, but not a scheme of assassination.

But any objections that might be raised to the internal evidence of the authenticity of these letters would be overthrown, if the originals were preserved, and the signatures could be compared with the well-known autographs of Walsingham and Davison. They are professedly copies; and yet Mr. Tytler calls them "original letters;" and another historian speaks of them as "unquestionable documents." In quoting them, or commenting upon them, we are sometimes referred to the Harleian MS. There, indeed, may we find copies of the two letters, which copies are thus described in the Catalogue of the MSS. in the British Museum:—"One is dated the 1st, the other the 6th of Feb., 1586. Both copies partly in lord Oxford's own hand, and inclosed in a letter from the duke of Chandos to his lordship, who had lent them to him, expressing his return of them and opinion that they are a very valuable curiosity, and deserve well to be preserved. Dated Cannons, Aug. 23, 1725." The famous Robert Harley died in May, 1724, and was succeeded by his son Edward, to whom the duke of Chandos must have returned the "very valuable curiosity." At that time, however, they had been published by Dr. Mackenzie, as illustrative of Davison's apology, in his "Worthies," 1722; and by Thomas Hearne, in his edition of Robert of Gloucester's Chronicle, which bears the date of 1724. Hearne says, they were *copied by a friend of his*, in September, 1717, from a manuscript folio book, containing letters to and from sir Amias Paulet, when the queen of Scots' governor at Fotheringay. Where is that "manuscript folio book," so curious on many other accounts? Hearne gives us, after the letter of Walsingham and Davison, the following as entries in what Dr. Lingard calls "the letter-book" of Paulet:

"This letter was received at Fotheringay the 2nd of February, at five in the afternoon." Immediately after, we have "An abstract of a letter from Mr. Secretary Davison, of the said 1st of February, 1586, as followeth:—'I pray you let this and the inclosed be committed to the fire, which measure shall be likewise met to your answer, after it hath been communicated to her majesty for her satisfaction.'" But Davison is still anxious; and we have next, "A postscript in a letter from Mr. Secretary Davison, of the 3d of February, 1586:—'I entreated you in my last letters to burn both the letters sent unto you for the argument's sake; which, by your answer to the secretary (which I have seen) appeareth not to be done. I pray you let me intreat you to make heretics both of th' one and th' other, as I mean to use yours after her majesty hath seen it.'" Davison is further so uneasy about the murderous letter, that he adds a

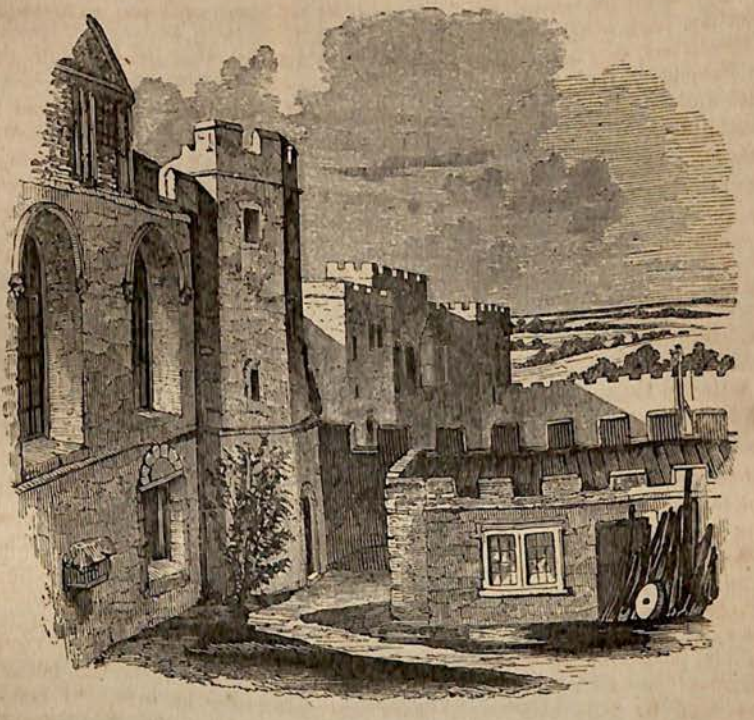
* "Leycester Correspondence," p. 447.

postscript to the postscript,—"I pray you let me know what you have done with my letters, because they are not fit to be kept."

The letters, it is said, were not burnt. Chalmers gives an extract of a letter from Paulet, in which he says, "If I should say I burnt the papers you wot of, I cannot tell if anybody would believe me; and therefore I reserve them to be delivered into your own hands at my coming to London." Dr. Lingard, who quotes this, says, "He might do so: but the letter and answer had previously been entered into his letter-book. Had this not happened, the fact would never have come to light." How does Dr. Lingard know that "the papers you wot of" refers to the letter of the 1st of February? If the letter-book itself were come to light we should be better satisfied as to "the fact." As it is, these laborious postscripts, so carefully preserved, appear very much like the performance of some fabricator overdoing his work. There is one expression which to us is very suspicious: "I pray you let me intreat you to make heretics both of th' one and th' other." Was this a common joke of the "Home Office" of 1587? Walsingham, in a letter to Leicester about the Babington Conspiracy (Cottonian MS.), says, "I pray your lordship make this letter an heretic after you have read the same."* Or was this remarkable expression worked into Secretary Davison's postscript by one who had been struck by it in the Cotton MS.?—the friend of Hearne, who found these choice bits, and no other, in the "Manuscript folio book." If these letters and postscripts were forgeries, they were founded upon the "discourse" of Davison, as "transcribed by Mr. John Urry, of Christchurch." They fit tolerably well; but there is one slip. The haste with which the letters were exchanged, at a distance of eighty miles, is very remarkable. The answer to the secretary's letter of the 1st of February is in London on the 3rd, according to Davison's postscript, in which he says that he has seen it. But in Davison's "discourse" we find that the queen asks him on the 4th if he had heard from Paulet, and he tells her "no." That same afternoon he says, "I met with letters from him, in answer to those that were written *some few days before.*" In Davison's story, after the date of the 1st of February, we have to fix the other dates by following the narrative day by day. It was easy to mistake the exact date, in the manufacture of a letter to suit the narrative, and give it a darker hue.

We might leave this mysterious question at this point, had we not a few words to add about the period at which the correspondence so calculated to damage the memory of the Protestant queen Elizabeth was first given to the world. It was in the hottest period of Jacobite plots for the bringing in of the Pretender. Harley, who makes copies of these letters, was implicated in these intrigues. They are first published by Dr. Mackenzie, in 1722; and being re-published in 1725, in a "Life of Mary, Queen of Scots," by Freebairne, he says, with a curious sort of candour, speaking of the odious charge about assassination, "This affair, which leaves so foul a stain upon queen Elizabeth's reputation, I dare not assert to be fact," and he adds that, therefore, he shall only transcribe these letters; "a copy of which, transcribed from the originals, was sent to the Doctor by our learned countryman, Mr. John Hurry, of Christ's Church College, Oxon." Mr. John Urry, the incompetent editor of Chaucer, was known to Harley and Atterbury; and he might have received the letters from some zealous friend of the Stuarts. Hearne, who publishes them in 1724, was a non-juror; and his anxiety to give them to the world was shown by his thrusting them into the middle of a glossary of an ancient chronicle which he published. Lastly, Dr. Jebb prints the two letters in the Appendix to his History of Mary, queen of Scots, published in London, also in 1725. From that time the odious charge against Elizabeth has mainly rested upon these letters, as those who printed them clearly saw.

* "Leycester Correspondence," p. 342.



Penshurst Castle.

CHAPTER XIV.

Funeral of Sir Philip Sidney—Preparations for the Invasion of England by Spain—Drake's Expedition to Cadiz—Suspected policy of James VI.—The Armada announced—The spirit of the country—Camp at Tilbury—The Mariners of England—Defences of the coast—The demeanour of the queen—Her oration at Tilbury—Loyalty of the Catholics.

LONDON has had its rejoicings that the great blow has been struck which is to deliver England from the dread of a papist successor to Elizabeth. The bells of the city's hundred steeples have proclaimed the stern exultation of the citizens that the voice of the parliament had at last been listened to. There is secret anger amongst a few; and generous pity in many a woman's heart. But the common sentiment is that the danger of domestic treason has been removed; and that the other danger of foreign invasion is less to be dreaded. In another week the patriotic feelings of the people are wisely stirred in their utmost depths. The queen has undertaken the charge of a costly public funeral of sir Philip Sidney. He who under the walls of Zutphen had perished untimely—who was no more to show his knightly bearing in the Tilt-yard, or to wander amidst the flower-enamelled meadows

of his own Penshurst—is lying insensible to earthly hopes or fears, at the house of the Minorites, without Aldgate. On the 16th of February there is a magnificent pageant in honour of the self-denying hero. From the Minories to St. Paul's there is a long procession of the rulers of the city, clad in solemn purple. Young men selected from the train-bands march "three and three, in black cassokins, with their short pikes, halberds, and ensign trailing on the ground." * Brave comrades of Sidney in his battle-fields are there; and there is the ambitious Leicester, who has not yet resigned his scheme of being sovereign of the Netherlands. The people gaze upon Drake, the great mariner who has circumnavigated the world; and has carried terror of the English flag through all the Spanish settlements. In the pomp of that funeral of Sidney there is something more than empty pageantry. A long course of prosperous industry might be supposed to have unfitted those who had been winning the spoils of peace, for the defence of their country at a time of great national danger. The memory of that brave knight, who had fallen in the war of principle in the Low Countries, would present an example worthy of all imitation to high and humble. But the ancient spirit was not dead. In the midst of many differences of opinion amongst Protestants connected with the discipline of the Church, and with Romanists living under severe laws, there was to be, in another year, such an outburst of patriotism as would manifest that the love of country was above all divisions of creed. That glorious manifestation of national spirit in 1588 was also to show that a people does not necessarily become weakened in character by a long course of prosperity, but that the accumulations of peace are the real resources of war. It is not the diffusion of comforts and luxuries that renders a nation unwarlike and apathetic. It is the treading out of true nationality by lawless rulers—the shutting-up of all the fountains of independent thought by slavish superstition—that destroy the patriotism of a people, and make them incapable of defending their homes. There were many things in the political condition of the English under Elizabeth that are opposed to our notions of freedom—that were essentially characteristic of an arbitrary government. But the people were thriving; they were living under an equal administration of justice; and they were trusted. They had arms in their hands, and they were taught how to use them. There was no standing army; but every man of full age was a soldier. The feudal military organisation was gone. There was an organisation of the people amongst themselves equally effective, and far more inspiriting.

In the spring of 1587 it was certain that Spain was making great preparations for the invasion of England. This design was the result of no sudden resolve. Elizabeth was not to be hurled from the throne of the heretic island, because Philip was provoked out of his forbearance by "an insult to the majesty of sovereigns, which, as the most powerful of Christian monarchs, he deemed it his duty to revenge." † The people of England by their parliament, Elizabeth by her ministers, "had taken, on a scaffold, the life of the queen of Scots;" but the projected invasion had been stimulated by that queen as the great scheme for bringing back England and Scotland to the

* Stow's "Annals."

† Lingard, vol. viii.

faith for which Philip and his adherents were calling into terrible vindictiveness all the horrors of the Inquisition and all the subtlety of the Jesuits. The day that was to decide for us which should prevail of the two principles that divided the Christian world was fast approaching. There was no hesitation here. Elizabeth provided Drake with four royal ships, and twenty-four other vessels were placed under his command by the citizens of London. On the 2nd of April this squadron was ready to sail out of Plymouth Sound. Drake wrote on that morning to Walsingham. "This last night past came unto us the Royal Merchant, with four of the rest of the London fleet; the wind would permit them no sooner. . . . The wind commands me away. Our ship is under sail. God grant we may so live in his fear, as the enemy may have cause to say that God doth fight for her majesty as well abroad as at home." In this solemn confidence in the Divine protection, went out these heroic men of an heroic age, "to stand," as Drake said, "for our gracious

Drake.

queen and country against Anti-Christ and his members;" and doubting not to give a good account of their enemies, "for they are the sons of men." * On the 19th of April he entered the harbour of Cadiz, which was filled with many Spanish ships, embarking provisions and warlike stores, and destined to proceed to join the great armament at Lisbon. Defying the guns of the fortress, and the huge Spanish galleys, with the dash of the true English seaman, Drake made himself master of the roadstead; and in the course of two nights and one day had sunk, burnt, or captured shipping of ten thousand tons lading. To use his own expressive phrase, he had "singed the Spanish king's beard." He had tried the comparatively small English vessels against the mighty galleys. They ran under the protection of the fort, after two had been sunk. He had found that daring

* Letter in State Paper Office, given in Barrow's "Life of Drake."

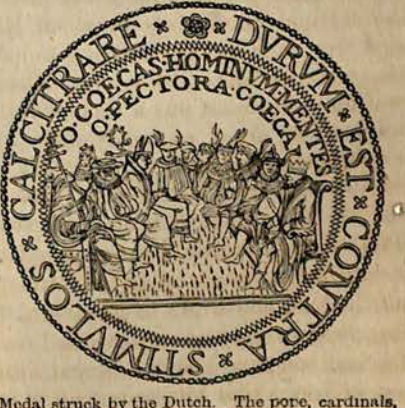
and activity were of more importance in a sea-fight than unwieldy strength; and the lesson was not forgotten when the day of the greater battle had come. Till another year the mighty attempt upon England was delayed by the skill and courage of the Devonshire captain. Setting sail for the Azores, Drake fell in with a most valuable Portuguese carrack, returning from the East Indies; and he took this ship with a lading which made the San Philipe the greatest prize that had ever rewarded the energy of English mariners. This triumph at Cadiz, and this capture of the rich merchant-ship, were of permanent importance. "The English, ever after that time, more cheerfully set upon those huge, castle-like ships, which before they were afraid of; and also they so fully understood, by the merchants' books, the wealth of the Indian merchandises and the manner of trading in the eastern world, that they afterwards set up a gainful voyage and traffic thither, ordaining a company of East Indian merchants." * Drake came back to Plymouth; and during a year of warlike inaction, with that practical energy which is one of the characteristics of greatness he conferred a lasting benefit upon that town. The populous place had no adequate supply of fresh water. At Dartmoor he found a leat, or spring, that he saw was capable of being conducted from the high ground to a reservoir at the northern suburb of Plymouth. He mounted his horse, says the local tradition, and riding to the distant hills found the desired supply; and having pronounced some magical words rode back, and the stream followed him all the way to the town. The Plymouth Leat still bestows its blessings upon a large population. Science since that time has uttered many words that appear still more magical; but the scientific instinct of this rough sailor was following the track by which philosophy has achieved its most enduring glories, in becoming the great minister to all those conveniences of life whose blessings are of universal diffusion.

After Drake's return there were many months of suspense. The people of England knew that the great attempt of the Spaniard was only deferred. The colonial enterprises in which Raleigh and other bold spirits desired to persevere, in spite of loss and disappointment, were suspended. Never were the prudence and vigilance of Elizabeth's statesmen more required. The position of Scotland was a very doubtful one. James had become of full age; and he was urged on many sides to revenge the death of his mother, by joining in the projects of Spain. It is difficult to understand what were his real inclinations. Henry Cary, lord Hunsdon, was sent as an ambassador to James; and Elizabeth professed great confidence in his friendship. James admitted that he had received tempting offers from Spain: but declared that he detested, as much as herself, the plots of the papists. Hunsdon had no faith in him, and wrote to Elizabeth, "If there were any good inclination in him toward your highness, which I neither find nor believe to be, yet he hath such bad company about him, and so maliciously bent against your highness, they will not suffer him to remain in it two days together." The "bad company" of which Hunsdon speaks consisted of Huntley, and other Catholic lords, who were preparing to collect forces to revolutionise Scotland, and aid, by a diversion, the great attempt upon England. Some of the band were intriguing in foreign courts, and communicating with Spain and Rome. But

* Camden.

Elizabeth and her agents eventually prevented James from being led away by his "bad company." She wrote to him in her bold characteristic style, "Right well am I persuaded that your greatest danger should chance you by crossing your strait paths; for he that hath two strings to his bow may shoot stronger, but never strait; and he that hath no sure foundation cannot but ruin." * But James was more effectually made to walk strait by present payments and large promises than by pithy lectures. The schemes of the Spanish faction were penetrated by the acuteness of Walsingham and his agents; and England was free to concentrate her energies upon the defence of her southern and western coasts, without troubling herself about an enemy on her northern borders.

The notion of a maritime invasion of England was, to the majority of the people, a dim tradition of centuries long past. There were a few towers on the coast, more calculated to resist a handful of sea-robbers than a large invading army. In the interior of the country most of the old feudal castles had gradually given place to baronial mansions; and those that remained were little suited for defence against artillery. Raleigh, the most sagacious in counsel or action, held that an invader could only be prevented landing by the resistance of a fleet; and he maintained that in a country where there were no fortified places, and the ramparts were only the bodies of men, it was most dangerous not to offer that resistance by a navy of competent strength. The government of Elizabeth knew the weakness of the country; but they also knew its power. They knew the mettle of its mariners; and they had no fear of the loyalty of the people. The mask of negotiation, by which Philip and the prince of Parma thought to divert attention from their real proceedings, had been thrown off. It was now thought the true policy to proclaim their vast preparations and the objects of that mighty arming, so as to terrify rather than delude. Pope Sixtus V. made a solemn treaty with Philip, and promised him an enormous subsidy, to be paid when he had taken absolute possession of any English port. The warlike pontiff was equally ready with his spiritual weapons. He published a new bull of excommunication against Elizabeth, and called all Catholics to a crusade against England, as for a holy war against the Infidel. They came from all lands where the doctrines of the Reformation had never taken root, or had been extirpated—they came, needy adventurers with high-sounding names, ready to fight for the true faith, and to have each a dainty plot of the English garden. They thought less of the plenary indulgences promised for their voluntary service, than of the stores of wealth that would reward their valour, when the Jezebel, the accursed queen, should be hurled from her throne, and the pope should



Medal struck by the Dutch. The pope, cardinals, and princes in conclave.

* "Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.," p. 51.

have bestowed the crown upon Philip or his nominee. Such were the bands that flocked to the standard of the duke of Parma in the Netherlands. But in Spain, and in Spain's newly acquired dominion of Portugal, all the proud chivalry that had won the golden lands of Mexico and Peru were to go forth to an easier conquest of the worse than heathen, who obstructed the universal acceptance of the Catholic faith in the old world, and had dared to dispute the power of Spain to have an absolute monopoly of the soil and the commerce of the new world. In the pride of their invincibility they now threw away all caution and concealment. They were "men grown fierce in the confidence of their own strength; and they held it sufficient to commend the cause, armada, and army, to the bishop of Rome, and the prayers of the Catholics to God and the saints; and to set forth a book in print, with maps, for a terror, wherein the whole preparation was particularly set down." *

The unequalled magnitude of this armament wrought no terror in England. The minds of men might be impressed with a solemn foreboding of a great battle to be fought which would determine the whole future destinies of this island; but there was no faint-heartedness. "Many ancient and strange prophecies in divers languages, and many excellent astronomers of sundry nations, had in very plain terms foretold, that the year 1588 should be most fatal and ominous unto all estates, concluding in these words: 'And if in that year the world do not perish and utterly decay, yet empires all, and kingdoms after, shall; and no man to raise himself shall know no way, and that for ever after it shall be called the year of wonder.'" † Englishmen heard the prophecy; but there was no faint-heartedness. They interpreted it, after their own resolute fashion, that the year 1588 should be a fatal and ominous year to their enemies; the God of the Bible, which Englishmen had learned to read and study, being with the defenders of the land that had cast off the usurped power and the superstitions of Rome. "The whole commonalty of England became of one heart and mind. . . . The English nation were so combined in heart, that I here confess I want art lively to express the sympathy of love between the subjects and the sovereign." ‡ The queen called upon her lieutenants of counties to set before the gentlemen under their lieutenantcy, "the instant extraordinary occasion" for a larger proportion of horsemen and footmen than had been certified; "considering these great preparations and arrogant threatenings now burst out in action upon the seas, tending to a conquest wherein every man's particular state is in the highest degree to be touched, in respect of country, liberty, wife, children, lands, life, and that which specially is to be regarded, for the possession of the true and sincere religion of Christ." § She had, before this, through her Council, asked the authorities of London what the city would do; and the lord mayor and aldermen had besought that the Council would name what they thought was requisite. "The lords," says Stow, "demanded five thousand men and fifteen ships. The city craved two days' respite for an answer, which was granted; and then entreated their lordships, in sign of their perfect love and loyalty to their prince and country, kindly to accept

* Camden. Lord Burleigh's copy of the book "set forth in print" (Lisbon, 1588) is in the King's Library in the British Museum.

† Stow. ‡ *Ibid.*

§ Letter of the queen, dated 18th of June. Ellis, Second Series, vol. iii. p. 187.

ten thousand men and thirty ships, amply furnished." In such a spirit as this there was something more invincible than all the armadas in the world. At the great camp at Tilbury was collected an army of train bands from the adjacent counties. Another army was in the interior for the defence of the queen's person, and to be used as a disposable force. "It was a pleasant sight to behold the soldiers as they marched towards Tilbury, their cheerful countenances, courageous words and gestures, dancing and leaping wheresoever they came." Well does the old historian paint the national spirit, most cheerful under the pressure of danger;—the spirit of a really free population, ready to fight "as if lusty giants to run a race," and not the less prepared to fight because they had little experience of real warfare. They had country, liberty, wife, children, lands, life, religion, to defend, as their queen had told

Tilbury Fort. (About 1680.)

them. There was inequality of rank amongst them, but there was equality of duties and interests. The ploughman who followed his master's landlord to the field, the apprentice who was led by the alderman of his ward, had not been chilled into indifference by the insolence of birth, for the true gentleman was never insolent; nor by the pride of wealth, for the wealthy then respected those who were the instruments of their money-making. It was free England, socially free, which in 1588 was called to fight against the hated Spaniards, whose great galleys were rowed along by slaves, and whose

best mariners were regarded only as the drudges of the proud warriors who crowded the decks of the sailing ships. And thus, when an agent of the English council wrote home that the Spanish navy lay under the castle of Belem, expecting wind to set sail, and that he judged they would soon be in the English quarters—"so that the lightning and the thunder-clap will be both in a moment" *—at the same time every port, from the Lizard to the North Foreland, from the Naze to the Tyne, looked to its own little craft, and asked, in no niggard spirit, if it had a ship that could be fitted out at the common expense, to make one in that great sea-fight that was near at hand. There was not a port where mariners were not trained to hardy and dangerous adventure. They had gone forth, once from Deptford and twice from Harwich, with Frobisher, to search for the north-west passage. Three times had the polar seas been penetrated by this intrepid navigator, who left his name in those regions to which so many other noble sailors have given a nomenclature. Davis followed Frobisher in the same enterprise. Our mariners had circumnavigated the world with Drake; and had carried the terror of the English flag, floating from the Pelican of Plymouth, into what was called the Indian Sea, in despite of the Spaniard, who held that the bishop of Rome had bestowed that vast ocean upon him alone. When Elizabeth told the Spaniard that her ships should sail, and her people should found colonies in places not already settled, in the Atlantic and the Pacific, without any regard to such imaginary right, there was many a gentleman of ancient family, and many a merchant prince of self-created fortune, ready to embark his property in this opening for colonial enterprise. In the year of the Armada, Cavendish was circumnavigating the world, and was warring against Spain, after the example of Drake, upon the coasts of Chili, and Peru, and New Spain; and he had taken a great galleon on the coast of California. But "the intrepid corsairs, who had rendered every sea insecure, now clustered round the coasts of their native island." † There were with them at this time an enterprising band who were preparing to send out a new colony to Virginia. The first noble projects of Sir Humphrey Gilbert and his half-brother, Raleigh, had failed. Sir Richard Grenville had effected a settlement on the island of Roanoak; yet the hostilities of the natives, and the disputes of the colonists had prevented any effectual establishment of the English in North America at that period. The governor had returned home, despairing of success. A few years were to pass over before the Anglo-Saxon race was "to make new nations," amidst dense forests and boundless prairies. England, at the time of the governor of Virginia's return, had something nearer home to think of than the colonisation of North America. But she had tasted tobacco, and she hoped to find gold. The time for that great work of "plantation" was not far distant.

* Ellis, Second Series, vol. iii. p. 134.
† Ranke, "History of the Popes," vol. ii. p. 173.

Amongst the curious relics of this most interesting period of our history one of the most curious is "A Plott of all the coast of Cornwall and Devonshire, as they were to be fortified in 1588 against the landing of any enemy."* In this "Plott" is most distinctly laid down every accessible point from the Land's end to Exmouth; and, less carefully marked for defence, on the north also. There appears to have been one invariable mode of defence upon the exposed coast, that of breastworks or redoubts, behind whose angles, more or less in number, appear soldiers, bearing pikes. At the havens, such as St. Michael's Mount, Plymouth, and Dartmouth, pieces of ordnance are placed. By this plan we are enabled to see what were the defences of Plymouth. In the centre of the Sound is a little fort with cannon; and on each side of the passage to the inner harbour are also cannon. The town is indicated by a church and some houses with gabled roofs; and before the town cannon are planted. Taken altogether, the number of stations for artillery is very inconsiderable. On this south-western coast, which was so exposed to the first attack of the invaders, the lines of intrenchment were evidently intended to be of no ordinary extent. But we may readily imagine that Raleigh's counsel to meet the enemy boldly at sea was considered far more practicable than the construction of land defences of such magnitude. Their purposed formation does not appear to have been entrusted to any famous military engineers, if we may judge from a notice of magistrates, in 1587, that they intended to proceed along the coast, to view the dangerous places for the landing of an enemy, calling upon the mayors of the towns to attend with all that are skilled in fortifications.† The temporary beacons that were built on every hill and high cliff of that coast, and which were to blaze out when the great hostile fleet first appeared in the Channel, were amongst the best means of defence. "The warning radiance" was to call every merchant ship that was waiting for the signal, to give its sails to the wind, and go forth to fight. It was to be repeated in the remotest counties, where well-disciplined men with bow and arquebuss, with pike and bill, were mustered day by day under their natural leaders. "There was through England, no quarter, east, west, north, or south, but all concurred in one mind, to be in readiness to serve for the realm .... As the leaders and officers of the particular bands were men of experience in the wars, so, to make the bands strong and constant, choice was made of the principal knights of all counties to bring their tenants to the field, being men of strength, and landed, and of wealth; whereby all the forces, so compounded, were of a resolute disposition to stick to their lords and chieftains, and the chieftains to trust to their own tenants." ‡ From Cornwall to Kent, and eastward to

* Cotton Collection, in the British Museum, Aug. I., vol. i. 6.

† Quoted from "Sherren Papers," in Roberts's "Southern Counties," p. 426.

‡ "Copy of a Letter sent to Mendoza." London, 1588. This curious tract, reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany, purports to be by a Seminary Priest, but is evidently written by a well-informed Englishman in that character.

Lincolnshire, the same writer, who describes himself as an eye-witness, says that the maritime counties were so furnished with soldiers, that twenty thousand fighting men, with victual and ammunition, could have been collected in forty-eight hours at any point where an enemy landed.

Of all the defences of the realm at this crisis there were none which gave the people a greater confidence than the demeanour of the queen. At the camp at Tilbury, she was, day by day, in the midst of her soldiers; going amongst the levies in their particular stations; reviewing them when they were trained in battalions; saluted, wherever she moved, "with cries, with shouts, with all tokens of love, of obedience, of readiness and willingness to fight for her." From that army, adds the eye-witness, went forth at certain times, a solemn voice to Heaven, of "divers psalms, put into form of prayers, in praise of Almighty God, no ways to be misliked, which she greatly commended, and with very earnest speech thanked God with them." To that camp of Tilbury, and to the towns near London, came bands of men from distant places, "whom she remanded to their countries, because their harvest was at hand; and many of them would not be countermanded, but still approached onward, on their own charges as they said, to see her person, and to fight with them that boasted to conquer the realm." The soldiers gazed upon their sovereign riding amidst the camp, bearing a marshal's truncheon; and knights and gentlemen pressed round her tent, where she sat surrounded by her great nobles, and having proffered their services and received her winning acceptance, led their bands home to spread the fame of the great queen, who was resolved, as she said, "to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust." Thus she said, in the famous oration which has been handed down to us—"words that burn,"—words which England has never forgotten in any hour of similar peril:—

"My loving people, we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety, to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you, I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear! I have always so behaved myself, that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and good will of my subjects; and therefore I am come amongst you, as you see, at this time, not for my recreation and disport, but being resolved, in the midst and heat of the battle, to live or die amongst you all; to lay down for my God, and for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust. I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realm! To which, rather than any dishonour shall grow by me, I myself will take up arms,—I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field. I know already, for your forwardness, you have deserved rewards and crowns; and we do assure you, on the word of a prince, they shall be duly paid you. In the meantime, my lieutenant-general shall be in my stead, than whom never prince commanded a more noble or worthy subject; not doubting but, by your obedience to my general, by your concord in the camp, and your valour in the field, we shall shortly

have a famous victory over those enemies of my God, of my kingdoms, and of my people."

But of all the defences of the country at this perilous crisis the loyalty of the great body of the Catholics was amongst the most important. The laws against Popish recusants were severe, but they were greatly mitigated in their execution; and it may reasonably be doubted whether the fines imposed upon them were inflicted, except in extreme cases. On the approach of the armada some of the recusants were thrown into prison; but they were released upon subscribing a declaration that the queen was their lawful sovereign, nothwithstanding any excommunication; and that they would

Queen Elizabeth's Armoury in the Tower of London.

defend her with life and goods against prince, pope, or potentate.* It was proposed by some to disarm them, but this absurd scheme was rejected; and the confidence of the government in the patriotism of the great body who adhered to the ancient church was strikingly exhibited by the appointment of Howard, a Catholic, to the command of the fleet. In truth the Jesuits and Seminary Priests had executed their mission in a way to disgust those who

* See note in Lingard, vol. viii.

had sense to know that the Romanists constituted a minority of the country; and that, although their faith was not in the ascendant, they would not be persecuted for their opinions unless they were hounded on into conspiracy. The Catholic landed proprietors were Englishmen; they were gentlemen; their welfare was bound up with the prosperity of their country, and that was prosperous beyond all example. The miserable libels against the queen provoked their disgust, instead of exciting them to rebellion. The invading ships of Spain were laden with printed books, whose title was an "Admonition to the Nobility and People of England and Ireland, concerning the present Wars made for the execution of his holiness' sentence, by the high and mighty king catholic of Spain; by the cardinal of England." This brutal production, to which cardinal Allen had the baseness to put his name, contained the same filthy libels against Elizabeth as those which had been whispered through the land by the missionaries of Rome. The honest Catholics despised these gross calumnies and incentives to murder. When the trial came they were found in the train-bands of that queen who, they were told, "deserveth not only deposition, but all vengeance both of God and man." They were found nobly fighting in her ships. The time might come when such loyalty might be rewarded by equal civil rights, though not with ecclesiastical preponderance. There was a struggle of two hundred and fifty years before this great principle was fully recognised; but the noble example of the Catholics of 1588 has always endured, as one of the best arguments for a final and complete justice to their descendants.

Howard, Lord High Admiral.

CHAPTER XV.

Sailing of the Armada—The English Fleet—The Armada off Plymouth—The fight up Channel—The run to Calais—The Fire-Ships at Calais—The fight off Gravelines—The flight to the North—The Deliverance—The Thanksgiving—Spain makes new preparations—Expeditions against Spain—The heroic time.

On the 28th of May, 1588, from his galleon San Marten, lying in the Tagus off Belem, the duke of Medina Sidonia, "captain-general of the ocean sea, of the coast of Andalusia, and of this army of his majesty," issued his orders to be observed in the voyage towards England. This was an army, be it remarked, and the command of it was given to a general. The fighting men who went on board that fleet, and the mariners who worked the ships, were a distinct race; and there were especial regulations for holding them together in a very doubtful amity. On the 29th of May, the captain-general being under the towers of Belem, led the way down the Tagus; and amidst the sounding of trumpets from every vessel, the mighty armada followed him, when he had fired his gun as the signal. Being specially warned in these

orders to beware of sands and "cachops," * they sweep majestically down the broad river, and having passed the Bar are in the vast Atlantic. Never did such a sight present itself to the gazers on the hills, as when the ten squadrons of this fleet dropped down the Tagus, issuing, in a succession that appeared endless, out of the great bay. The captain-general commanded twelve Portuguese galleons, the largest sailing-vessels. There were the fleets of Biscay, of Castile, of Andalusia, of Guypuscoa; the Eastern fleet; the fleet called Urcas or Hulks, and a squadron of smaller vessels. Lastly, were four galeasses of Naples, and four galleys of Portugal; these eight enormous vessels being rowed by two thousand and eighty-eight slaves. The whole number of ships was one hundred and thirty-six; having a burthen of 59,120 tons; mounted with 3165 pieces of cannon; worked by 8746 mariners, besides the slaves; and carrying 21,639 soldiers. This fleet was accompanied by a large number of trading vessels, ready to supply its wants. Every ship was provided with two boat-loads of stones, "to throw in the time of fight;" and with wild-fire, to be given out to the most expert. All the vessels were to sail as close as possible. Their course was for Cape Finisterre, where they were to rendezvous, in case of separation; or to make for Corunna, then known as The Groyne. Departing thence, "they shall set their course for Scilly." If any ship were to lose the fleet, the crew were not to return to Spain, under penalty of death; but to seek the navy "in Mount's Bay, which is between the Land's End and the Lizard." And so they sailed along in great pomp and security, hoping to be on the south-western coast of England, at the time when another fleet, equipped in the Netherlands, should be ready to sail under the command of the prince of Parma. But when the Spanish fleet had nearly reached Cape Finisterre, a storm arose, which scattered the ships, and compelled the great body of the armament to go into Corunna to refit. The news reached England that the mighty fleet had been nearly destroyed; and the lord high admiral, Howard of Effingham, sailed from England to complete the destruction. But he found that the storm had been less fatal than believed, and that the expectation that no invasion would be attempted that summer was a mistake. He wisely returned, to wait for the enemy in the Channel. For a month did the great fleet lie in Corunna harbour. The prince of Parma's flat-bottomed vessels, for the conveyance of thirty-five thousand men, were lying at Bruges; and the ports of Nieuport and Dunkirk, from which they could have put to sea, were blockaded by a combined English and Dutch fleet. The instructions for the invasion were rigidly laid down at the court of Madrid. The Spanish fleet was to steer for Flanders; and under its protection the duke of Parma was to disembark his army in Kent or Essex, and march to London. The plan was known; and hence the camp at Tilbury, with a bridge of boats to Gravesend, for connecting the Essex and Kentish shores. The Flemish army having landed, the troops of the armada were to be carried to the coast of Yorkshire. There was an arrangement also, that when the Spanish armament came into the Channel it should have the co-operation of the duke of Guise, who was to land in the west, to effect a diversion; whilst the real attacks upon the capital and in the north were going forward. The delay at Corunna disconcerted these arrangements. But

* Cachops are great banks at the mouth of the Tagus.

whilst the triple danger appeared imminent, the English courage never quailed. Guise withdrew his troops to the interior. Parma made no strenuous efforts to take his share in the great enterprise. The storm that drove Medina and his galleons and galeasses into Corunna might have disturbed these plans; but the English and Dutch preparations were not likely to make Guise and Parma confident of their easy execution.

The queen's ships at Plymouth, under the lord high admiral, were thirty-four in number. Their aggregate burthen was 11,820 tons; they mounted 837 guns; and they mustered 6279 seamen. Howard was in the Ark-Royal, of 800 tons; Drake, the vice-admiral, was in the Revenge, 500 tons; Hawkins, the rear-admiral, was in the Victory, 800 tons; Frobisher was in the Triumph, 1100 tons. This was the largest ship of the fleet, of which one-third of the number was below 100 tons. But there were forty-two vessels serving by tonnage, merchant-ships, which had 2587 mariners; and there were thirty-eight vessels, carrying 2710 mariners, fitted out by the city of London. With coasters and volunteers, the whole number of ships, large and small, was one hundred and ninety-seven, having one-half only of the tonnage of the Spanish fleet. The greater part was in Plymouth and Dartmouth; but a squadron under lord Seymour was taking part in the blockade of the Flemish coast. The whole number of sailors in the fleet was 15,785. The mariners were the only fighting men of the ships. The differences of construction and of equipment in the English and the Spanish navies were most remarkable; but they were not so remarkable as the difference of the men on board of them. The Portuguese galleys, each with three hundred rowers, could move against the wind as if by steam. But the poor slaves were perfectly exposed to the shot of large and small arms; and the movements of the enormous vessels were thus liable to serious interruption. The galleons were unwieldy floating towers, with many decks, where the soldiers and gunners were stowed amidst comforts unknown to the mariners. In the orders for sailing of the duke of Medina we find, "for that the mariners must resort unto their work, tackle, and navigation, it is convenient that their lodging be in the upper works of the poop and forecastle, otherwise the soldiers will trouble them in the voyage." But this was the invariable practice in the Spanish navy. "The mariners are but as slaves to the rest, to moil and to toil day and night; and these [the mariners] but few and bad, and not suffered to sleep or harbour under the decks. For, in fair or foul weather, in storms, sun, or rain, they must pass void of covert or succour." * The English ships were short in the build; and were rigged so as readily to tack. Every man on board was as willing to assist in working his vessel as to fight. Drake, in his voyage round the world, exclaimed, "I must have the gentlemen to hale and draw with the mariners." Officers and men stood by each other in a brotherhood made closer by a common danger and a mutual dependence. Thus, when the two fleets came together in action, "the English ships, being far the lesser, charged the enemy with marvellous agility; and having discharged their broadsides flew forth furiously into the deep, and levelled their shot directly without missing, at these great ships of the Spaniards." † When

* Quoted in "Westward Ho," by the Rev. Charles Kingsley; a romance imbued with the truest spirit of history, and displaying a far higher, because more intelligent, patriotism, than most of our modern histories of this period of heroic struggle. † Camden, ed. 1630.

Valdez, the commander of the Andalusian squadron, lost his foremast; "he lay," says Stow, "like a stiff elephant in the open field, beset with eager hounds." Wotton has compared the movements of the English ships to "a morice-dance upon the waters."

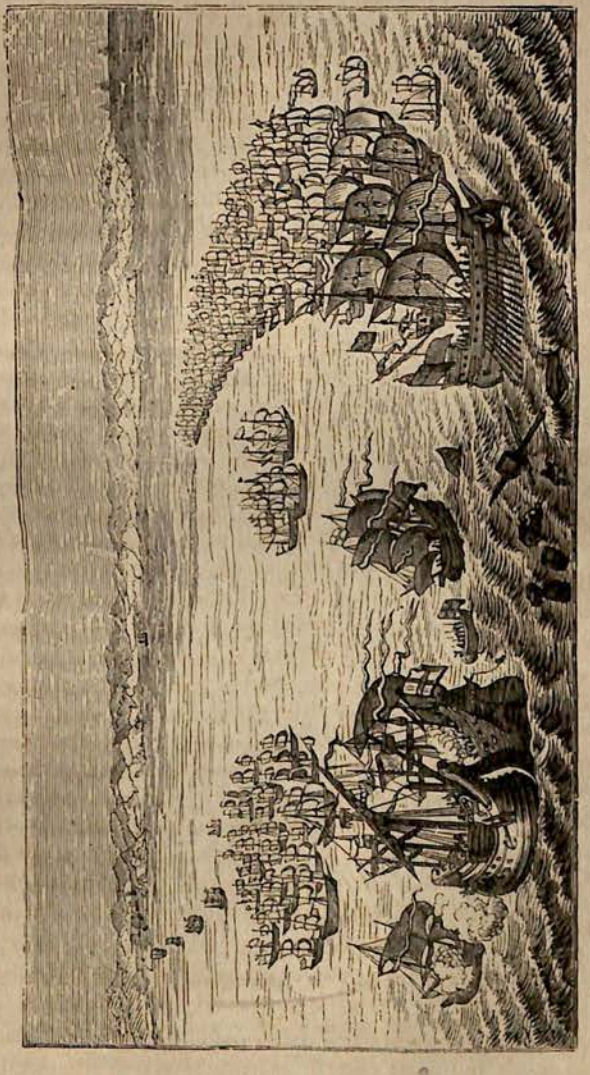
On the 12th of July the Spanish fleet stood out to sea from Corunna. The armada kept its course through the Bay of Biscay, with a favourable wind, until the 16th, when there was a great calm and a thick fog till noon. The wind shifting from north-east to west, and then to east-south-east, dispersed the ships; and they were scarcely gathered together when the English coast was in sight. On the 19th they were seen entering the Channel by Fleming, a captain of a pinnace, according to Camden; but by other accounts a Scottish pirate. This captain, whether honest trader or rover, made all sail for Plymouth, to communicate his momentous news. There was a gallant fleet in the harbour; and there were commanders on shore, of the same material as that out of which the Blakes and Nelsons were formed. About the port was a great land force under the orders of Raleigh, who would rather have been at sea. The Howards were there, lord Charles and lord Thomas, with lord Sheffield, the nephew of the lord high admiral, and sir Robert Southwell, his son-in-law. But birth then gave no exclusive title to command. The rough-handed Hawkins, and Drake, and Frobisher, and Fenner, and many another captain who had steered and fought his way upwards from the forecastle, were there; and they went to their work with that hearty will which is best inspired by a free service. And so, on the night of the 19th,—after Drake had finished his game at bowls, in which tradition we have a lively faith,—the fleet was warped out of the harbour. Howard told, in a letter of the 21st addressed to Walsingham, the story of his first operations, using the brief style best suited for a man of action: "I will not trouble you with any long letter; we are at this present otherwise occupied than with writing. Upon Friday, at Plymouth, I received intelligence that there were a great number of ships descried off the Lizard; whereupon, although the wind was very scant, we first warped out of harbour that night; and upon Saturday it turned out rain, hard by, the wind being at south-west; and about three of the clock in the afternoon descried the Spanish fleet, and we did what we could to work for the wind, which by this morning we had recovered, descrying their fleet to consist of a hundred and sixty sail." *

"At Plymouth speedily, took they ship valiantly;
Braver ships never were seen under sail,
With their fair colours spread, and streamers on their head—
Now bragging Spaniards, take care of your tail." †

Up the Channel sail the galleons and the galeasses, the carracks and argosies, before that south-west breeze. England is on the look-out from every

* Letter in the State Paper Office. † Ballad, "The winning of Cales," Percy, vol. ii.

hill and every beach from the Lizard to the Start. Little pinnaces go boldly forth from Marazion, and Falmouth, and Fowey; as Howard and his fleet pass the Eddystone, then a bare rock with no warning light. Is the great armada about to attack Plymouth? The day will show. It sweeps on "in front like a half-moon, the horns stretching forth about the breadth of seven miles, sailing as it were with labour of the winds, and groaning of the ocean, slowly, though with full sails." Will Howard not give fight? Will



The Spanish Armada attacked by the English Fleet. (From the Tapestry in the House of Lords, destroyed in the Fire at the Houses of Parliament.)

the daring captains who have borne the English flag from the north pole to the tropics, and some of whom have put a girdle round the earth, will they let the armada pass unscathed? They know their business. "Willingly they

suffer it to pass by, that they might chase them in the rear with a foreright wind." On the 21st, "about nine of the clock, before noon, the lord admiral commanded his pinnace, called the Disdain, to give the defiance unto the duke of Medina." It was the old feudal challenge; but there was no pause for the answer. The pinnace fired a shot at the first ship it met, and Howard, like a gallant leader as he was, began the fight: "with much thundering out of his own ship, called the Ark-royal, he first set upon the admiral, as he thought, of the Spaniards; but it was Alphonso de Lena's ship. Soon after, Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, played with their ordnance upon the hindmost squadron, which was commanded by Recalde, who laboured all he could to stay his men that fled to the fleet, till his own ship, being much battered with shot, and now grown unserviceable, hardly withdrew itself to the main fleet. At which time the duke of Medina gathered together his fleet scattered here and there, and hoisting more sail, held on his intended course. Neither could he do any other, seeing both the wind favoured the English, and their ships would turn about with incredible celerity which way soever they would to charge, wind, and tack about again. And now had they maintained a hot fight the space of two hours, when the lord admiral thought not good to continue the fight any longer, for that forty of his ships were not yet come in, being scarce yet gotten out of the haven." *

The night that followed was one of strange tumult in those waters, which a foreign ship had not traversed in man's remembrance without vailing to the English flag. The sea was troubled; the sky was dark; a huge Biscayan vessel took fire; and in the confusion the galleon of Don Pedro de Valdez got foul of another ship, and was left behind. Drake had gone after five vessels that proved to be merchantmen of Germany; and this had deranged the movements of the squadron that was to have followed his lantern. Howard, with two ships, had held on through the night after the Spaniards. Drake coming back from his bootless chase fell in with the great galleon abandoned by her companions; and Valdez became his prisoner, with a booty of 55,000 ducats, which were distributed amongst the crews. At nightfall of that second day the active vice-admiral was again with his commander. The next morning Howard was better prepared for a general engagement. His men were in great heart, for the invincible armada was found to be vulnerable. The remainder of the fleet has come out of Plymouth, and Raleigh has come with them, to take his share in that sea-fight, rather than remain with his inactive army on land. The armada on this morning of the 23rd of July is off Portland. And now, says Stow, "the English navy, being well increased, gave charge and chase upon the enemy, squadron after squadron seconding each other like swift horsemen that could nimbly come and go, and fetch the wind with most advantage. . . . . The English chieftains ever sought to single out the great commanders of the Spanish host, whose lofty castles held great scorn of their encounter." But the English chieftains knew better tactics than to attempt to grapple with these castles, and to board them. They knew that if their daring sailors could climb to their highest decks, they would there find great companies of soldiers in armour, provided with every instrument of destruction. Raleigh had told them, as he said

* This passage is from Camden. We shall use his words occasionally, and those of Stow and other old writers, without always indicating the authority from which we quote.

afterwards in his "History of the World," that "to clap ships together without consideration belongs rather to a madman than a man of war;" that "the guns of a slow ship pierce as well, and make as great holes, as those in a swift." And so the English, having been well taught "the difference

Raleigh.

between fighting loose or at large, and grappling," ran in under the great galleons, and having delivered their broadsides, sheered out of the range of the Spanish guns, which were high above the water-line. "Never was heard greater thundering of ordnance on both sides, which notwithstanding from the Spaniards flew for the most part over the English without harm." In this furious skirmish there was alternate success. The ships of London, hemmed in by the Spaniards, were rescued by the queen's ships; and the fleet of Biscay, under Recalde, being surrounded by the English wasps, was delivered from danger by the galeasses, who, "as sergeants of the band, would issue forth to succour their distressed friends." One English commander only fell—"Cock, an Englishman, who died with honour in the midst of the enemies in a small ship of his." From morning till night this fight continued; the Spaniards sometimes bearing down upon their pursuers, and then going before the west wind towards St. Alban's Head.

The 24th is a day of rest. The fleets are becalmed, with the Needles in distant view. Howard has sent some small craft to Portsmouth for supplies of ammunition. From every port of Dorsetshire and Hampshire fresh ships have come forth, hired and armed by the gentlemen of England to aid in this great defence. The harvest-time is at hand; but let the rye and the barley,

the wheat and the oats, be gathered in by the women and the children and the old men; for the able-bodied must fight, or no harvest will in future be worth the gathering for the Anglo-Saxon race. For four days the fishermen of the long line of shore have been hovering about the fleets, instead of casting their nets. The sea-weed burners on the shelves of the coast have let out their fires, and have climbed to the cliffs to gaze upon the flashing smoke far out at sea. Now the great towers lie idly about Purbeck, and the men of Poole and Christchurch wonder if they are going up the Solent. For four nights the beacon-fires have been lighted. For four nights they have proclaimed to the people throughout the land that they must watch and pray. On this fifth night of danger they again send out their tongues of flame from every cliff and every hill:—

> "For swift to east and swift to west the warning radiance spread—
> High on St. Michael's Mount it shone—it shone on Beachy Head.
> Far o'er the deep the Spaniard saw, along each southern shire,
> Cape beyond cape, in endless range, those twinkling points of fire." *

The armada lies becalmed, on the 25th of July, below the chalk cliffs of Freshwater. It is the day of St. James the Great, the patron saint of Spain; but it is not a day in which the saint will inspire the Spaniard with the determination to fight against the Heretic, as he inspired him to fight against the Moslem. A great galleon, disabled in the fight of the 23rd, has dropped astern; and Hawkins, in the Victory, has been towed to take possession of her. There is no resistance from the galleon. But a thousand oars are now lashing the quiet waves; and three of the great galeasses come to rescue her, and to punish her daring captor. But the Lion and the Bear, the Triumph and the Elizabeth Jonas, are quickly about them, with their sixty pounders, and their thirty-three pounders, known as cannon and demi-cannon, "sending their dole until the Spaniard's blood ran out at scupper-hole." The battle, for a breeze had sprung up, again becomes general. Medina's ship, the San Martin, has her mainmast shot away, and is about to strike to Frobisher. Medina is saved by his generals, Mexia and Recalde. Howard joins in the struggle. The issue is long doubtful. But the English powder is exhausted; and there is no more fighting on that summer afternoon. The next day the lord high admiral is bestowing the greatest honour that the worthies of England then aspired to receive. Lords might be born, but Knights must be made. For their services in these six days of incessant work, lord Sheffield and lord Thomas Howard, Frobisher, Townsend and Hawkins, were knighted "for their valour." It was resolved to defer any further attack till the Spaniard was in the narrow sea. "So with a fair Etesian gale, which in our sky bloweth for the most part from the south-west and by south, clear and fair, the Spanish fleet sailed forward, the English fleet following close at the heels." On the 26th and 27th, the vast navies are seen as they coast along, from Selsea Bill, and from the downs of Brighton, from Hastings, and from Dungeness. For seven days has the Spaniard been fighting his way through the Channel, and at length he is at anchor before Calais on the Saturday night of that week of memorable conflict. But when the morning of Sunday dawns, and the French and Walloons go out in their boats with fresh pro-

* Macaulay.

visions for those whose ships are laden with gold, and who readily give sixpence for a fresh egg, the English fleet of a hundred and forty sail is riding in Calais Roads within cannon-shot of the exceeding great ships, whose greatest still keep the outer line against their enemy. England, then, is not yet beaten, as the rumour has gone forth; for "in Paris, Don Bernadino de Mendoza, ambassador from Spain, entered into the church of Notre Dame, advancing his rapier in his right hand, and with a loud voice, cried, Victoria, Victoria; and it was forthwith bruited that England was vanquished." On that Sunday the heart of England sends up to Heaven the simple but solemn prayer, "Save and deliver us, we humbly beseech Thee, from the hands of our enemies." In this time of need the queen had herself composed a prayer, which had been sent to "the general of her highness' army at Plymouth," as her majesty's private meditation:—"Most Omnipotent, and Guider of all our world's mass, that only searchest and fathomest the bottom of all hearts' conceits, and in them seest the true original of all actions intended, how no malice of revenge, nor quittance of injury, nor desire of bloodshed, nor greediness of lucre, hath bred the resolution of our now set out army; but a heedful care, and wary watch, that no neglect of foes, nor over surety of harm, might breed either danger to us, or glory to them; these being grounds, Thou that didst inspire the mind, we humbly beseech, with bended knees, prosper the work, and with the best forewinds guide the journey, speed the victory, and make the return the advancement of Thy glory, the triumph of Thy fame, and surety to the realm, with the least loss of English blood. To these devout petitions, Lord, give Thou Thy blessed grant. Amen."* The prayer was mercifully heard to its fullest extent.

On that Sunday in Calais Roads, there is work being done by Drake and his men—a work of necessity which will brook no delay. For the duke of Medina has dispatched messenger after messenger to the duke of Parma, to bid him send "light vessels," without which the Spaniard could not well fight with the English; and to urge him to put to sea with his army, which the Spanish fleet would protect till the landing upon the hated shore was accomplished. Parma's boats were leaky; his provisions were exhausted; his sailors had deserted; he was kept in port by the vigilant Dutch. But nevertheless a junction might have been fatal; and the Spaniard must be crippled before he again weighs anchor. It is two o'clock of the Monday morning. The stillness is scarcely broken by a slight movement upon the sea. There are eight small vessels being towed from the main body of the English fleet, and they are bearing with the wind upon the Spanish anchorage. Are they deserters; or are they rushing upon certain destruction? Suddenly a strong light bursts out from each vessel. The tow-boats leave them, and they drift with the breeze right into the centre of the armada. Then vast volumes of flame and smoke roll out from the burning hulks, with fearful explosions and sulphury stenches; and the sea defences of Calais, and the church towers which overlook them, gleam with more than noon-day brightness; and the red glare is seen across the sea from Dover heights, and along the shore from Gravelines to Boulogne. Young and Prowse, who led these fire-ships into the heart of the enemy's fleet, have done their duty well. The bold stroke,

* MS. in British Museum, endorsed as being sent by sir Robert Cecil to the generals.

devised by Elizabeth herself as contemporaries say, has been successful beyond hope. The Spaniards had seen the effects of "sundry works of wild-fire lately made to break the bridge at Antwerp,"—it was in the siege of 1585—and now, "all amazed, with shrieks and loud outcries, to the great astonishment of the near inhabitants, crying 'The fire of Antwerp! the fire of Antwerp!' some cut cables, others let the hawsers slip, and happiest they who could first be gone, though few could tell what course to take."* One of the largest of the galeasses was stranded near the town of Calais, and was taken, after a fierce engagement, in which many English were slain, and the Spaniards lost four hundred men. Medina conducted himself with courage and coolness, and his ship, with a few others, resumed their stations. But the bulk of the fleet was running up Channel in wild confusion. Some went ashore on the Flemish coast; others stood out to sea; many got together as well as they could near Gravelines. But Drake and Fenner were fighting them from the first peep of the dawning; and now come up Hawkins and Fenton, Seymour and Cumberland, Southwell and Frobisher, and there is again a general battle under the castle of Gravelines; for Howard himself is up at his post. He has written somewhat despairingly to Walsingham of the want of ammunition; saying, with the true modesty of the brave, "Their force is wonderful great and strong, and yet we pluck their feathers by little and little." In that fleet the "mighty ships and of great strength," were as four to one compared with the larger ships of the English. The Spanish castles have fearful difficulty in avoiding the shallows. They are hemmed in with danger. They must keep together; or be made prize if they run out to sea. A galleon of Biscay, the San Matthew, has surrendered; another great ship is stranded; the San Philipe is drifting disabled upon the Flemish shore, and will be boarded by the sailors of Flushing. No help will come from the duke of Parma. There is no chance of the union of the two armies. "The English forces," says Stow, "being now wholly united, prevented their enemies conjoining together, and followed their fortunes to the uttermost, continuing four days' fight in more deadly manner than at any time before, and having incessant cause of fresh encouragement chased the Spaniards from place to place, until they had driven them into a desperate estate; so as of necessity, as well for that the wind was westerly, as that their enemies increased, and their own provision of sails, anchors, and cables greatly wasted, resolved to shape their course by the Orcades and the north of Ireland."

The last great fight was on the 29th of July. The scattered remnant of the armada holds on its perilous course, past Dunkirk, past the mouth of the Scheldt, full into the North Sea. No more will the beacon-fires be lighted on the Southern coast of England. The Eastern has nothing to fear from these enemies. Drake is in the wake of the flying squadrons. What a model despatch does this true English sailor write to Walsingham, on this last of July, 1588:—"We have the army of Spain before us, and mind, with the grace of God, to wrestle a fall with them. There was never anything pleased me better than the seeing the enemy flying with a south wind to the northwards. God grant they have a good eye to the duke of Parma; for with the grace of God, if we live, I doubt it not but ere it be long so to handle the

* Stow.

matter with the duke of Sidonia as he shall wish himself at St. Marie among his orange-trees. God give us grace to depend upon Him, so shall we not doubt victory, for our cause is good."

The prince of Parma had failed the Spaniards. They had received a message from him, as they lay before Calais on that Sunday the 28th, that he could not be ready for them till the Friday following. On that Friday they were far away to the north, the English pursuing. Howard writes, on the 7th of August, to Walsingham, "Notwithstanding that our powder and shot was well near all spent, we set on a brag countenance and gave them chase, as though we had wanted nothing, until he had cleared our own coast and some part of Scotland." Seymour had returned with his squadron, after he had passed the Brill, to look after the duke of Parma. On the 2nd of August, says a Spanish narrative, "the enemy's fleet still followed the armada in the morning, but they turned towards the coast of England, and we lost sight of them." Sir William Monson, a contemporary writer, says, "The opportunity was lost, not through the negligence or backwardness of the lord admiral, but merely through the want of providence in those that had the charge of furnishing and providing for the fleet; for, at that time of so great advantage, when they came to examine their provisions, they found a general scarcity of

Morions, from the Meyrick collection; and Military Costume of 1590, from one of the morions.

powder and shot, for want of which they were forced to return home." The arsenals of England in those days were scantily supplied; and we may well believe that there was no expectation that the dreaded conflict would have ended at sea. The daring and the endurance of her sailors could not have been wholly trusted to, when the enemy to be resisted was of such gigantic force. The men on shore would have fought to the death; and there was not a town that would not have sent out its train-bands in harness, with arquebuss, and pike, and the old mighty long-bow. Raleigh held, that without an adequate fleet no force could debar an enemy from landing; but the fleet which drove

Medina to the Orkneys, and left Parma's gun-boats in the canal of Bruges, could scarcely have been counted upon to do the work of defence single-handed. It did its work nobly. It saved England in those twelve days of desperate fight and stormy chase. The breath of heaven did what Howard and Drake left undone. "*Flavit Jehovah et dissipati sunt*"—Jehovah blew and they were scattered—is the legend of one of the medals that recorded this marvellous success.

There are minute and apparently trustworthy accounts of the wretched fortune of the armada, after it had passed the coast of Scotland, which are derived from the examinations of Spanish, Portuguese, and Italian sailors who were wrecked in September on the western coasts of Ireland.* Putting this evidence together, we find it stated that after the fight off Gravelines there were a hundred and ten (some state a hundred and twenty) sail left of the whole Spanish navy. After the English fleet left them, the Spaniards cast all the horses and mules into the sea, to save their water. Coming to an island at the north of Scotland, the general gave orders that they should make the best of their way to any part of the Portuguese or Spanish coast. Ships, having lost their anchors, their masts shot through, their hulls riddled with shot-holes, had sunk on the coast of Scotland, and in the open North Sea, or were cast on the shores of the Western Isles. About the 20th of August there came on a great storm which divided the fleet; and, ten days after, another storm scattered them around the shores of Connaught and Kerry. The testimony of a Genoese pilot of the ship called Our Lady of the Rosary, in which was the prince of Ascule, a natural son of the king of Spain, is thus recorded: "He saith this ship was shot through four times, and one of the shot was between the wind and the water, whereof they thought she would have sunk, and most of her tackle was spoiled with shot. This ship struck against the rocks in the Sound of the Bleskies, a league and a half from the land, upon Tuesday last at noon, and all in the ship perished, saving this examinant, who saved himself upon two or three planks that were loose." The duke of Medina kept out in the open sea, and entered the Bay of Biscay about the end of September. A few ships reached Spain, under the command of Recalde, in a shattered condition. Some of the wretched men who were shipwrecked were murdered by the wild Irish; and some, more disgracefully, were put to the sword by order of the lord deputy. Hakluyt thus sums up the Spanish losses: "Of one hundred and four and thirty sail, that came out of Lisbon, only three and fifty returned to Spain. Of the four galeasses of Naples, but one; the like of the largest galleons of Portugal; of the one and ninety galleons and great hulks, from divers provinces, only three and thirty returned. In a word, they lost eighty-one ships in this expedition, and upwards of thirteen thousand five hundred soldiers."

Before the ultimate fate of the armada could be known, Elizabeth wrote this characteristic letter to the king of Scotland:—

"Now may appear, my dear brother, how malice conjoined with might strive to make a shameful end to a villainous beginning, for, by God's singular favour, having their fleet well beaten in our narrow seas, and pressing with all violence to achieve some watering place, to continue their pretended in-

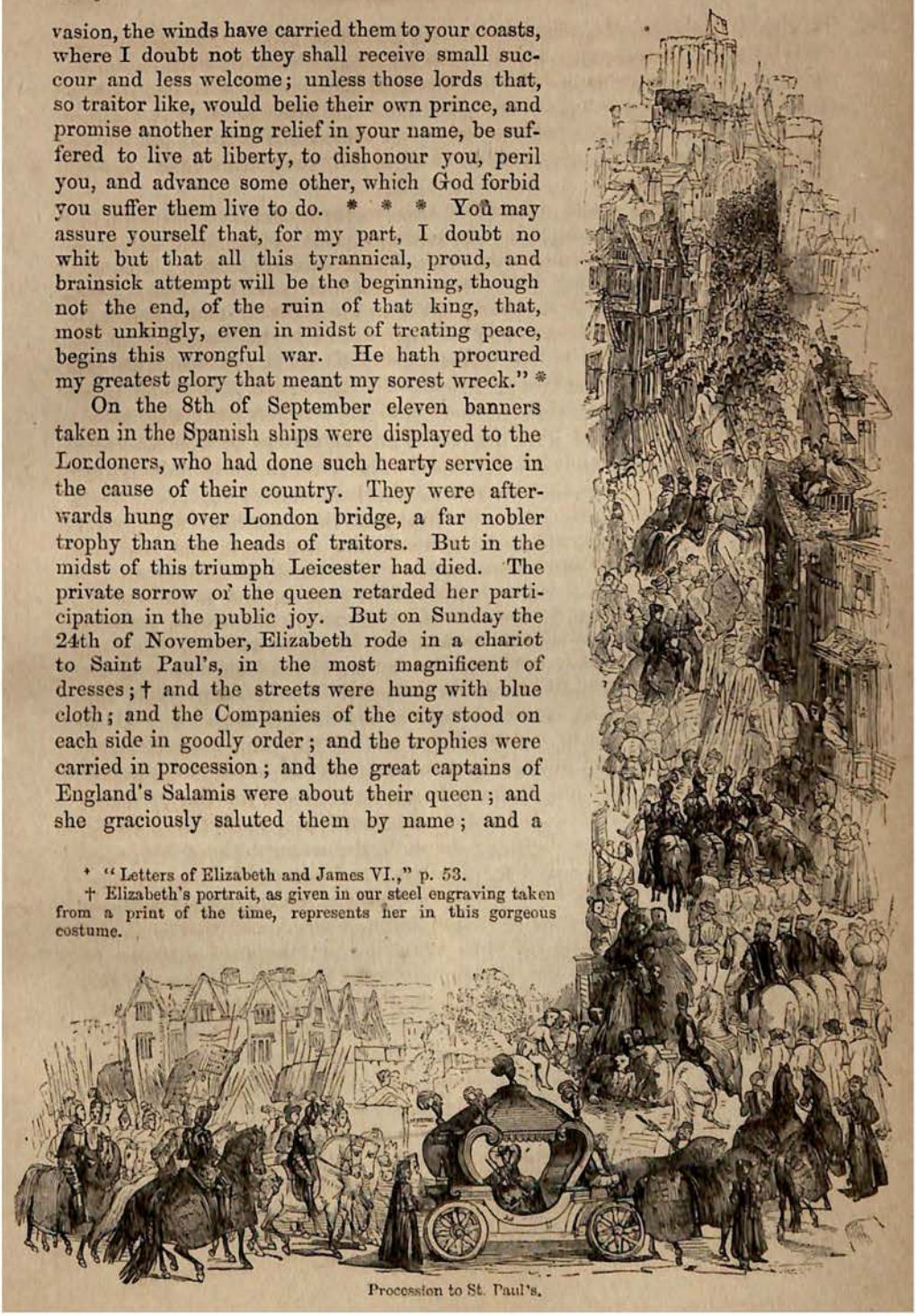
* "Certain Advertisements out of Ireland," 1588, reprinted in the "Harleian Miscellany."

vasion, the winds have carried them to your coasts, where I doubt not they shall receive small succour and less welcome; unless those lords that, so traitor like, would belie their own prince, and promise another king relief in your name, be suffered to live at liberty, to dishonour you, peril you, and advance some other, which God forbid you suffer them live to do. * * * You may assure yourself that, for my part, I doubt no whit but that all this tyrannical, proud, and brainsick attempt will be the beginning, though not the end, of the ruin of that king, that, most unkingly, even in midst of treating peace, begins this wrongful war. He hath procured my greatest glory that meant my sorest wreck." *

On the 8th of September eleven banners taken in the Spanish ships were displayed to the Londoners, who had done such hearty service in the cause of their country. They were afterwards hung over London bridge, a far nobler trophy than the heads of traitors. But in the midst of this triumph Leicester had died. The private sorrow of the queen retarded her participation in the public joy. But on Sunday the 24th of November, Elizabeth rode in a chariot to Saint Paul's, in the most magnificent of dresses; † and the streets were hung with blue cloth; and the Companies of the city stood on each side in goodly order; and the trophies were carried in procession; and the great captains of England's Salamis were about their queen; and she graciously saluted them by name; and a

* "Letters of Elizabeth and James VI.," p. 53.

† Elizabeth's portrait, as given in our steel engraving taken from a print of the time, represents her in this gorgeous costume.



Procession to St. Paul's.

solemn thanksgiving was offered up, and the glory given to God only. On that day there were also given in every church of the land "public and general thanks unto God, with all devotion and inward affection of heart and humbleness, for his gracious favour extended towards us in our deliverance and defence, in the wonderful overthrow and destruction showed by his mighty hand on our malicious enemies the Spaniards, who had thought to invade and make a conquest of the realm."

The parliament which met in February, 1589, was naturally warlike; exulting in the past success, and resolved upon supporting the queen in the contest which was so truly a battle for national existence. Sir Christopher Hatton, the lord chancellor, told the Peers and Commons not to be deceived into a belief that England was secure, through the Divine mercy which had rendered the vast armada vain and useless. "Do not you imagine," he said, "that they are ardently studious of revenge? Know you not the pride, fury, and bitterness of the Spaniard against you?" This was preparatory to asking for a subsidy; and, although there was no precedent for such a mark of confidence, two subsidies were granted in one supply, payable in four years. There was no delusion in the belief that Philip would renew his attempt upon England. It was proclaimed by the fanatical Romanists in their writings, that it was not till two attacks had failed that the Israelites made desolate the towns and villages of the tribe of Benjamin, and smote man and beast with the edge of the sword. The chastisement of the English, they said, was only deferred. Philip resolved to build smaller vessels, and to sail direct to the English coast from his harbours in the Peninsula. He would persevere, even if he sold the silver candlesticks which stood on his table.* The Anglo-Saxon spirit was now thoroughly roused; and any scheme for attacking Spain was sure to receive the heartiest encouragement. The government of Elizabeth was economical in the extreme; and it was indisposed to undertake any war, except a war of defence, upon a large scale. The people, therefore, were encouraged to fit out expeditions at their own cost, to which the queen lent assistance. It is common to impute blame to Elizabeth for this parsimony; but her revenues were not spent in her own luxurious gratification. In 1592, sir John Fortescue, after reciting how she had sustained the people of the Low Countries in their contest for freedom; and had assisted Henry of Navarre against the League, "to free us from war at home;" went on to state in what other honourable ways Elizabeth had employed her revenues: "When her majesty came to the crown, she found it four millions indebted. Her navy when she came to view it, she found greatly decayed. Yet, all this she hath discharged, and, thanks to God, is nothing indebted; and now she is able to match any prince in Europe, which the Spaniards found when they came to invade us. . . . . As for her own private expenses, they have been little in building; she hath consumed little or nothing in her pleasures." It has ever been a fashion to call such royal economy meanness; and other queens, as well as Elizabeth, have been slandered for their integrity. We may excuse her government, in their desire not to make rash experiments upon the willingness of the people to bear heavy taxation, if they only gave sixty thousand pounds towards a great expedition for winning Portugal from the Castilians,—whom the Portuguese hated,— to place the crown upon the head of Don Antonio, an ille-

* Ranke, vol. ii. p. 174.

gitimate branch of the royal line of that country which Philip had added to Spain. Sir Francis Drake and sir John Norris undertook to lead this somewhat rash enterprise. A great body of adventurers joined the expedition. They did not, however, sail direct to Portugal, but attacked Corunna; burnt some ships; defeated a Spanish army; and took the lower town. At last they went on the real purpose for which the armament was fitted out. But Philip was now prepared. Every attempt at insurrection was promptly suppressed. Lisbon was defended by a large force. When the English army under Norris advanced from Peniche, their landing-place, and Drake sailed up the Tagus, they could only obtain possession of the suburbs of Lisbon; and were speedily forced to re-embark for want of ammunition and provisions. On their return they took and burned Vigo; and then came back to England—triumphant to a limited extent, but having lost one half of the adventurers, many in fight, but the greater number by famine and sickness. The young earl of Essex was one of those who took part in this enterprise as a volunteer.

As Drake's ships were returning homeward, with their half-starved crews and soldiers, they received some supplies from a fleet of seven ships, which the earl of Cumberland had fitted out at his own charge to attack the Spanish coasts. A fearful mortality amongst the men of this expedition also crippled their exertions; and, though many prizes were made, the prosperous issue of the great contest was little advanced by this and other detached enterprises. But there was a higher result of such a warfare than the taking of ships or the burning of towns. A grand spirit of devotion to their country was engendered in the people. The energies called forth in that stirring time produced a corresponding elevation of the national character. In one of his earliest comedies, Shakspere, in a scene where a father recommends his son "to seek preferment," has briefly indicated the great principles which stimulated the ambition of the gentlemen of England at this period:—

> "Some, to the wars, to try their fortune there;
> Some, to discover islands far away;
> Some, to the studious universities." *

They had been fighting in the Netherlands during the command of Leicester; they were still fighting for the same cause under Maurice of Nassau; they were about to fight for Henry of Navarre. War against Philip of Spain, wherever to be carried on, would be a war of enthusiasm. Discovery, a natural result of commercial extension, was the one thing wanting to fill the "home-keeping youths" with an ardent desire to burst the narrow confines of their own land, to seek wealth and honour in regions where the earth yielded its richest increase to the slightest labour. Knowledge was to be sought; for not only were learning and ability now the stepping-stones to civil preferment, but ignorance had become a disgrace amongst the high-born, who once left the churchmen to the almost exclusive possession of intellectual power. The stormy time of the Reformation had been succeeded by a time of comparative peace and security; but this position had been won by a general enlargement of the national thought, and through this growing freedom of opinion a great Literature was bursting into life,—sustaining and carrying forward the mental independence which had produced it. Gabriel

* "Two Gentlemen of Verona," act i. sc. 3.

Harvey, in one of his tracts, directed, as verses of his friend Spenser had been directed, against some of the ribaldry of vulgar controversialists, shows, in a passage which is worth quoting, the stimulus which heroic action ought to give, as it must have given, to intellectual production: "England, since it was England, never bred more honourable minds, more adventurous hearts, more valorous hands, or more excellent wits, than of late. . . . The date of idle vanities is expired. Away with these scribbling paltries. There is another Sparta in hand, that indeed requireth Spartan temperance, Spartan frugality, Spartan exercise, Spartan valiancy, Spartan perseverance, Spartan invincibility; and hath no wanton leisure for the comedies of Athens. . . . The wind is changed, and there is a busier pageant upon the stage. . . . When you have observed the course of industry, examined the antecedents and consequences of travel, compared English and Spanish valour, measured the forces of both parties, weighed every circumstance of advantage, considered the means of our assurance, and finally found profit to be our pleasure, provision our security, labour our honour, warfare our welfare,—who of reckoning can spare any lewd or vain time for corrupt pamphlets; or who of judgment will not cry, away with these paltering fiddle-faddles." * This stilted eloquence of Gabriel Harvey conveys a great truth. The English nation was growing into loftier proportions in this period of new-born energies. He points to the western discoveries of Gilbert; the West-Indian voyage of Drake; the arctic expedition of Frobisher; the colonisation of Virginia by Raleigh; the hot welcome of the terrible Spanish armada to the coast of England; the voyage into Spain and Portugal of Norris, Drake, and Essex. But he recounts these, to show how the period which called forth such energies ought to bear the corresponding fruits of a high literature,—and he exclaims, "what miracles of excellency might be achieved in an age of policy and a world of industry." They were achieved.

* "Pierce's Supererogation," 1593. Reprinted in "Archaica," vol. ii. p. 62.

Medal struck by the Dutch after the defeat of the Armada.

Hooker.

CHAPTER XVI.

The three religious classes of the second half of the reign of Elizabeth—Progress of Non-Conformity—Statute against the Puritans—The Puritan enmity to the habits of society—Philip Stubbes' Anatomy of Abuses—Pride of Apparel—Gluttony and Drunkenness—Dancing considered a vice—Music held to be corrupting—The Sabbath profaned by Sports—The Lord of Misrule—May-games; Wakes; Church-ales—Country festivals—Athletic exercises and sports—Gaming—Stage Plays.

THE three chief religious classes of the second half of the reign of Elizabeth have been defined by one who lived near that period:—"They may for distinction be called the active Romanists, the restless Nonconformists (of which there were many sorts), and the passive peaceable Protestants."* In the history of this time, as of every other time, the doings of the "active" and of the "restless" must be far more prominent than any movement of the "passive peaceable." Up to the period of the death of Mary Stuart, the "active Romanists" were the only objects of grave solicitude to the government. All the just and rational energies of the queen and the statesmen who surrounded her; all the severities against Popish recusants, which were defended as being levelled only against traitors, were calculated to uphold the great edifice of Protestantism which was the shelter and bulwark of the civil polity. In this contest against the Romanists, none were more zealous than those who, known as Puritans, first objected to some ceremonies of the Anglican Church, and then denounced the hierarchical constitution upon which

* Walton, "Life of Hooker."

she rested. They became "restless Noncomformists." They were compared to a man "who would never cease to whet and whet his knife, till there was no steel left to make it useful." * Both these classes, however, constituted a decided minority, as compared with the "passive peaceable Protestants"—those who were content to remain in the quiet enjoyment of the security which had been won by the sagacity of their rulers. Amongst their ranks the enthusiasts were not to be found. The Established Church had opened its arms widely, to embrace many who conscientiously differed as to doctrine and discipline. The majority accepted the invitation to abide by the religion of the State,—to form contented if not zealous members of a Church which was expressly calculated to reconcile differences. Her decent ceremonies, her abundant provision for the maintenance of her ministers, her beautiful form of Common Prayer, her solemn Offices, were well suited to the quiet and orderly English character. The Romanists, who, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, were a powerful body decidedly hostile to the government, had, after the contests of a quarter of a century, been absorbed into the ranks of the conformists, or held their own opinions in secret, or had been crushed. The power which had largely contributed to crush the more dangerous of the enemies of the reformed doctrines had, in its turn, become troublesome if not dangerous. Let us endeavour to sketch an outline of the position of the Puritans, in their relations to the Church and State, and in their social relations, as they present themselves to our observation during the years immediately succeeding the great triumph over the attempt to make England an appanage of Spain, a country for the bishop of Rome "to tithe and toll in."

In 1588, the bishop of Winchester, Thomas Cooper, published "An Admonition to the People of England," which aimed at counteracting the effect of certain bold and scurrilous pamphlets which had been issued with the intent to bring the Church and its ministers into contempt. He especially complains that such books should be in men's hands and bosoms, "when the view of the mighty navy of the Spaniards is scant passed out of our sight; when the terrible sound of their shot ringeth, as it were, yet in our ears." But though the Puritans were at issue with the government upon the great question of religious freedom, and held opinions very adverse to the constitution and discipline of the Church, as enforced by the Act of Uniformity, they had not been the less ready to defend their country against invasion. They were naturally most strenuous in their hatred of the invader that drew the sword in the name of Rome. When the immediate danger had passed away, the Puritans went with redoubled zeal about the work which they called a Re-reformation. The age of pamphlets had now fully come. As the power of reading was more widely extended, tracts were multiplied, whose tone was adapted for men of strong convictions and obstinate prejudices, to whom abuse would be more acceptable than placid reasoning. Many, also, who cared little for the subjects of controversy, read with avidity the little books that bore the name of Martin Marprelate, and the answers they called forth; for they were bitter and sarcastic, with touches of coarse humour. The queen's proclamation against certain seditious and schismatical books, and

* Walton, "Life of Hooker.

libels was issued with little effect. The Marprelate tracts were secretly printed and circulated in despite of authority. "The public printing-presses being shut against the Puritans, some of them purchased a private one, and carried it from one county to another, to prevent discovery. It was first set up at Moulsey, in Surrey, near Kingston-on-Thames; from thence it was conveyed to Fawsley, in Northamptonshire; from thence to Norton; from thence to Coventry; from Coventry to Woolston, in Warwickshire; and from thence to Manchester, in Lancashire, where it was discovered. Sundry satirical pamphlets were printed by this press, and dispersed all over the kingdom."* The crisis of a great struggle had arrived; and these libels were the straws which, thrown up, showed which way the wind blew.

The Protestant ministers who fled from the persecutions of queen Mary, had remained long enough in communion with foreign reformed Churches to bring home, upon the accession of Elizabeth, opinions much opposed to the system of church government as established by the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. There were some portions of the ceremonies prescribed in the rubric which they held to be superstitious. They regarded the vestments of the clergy as popish. They objected to the sign of the cross in the office of baptism, and to the ring in that of matrimony. They objected to kneeling at the communion service. Throughout the reign of Elizabeth her Council held divided opinions upon these matters of controversy; but the queen herself was opposed to an abolition of forms to which the only serious objection was that they belonged to the rites of the earlier Church. But in that age opinions assumed a more violent character of opposition when their differences centred round some visible object; and we still contend in a like fashion, as soldiers in a battle strive to gain or to hold the rag of silk under which one side fights, whilst the principle of the warfare has passed out of mind. The clergy who returned from their seven years' exile during the time of persecution, were put in possession of many of the livings from which the Romish priests had been in their turn ejected. They very soon ceased to regard the Act of Uniformity as imperatively binding; and great irregularities in the performance of ceremonies crept in, and were for some time tolerated. But at length a rigid observance of the rubric was enforced; and the ministers who would not conform were thrust out from their benefices. There was now a body of men, powerful from their abilities and their earnestness, deprived of their means of subsistence, and excluded from the vocations to which they were dedicated. They had their admirers and their followers; and their course was to form separate assemblies. In 1567 a congregation of dissenters were seized at Plumbers' Hall, and some were committed to prison. As yet, the contest had been about what the Puritans held as superstitious ceremonies. The resistance with which they were encountered upon minor points ultimately led them to condemn the episcopal constitution of the Anglican Church, and to proclaim the superiority of the Genevan model. Although the queen was decidedly opposed to their pretensions, which, as set forth by some of their leaders, affected her own claim to supremacy, they had a covert support amongst the most influential of her ministers. Burleigh and Walsingham, and even the favourite, Leicester, knew

* Neal's "History of the Puritans," vol. i. chap. viii.

that if the civil government became persecutors of these zealous men it would alienate its warmest supporters in the contest between Protestantism and Romanism. These were the men who were the most powerful in keeping the people from lukewarmness in the great cause for which they were fighting. But the queen and the ecclesiastical authorities were too strong for the moderate party of the Council. Archbishop Parker discountenanced the meetings of the clergy called Prophesyings. The licences for preaching were greatly restricted under his authority. Archbishop Grindal, who succeeded Parker, took a different view of what he considered the interests of the Church. He inclined to a toleration of preachings and prophesyings, and accordingly fell under the queen's displeasure. Archbishop Whitgift, who succeeded to the primacy in 1583, was determined to put down rather than conciliate the party of the Puritans. As might be expected he drove them into Non-conformity. He prohibited all preaching, reading, or catechising in private houses, if any resorted thereto not of the same family. He imperatively required from every minister of the Church a new subscription, which under previous requirements had been probably evaded. The clergy were now absolutely driven to subscribe to the point of the queen's supremacy, to that of the lawfulness of the Common Prayer and the Ordination Service, and to the Thirty-nine Articles. He appointed a new Ecclesiastical Commission, who were to examine the clergy upon twenty-four articles, of so stringent and subtle a nature that Burleigh wrote to the archbishop: "I find them so curiously penned that I think the Inquisition of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their priests." Burleigh remonstrated in vain; the archbishop, supported by some of the bishops, pursued his course. The result was, first a furious attack upon episcopacy in the pamphlets of Martin Marprelate; and then severe laws against the Puritans, which had no ultimate effect but that of fortifying their opinions, and ultimately of making their cause the rallying point of civil and religious liberty. In 1593, an Act was passed "to restrain the queen's subjects in obedience." Those who disputed the queen's ecclesiastical authority, abstained from church, or attended "any assemblies, conventicles, or meetings, under colour or pretence of any exercise of religion," were to be imprisoned unless they made a formal submission in the open church; if at the expiration of three months they did not conform they were to abjure the realm; if they refused so to do, or returned after abjuration, the penalty of death awaited them. In the same session an Act of increased severity was passed against "popish recusants." The times were changed. There was now little distinction between the non-conforming Protestant and the recusant Romanist, in the eyes of the dominant Church. The obvious and not unreasonable excuse for this course, which we now call bigotry, is that neither of the three great parties, if placed in power, would have admitted the principle of toleration. There was not for Protestant, Puritan, or Papist, any middle course between the assertion of his own principles and the destruction of those of his adversaries. Cartwright, the great leader of the Puritans, claimed absolute power for the Church he would have set up; and he exhorted his brethren to resistance and nothing but resistance: "The Lord," he says, "keep you constant, that ye yield neither to toleration, neither to any other subtle persuasions of dispensations and licences, which were to fortify their Romish

practices; but, as you fight the Lord's fight, be valiant."* And so, in this spirit of giving no quarter to those who asked none, the Ecclesiastical Commission ejected ministers; the government hanged libellers; and Penry, the supposed author of the Marprelate tracts, was hastily and cruelly executed, under the statute of 1581, for seditious words and rumours against the queen. These severities were chiefly directed against the separatists from the Church who were then denominated Brownists, and afterwards Independents. "No man of those times who really desired the advancement of true religion could look upon the odious scoffings of either party—upon the schismatic spirit which rejected union as an accursed thing, and upon the arrogant temper which thought to compel conformity by banishment and the gibbet—without feeling sorrow and humiliation that so noxious weeds had sprung up amidst the rich harvest of the Reformation. Such lovers of peace would long to address the violent of both classes in the prophetic words which the most illustrious of the defenders of the establishment, the eloquent, profound, and sensible Hooker, addressed "to those who seek the reformation of the laws and orders ecclesiastical in the Church of England:"—"Far more comfort it were for us, so small is the joy we take in these strifes, to labour under the same yoke, as men that look for the same eternal reward of their labours; to be enjoined with you in bands of indissoluble love and amity; to live as if our persons being many, our souls were but one; rather than in such dismembered sort to spend our few and wretched days in a tedious prosecuting of wearisome contentions; the end whereof, if they have not some speedy end, will be heavy, even on both sides."†

Such, then, were the relations of the Puritan party to the Church and State, and so ominous were these "wearisome contentions," when Hooker published the first four books of his great work in 1594. In their social relations these dissenters certainly did not present an amiable aspect to the rest of the community. What Hooker said of the Anabaptists was indirectly pointed at them: "Every word otherwise than severely and sadly uttered, seemed to pierce like a sword through them. If any man were pleasant, their manner was fervently with sighs to repeat those words of our Saviour Christ, 'Woe be to you which now laugh, for ye shall lament.'" It was in this temper that the Puritans made themselves obnoxious as the enemies of all innocent amusements; and, affecting "to cross the ordinary custom in every thing," equally denounced the general habits of society, however harmless or indifferent, as well as its exceptional vices. In looking at this aspect of Puritanism we may collect some distinctive traits of the social life of the latter period of the reign of Elizabeth. We believe that we should greatly err if, accepting the denunciations of the puritanic writers without qualification, we were to regard this as a period of very marked profligacy. We open "The Anatomie of Abuses" of Philip Stubbes—"a most rigid Calvinist, a bitter enemy to Popery, and a great corrector of the vices and abuses of his time."‡ This lay-preacher has no gradations in his scale of wickedness, "The horrible vice of pestiferous dancing" is as offensive to him as "the beastly vice of drunkenness;" and "new devices and devilish fashions" of apparel

* Quoted by Mr. Hallam, from Madox, "Vindication of the Church."
† Preface to "Ecclesiastical Polity," vol. i. p. 190. Oxford, ed. 1820.
‡ Antony à Wood.

are as odious in his sight as "gaming-houses, the shambles of the devil." Nevertheless, he is an honest and trustworthy observer of manners, at a time when the moralist had a wide range for observation; when he looked upon a people rather than a class—the courtier and the citizen, the artisan and the peasant. The pursuits of all members of the social state had become blended in mutual wants and dependencies. Let us follow this quaint old writer in some of his delineations of the English of the latter part of the sixteenth century—"a strong kind of people, audacious, bold, puissant, and heroical, of great magnanimity, valiancy, and prowess;" but, "notwithstanding that the Lord hath blessed that land with the knowledge of his truth above all other lands in the world, yet is there not a people more corrupt, wicked, or perverse, living upon the face of the earth."* Out of the manifest exaggerations of this declaimer we may collect many curious and unquestionable facts.

In the Epistle Dedicatory of his volumes, Stubbes says, "reformation of manners, and amendment of life, was never more needful; for was pride, the chiefest argument of this book, ever so ripe?" By "pride" we understand him to mean what is the accompaniment of every period of general prosperity—a love of luxury and of luxurious display, not confined to the superior classes, but spread by the force of the imitative principle very widely through many inferior degrees of station. "Do not," he says, "both men and women, for the most part, every one, in general, go attired in silks, velvets, damasks, satins, and what not, which are attire only for the nobility and gentry, and not for the others at any hand?" The sumptuary laws of Henry VIII. had ceased to be regarded. Those who were winning wealth by industry would no longer submit, if they ever did submit, to be told by statute what they were not to wear, according to a scale of income varying from 200*l.* a year to 5*l.*† They utterly despised the reason set forth for such arbitrary regulation—namely, to prevent "the subversion of good and politic order in knowledge and distinction of people, according to their estates, pre-eminences, dignities, and degrees."‡ A statute of Philip and Mary was directed against the wearing of silk, except by certain privileged classes. The statesmen of Elizabeth meddled little with these matters, but we find in the statute-book three laws which were intended, as we suppose, for the encouragement of home manufactures. By a statute of 1562-3, a most singular device was adopted, for preventing persons, except those of inordinate wealth, indulging too largely in the extravagance of "foreign stuff or wares" for appareling or adorning the body. If such finery was sold to any person not possessing 3000*l.* a year in lands or fees, not being paid for in ready money, the seller was debarred of any legal remedy for the recovery of the debt.§ By a statute of 1566, velvet hats or caps were prohibited to all under the degree of a knight; and by that of 1571, every person, except ladies, lords, knights, and gentlemen having twenty marks by the year in land, was to wear upon his head, on Sundays and holidays, a home-made cap of wool, very decent and comely for all states and degrees.‖ If Stubbes is to be relied upon, all states and degrees rejected the statutory notion of what was decent and comely. They wore hats "perking up like the spear or shaft of a

* Stubbes, p 4. We quote from the rare reprint, edited by Mr. Turnbull.
† 24 Hen. VIII. c. 13.
‡ *Ibid.*
§ 5 Eliz. c. 6.
‖ 13 Eliz. c. 10.

temple;"—or hats "flat and broad on the crown, like the battlements of a house;" or "round crowns" with bands of every colour. They wore hats of silk, velvet, taffety, sarsenet, wool, and of "fine hair, which they call beaver, fetched from beyond the seas, from whence a great sort of other vanities do come besides." He was of no estimation among men who had not a velvet or taffety hat; "and so common a thing it is, that every serving-man, country-man, or other, even all indifferently, do wear of these hats." With these exceptional laws, which thus appear to have been wholly inoperative, Elizabeth and her Council left the regulation of apparel to a far higher law than any parliament could enact—to the tastes of the people and their ability to gratify them. The foreign fashions were copied, and the foreign silks and velvets imported, with no restraint that had the least effect. The queen herself carried her love of costly dress almost into a mania. It was the only expenditure in which she was profuse. In her youth, said bishop Aylmer, "her maidenly apparel, which she used in king Edward's time, made the noblemen's daughters and wives to be ashamed to be dressed and painted like peacocks." Sir John Harrington has a story of a bishop, which shows how the same Elizabeth thought of such adornments at a later period of her life. "On Sunday my lord of London preached to the queen's majesty, and seemed to touch on the vanity of decking the body too finely. Her majesty told the ladies that 'if the bishop held more discourse on such matters, she would fit him for heaven, but he should walk thither without a staff, and leave his mantle behind him.'"* The ruff and the vardingale had then superseded all "maidenly apparel;" and we are now accustomed to think of Elizabeth and her ladies as they shone forth in the most gorgeous but least graceful of womanly attire. The liberty of the press, small as it was, must have been more relied upon than the liberty of the pulpit, when Philip Stubbes hurled his thunder against every article of dress with which we are familiar in the portraits of the magnificent queen. The wreaths of gold and jewels in the bolstered hair; the rings of precious stones in the pierced ears; the "great ruffs and neckerchers of holland, lawn, cambric, and such cloth, smeared and starched in the devil's 'liquor,' starch;" the gowns "of divers fashions, changing with the moon;" the fringed petticoats; the coloured kirtles—these vanities of the rich and great, had, according to this minute censor, descended to the very humble: "So far hath this canker of pride eaten into the body of the commonwealth, that every poor yeoman's daughter, and every husbandman's daughter, and every cottager's daughter, will not stick to flaunt it out in such gowns, petticoats, and kirtles, as these." Doubtless this description of the spread of luxury is greatly overdone; or we might receive it as a proof of the general diffusion of wealth. But when this godly satirist tells us of these cottagers' daughters,—"they are so impudent that, albeit their poor parents have but one cow, horse, or sheep, they will never let them rest till they be sold, to maintain them in their braveries,"—we may be certain that he is speaking "in Eroles' vein." The holiday finery of the village maiden was limited to a ribbon and a coloured nether-stock. A "queen of curds and cream," transplanted to a town, might "spend the greatest part of the day in sitting at the door, to show her braveries,"

* "Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. i. p. 170.

but on her native green she was as pure and simple as the rose in her bosom.

The pride of apparel, set forth by this anatomist of abuses, was scarcely more obtrusive in women than in men. All ranks, according to this authority, lavished their means upon the abominations of stately bands and

Costume.—Venetian, 1590 (Titian). Spanish, 1577 (Weigel). French, 1581 (Boissard.)

monstrous ruffs, upon embroidered shirts, upon slashed and laced doublets, upon French and Venetian hosen, upon knit nether-stocks (stockings), upon velvet cloaks. There never was a period in which the satirist did not affirm that the preceding generation was healthier and braver, and altogether nobler than that to which he had the misfortune to belong; and so our good old Puritan writes, "how strong men were in times past, how long they lived, and how healthful they were, before such niceness and vain pampering curiosity was invented, we may read, and many that live at this day can testify. But now, through our fond toys and nice inventions, we have brought ourselves into such pusillanimity and effeminacy of condition, as we may seem rather nice dames and wanton girls, than puissant agents or manly men, as our forefathers have been." * The year 1588 gave a practical answer to the charge of pusillanimity. The Saxon heart was as brave as ever, though it beat under an Italian doublet. Nevertheless, if there had not been some salt in society to preserve the body politic from the taint of selfishness, these and other excesses of pride might be received as symptoms of national decay. Gluttony and drunkenness are the vices of the rudest communities; but in the more general diffusion of wealth in the reign of Elizabeth, they assumed those forms of ostentatious display which are

* Stubbes, p. 44.

amongst the worst evils of social refinement. The puritan writers were not alone in their remonstrances against the luxuries of the table which marked the latter years of the sixteenth century. Stubbes compares the variety of meats and sauces, the sweet condiments, the delicate confections of his time, with the past days, when "one dish or two of good wholesome meat was thought sufficient for a man of great worship to dine withal." Thomas Nash, whom the Puritans counted amongst the wicked, enlarges on the same theme: "We must have our tables furnished like poulterers' stalls, or as though we were to victual Noah's ark again. . . . . What a coil have we, this course and that course, removing this dish higher, setting another lower, and taking away the third. A general might in less space remove his camp, than they stand disposing of their gluttony." * Excessive drinking, a vice which reached its climax in the degraded court of James I., was not wholly of native growth. The same writer says, "From gluttony in meats let me descend to superfluity in drink,—a sin that, ever since we have mixed ourselves with the Low Countries, is counted honourable; but before we knew their lingering wars was held in the highest degree of hatred that might be." † Stubbes says, "every country, city, town, village, and other places, hath abundance of ale-houses, taverns, and inns, which are so fraught with maltworms, night and day, that you would wonder to see them." There were punishments for low debauchery, such as the drunkard's cloak. Against this growing sin, which was creeping up from the peasant and the mechanic to the yeoman and the courtier, the preachers lifted up their voices in the pulpit, and not always in vain. Robert Greene, the unhappy dramatist, who died in the midst of his excesses, tells how he was stopped in his early career of riot by hearing a good man preach of future rewards and punishments; but that he could not stand up against the ridicule of his companions, who called him Puritan and Precisian, and so went again to his drinking-booth, his dice, and his bear-baiting. But we may be sure that these earnest preachers in some degree injured the good effect of their religious exhortations against real vices, by denouncing those harmless recreations which to the greater number supplied the place of grosser excitements. In resisting "the beginnings of evil" too much zeal may be as fatal as too much laxity.

The Drunkard's Cloak.

The court of Elizabeth, in which

"My grave Lord-Keeper led the brawls,"

was a dancing court. The queen danced when she was a girl, as her sister Mary also danced. In 1589, at her palace of Richmond, her "ordinary exercise" was "six or seven galliards in a morning, besides music and singing." ‡ In 1600, when she was feeble, and asked for a staff when wearied, she could still delight, at the house of sir Robert Sydney, to look upon the pleasures of the

* "Pierce Pennilesse," edited by J. P. Collier, from the original of 1592, p. 47.
† *Ibid.* p. 52.
‡ Lodge, vol. ii. p. 411.

young, "and smiled at the ladies, who in their dances often came up to the step on which the seat was fixed to make their obeisance, and so fell back into their order again." * The Puritans denounced all dancing in mixed companies of the sexes. The dancing-schools, which then abounded, were, they said, for teaching "the noble science of heathen devilry." They held that "men by themselves and women by themselves" might dance without sin, "to recreate the mind oppressed with some great toil and labour." The people, high and low, did not choose to accept this limitation of their favourite amusement; and so upon the rushes of the torch-lighted hall, having before them the noble example of sir Christopher Hatton,† the courtiers danced their grave measures and corantoes, to the airs of queen Elizabeth's

Remains of Stoke Manor-House, the seat of Sir Christopher Hatton.

"Virginal Book;" and the peasant youths and maidens, on the village green, saw the sun go down, as they tripped "the comely country-round." Puritanism thought it right to make war upon every such amusement, crying out, "Give over your occupations, you pipers, you fidlers, you minstrels, and you musicians, you drummers, you tabretters, and you fluters, and all other of that wicked brood." ‡ They held that "sweet music at the first delighteth the ears, but afterward corrupteth and depraveth the mind." In this, and in many other battles which they fought, they warred against nature, and were beaten. Music was the especial Art of the Elizabethan days. In every household there was the love of music, and in many families it was cultivated as an essential part of education. The plain tune of the church did not unfit the people for the madrigals of the fire-side—exquisite compositions, which tell us how much of the highest enjoyments of a refined taste belonged to an age which we are too apt to consider very inferior to our own in the amenities of life.

* "Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. i. p. 315. † See Gray's "Long Story." ‡ Stubbes, p. 204.

We should do the puritanic writers and preachers injustice if we did not see and point out that many of their objections to the recreations of the people were originally directed against their use on the Sunday. The Christians' first day of the week being regarded by the Romanists as a holiday, on which, after the hours of devotion, all amusements lawful in themselves were not unlawful, the more rigid Protestants determined, in their implicit reverence for the Old Testament, to adopt the strictest Judaical observance of the Sabbath, as one of the most distinguishing attributes of the Reformation. This view was injurious to the desire for conciliation which influenced the majority of the conforming clergy; who were either opposed upon principle to the application of this supposed test of a holy life, or saw the impolicy of depriving the people of the recreations which their forefathers deemed not only innocent but salutary. After the evening service, to shoot at the butts, to play at football, even to see an interlude, were not accounted unchristian occupations. Round the old manor-house, the lads and lasses of the village would have their Sunday evening games of barley-break and hand-

Barley-break.

ball, while the squire and even the parson would look on approvingly. The Puritans conscientiously believed such license to be incompatible with religious principle, and set about opposing these pursuits with an earnestness commensurate with the difficulty of their task. Cartwright, the most influential of their number, speaking of the way in which a clergyman performed the service, says—"He posteth it over as fast as he can gallop; for either he hath two places to serve, or else there are some games to be played in the afternoon." When there were daily prayers in the parish-churches, and especially at holiday-seasons, the old traditional sports and mummeries of the people were also offensive to some, though tolerated by many. Thus Puritanism came to do battle, not only against those amusements on Sundays, and at other especial times when the Church claimed serious thoughts, bu

against the amusements themselves, whenever practised. In 1585, a bishop of Lincoln, in his "Visitation Articles of Inquiry," asks, "Whether your Minister and Churchwardens have suffered any Lords of Misrule, or Summer Lords and Ladies, or any disguised person in Christmas, or at May-games, or Morris-dancers, or at any other time, to come unreverently into the churchyard, and there to dance or play any unseemly part, with scoffs, jests, wanton gestures, or ribald talk, namely, in the time of common prayer." * The popular license on these holiday occasions, amongst a people in whom the love of fun was inbred, no doubt often went beyond the bounds of decorum; and thus the stricter Protestants endeavoured to sweep away the merriments altogether. They were in due time successful—"the hobby-horse was forgot," and the "sealed quarts" at the alehouse-door remained the only attraction.

The Lord of Misrule was a great personage in town and country. He was the "master of merry disports" in royal palaces and civic halls. Learned doctors of the universities, and great benchers of the inns of court, recognised his authority. He held his ground through all the troublesome times of the Reformation up to the Civil Wars, when his mock pageantry was swept away with the realities of power that then perished. The Christmas sports and their lord would have perished, even though Prynne, with other learned Puritans, had not called upon "all pious Christians eternally to abominate them," because they were "derived from the Roman Saturnalia and Bacchanalian festivals." But in Elizabeth's days, though most of the so-called superstitious ceremonies of the ancient Church had been swept away, the people, high or low, would not readily surrender those festive observances which, although common in the times of Popery, were not necessarily connected with its spirit or its practice. Thus, in every borough, and more especially in every village, the Lord of Misrule, chosen by universal suffrage at Christmas or at Whitsuntide, headed his company of lusty mummers, in their gaudy liveries, their scarfs and laces, their legs hung with little bells; and "then march this heathen company towards the church and churchyard, their pipers piping, their drummers thundering, their stumps dancing, their bells jingling, their handkerchiefs swinging about their heads like madmen, their hobby-horses and other monsters skirmishing amongst the throng." † We laugh at these follies which the Puritans execrated; but in this license the national character may be recognised. The riot of the multitude was placed by themselves under control. The Lord of Misrule was as

The Alehouse Door.

* Quoted in "The Martin Marprelate Controversy," by the Rev. W. Maskell.
† Stubbes, p. 169.

absolute as the Parish Constable. The empire of Law was recognised by "the wild heads of the parish" in choosing their captain; and "the foolish people"

Whitsun Morris Dance.

submitted themselves for their guidance to his authority, upon the principle of order by which their more serious liberties were upheld. Amongst such a people it was useless declaiming against May-games; against Plough-Monday dances, with their "tipsy jollity;" against Church-ales, and Wakes. The old hearty spirit of hospitality might be denounced as gluttony, and the free intercourse of joyous hearts reprobated as licentiousness. If the feasts and the merry-makings had been simply vicious they could not have so long prevailed amongst a nation essentially moral. Even in the popular gatherings, which have been so emphatically described as occasions for sin, there were objects of piety and charity connected with the harmless merriment and wild excitement. Such were the Wakes and the Church-ales. The Wake was the annual feast to commemorate the dedication of the parish church. Stubbes has described the festival with less than his usual acrimony: "Every town, parish, and village, some at one time of the year, some at another,—but so that every one keep his proper day assigned, and appropriate to itself, which they call their wake-day,—useth to make great preparation for good cheer; to the which all their friends and kinsfolks, far and near, are invited." He speaks the language which the Puritans applied to every relaxation, when he asks, "wherefore should the whole town, parish, village, and country, keep one and the same day, and make such gluttonous feasts as they do?" Such

declaimers have ever confounded abuse with use. The use of Wakes was recognised at a later period, as promoting "neighbourhood and freedom, with manlike and lawful exercises." * "Neighbourhood" was that old "hearty spirit of social intercourse, constituting a practical equality between man and man, which enabled all ranks to mingle without offence and without suspicion in these public ceremonials."† The object of the Church-ale was thoroughly

Plough Monday. Dance of Bessy and the Clown.

practical; and in complete accordance with one great national characteristic—that of voluntary contributions for public objects. At the season of Whitsuntide, when the spring was calling up "a spirit of life in every thing," there was a parish feast, which the churchwardens had prepared for by an ale-brewing; and the profit that was made by filling the black-jacks of the jovial countrymen was applied to the repairs of the church. Fancy-fairs have superseded Whitsun-ales. We are a more decorous people than these our ancestors, with their exuberant merry-makings for every season—their sheep-shearing feasts, with cheese-cakes and warden-pies,—their Hock-cart at Harvest-home,—their Christmas, with the Boar's-head and the Yule-log in the great hall, the tenants sitting at their landlord's table, and the labourers and their wives and children crowding in unreproved. All these indications of a kindly spirit, not chilled by distinctions of rank, are gone. Let us strive to revive the spirit in all forms fitting our own age.

Roger Ascham maintained that "to ride comely; to run fair at the tilt or ring; to play at all weapons; to shoot fair in bow or surely in gun; to vault lustily; to run; to leap; to wrestle; to swim; to dance comely; to sing,

* Proclamation of Charles I., 1633. † "William Shakspere, a Biography."

and play of instruments cunningly; to hawk; to hunt; to play at tennis; and all pastimes generally which be joined with labour, used in open place, and in the daylight, containing either some fit exercise for war or some pleasant pastime for peace, be not only comely and decent, but also very necessary for a courtly gentleman to use." The training of the courtly gentlemen of England has, for three centuries, been according to the maxim of the wise old "Schoolmaster;" and a better training could never have been devised to

Bringing in the Yule-log at Christmas.

produce the leaders of a manly people. But the pastimes joined with labour —the vaulting, running, leaping, wrestling, swimming—were as necessary for the yeomen, the artisans, and the peasants, as for the gentlemen of England. Such training, "fit exercise for war," has won our country's battles, from Agincourt to Alma. Such training, "pleasant pastime for peace," has still done something for brotherly kindness amongst degrees of men whom fortune had too much isolated. It was this frank and rough fellowship in their field sports—their hunting, hawking, birding, fishing, otter-hunting; it was this bold rivalry in their hurling and their foot-ball, their wrestling and their single-stick, their archery, their land and water quintain, which knitted the squire and the yeoman and the ploughman—the merchant, the artificer, and the sturdy apprentice,—in a companionship which made them strong enough to defy the world in Elizabeth's heroic time. The Puritans, who, when it came to the issue whether they should be slaves or fight, fought as well as the most reckless, made the mistake of trying to put down the rude games of the people because they might lead to brawling and contention, and withdraw

them from godliness. They were wiser in their denunciations of gaming and gaming-houses, which were amongst the corruptions of the town at this period. Sir John Harrington wrote "A Treatise on Playe," in which he endeavours to purify its abuses rather than banish it from the houses of princes, and out of their dominions, as "holy and wise preachers" desired. If he were to show no indulgence to such recreations, he says, "I should

Hurling.

have all our young lords, our fair ladies, our gallant gentlemen, and the flower of all England against me." But he nevertheless draws a picture of "one that spends his whole life in play, of which there is too great choice," that sufficiently illustrates the prevailing madness: "In the morning, perhaps, at chess, and after his belly is full then at cards; and when his spirits wax dull at that, then for some exercise of his arms at dice; and being weary thereof, for a little motion of his body, to tennis; and having warmed him at that, then, to cool himself a little, play at tables;* and, being disquieted in his patience for overseeing cinque and quatre, or missing two or three foul blots, then to an interlude; and so, as one well compared it, like to a mill-horse treading always in the same steps, be ever as far from a worthy and wise man as the circle is from the centre." †

Drinking, dicing, bear-baiting, cock-fighting,—the coarsest temptations to profligacy,—were not such abominations in the eyes of the Puritans, as "stage-plays, interludes, and comedies." The aversion which the early Reformers entertained towards the Mysteries and Miracle Plays, were poured forth in fuller measure upon the plays of profane subjects, which had now become the universal amusement. The more it was said that some good example might be learned out of them, the more furious were those who

* "Tables," backgammon.

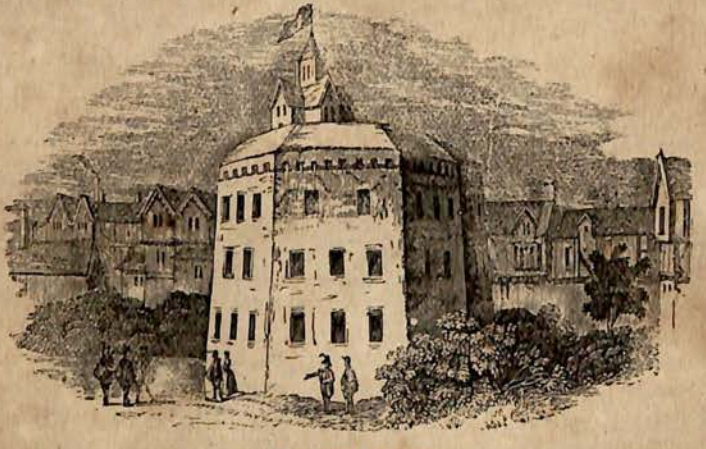
† "Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. i. p. 198.

would suppress them altogether. This was the great controversy of a century. It began when the drama was in its puling infancy; it grew more violent during its erratic youth; it ceased not when its glorious manhood had supplied the best answer to its enemies; it triumphed in that drama's licentious decline. The history of the stage is an interesting chapter of our social history, through several generations. In the latter years of the reign of Elizabeth, when the Puritans, zealous, persevering, and united, had possessed themselves of much of the municipal power of the larger cities and towns, there was frequent warfare between the civic authorities and the performers of plays. The severe moralists called them "caterpillars of the commonwealth;" the law defined them as "vagabonds." But the law, which mixed together in one common opprobrium "all fencers, bearwards, common players in interludes, minstrels, jugglers, pedlars, and petty chapmen," who wander abroad and have not licence of two justices of the peace, in what shire they shall happen to wander,*—that same law excepted the established companies of players, by making those only vagabonds who were "not belonging to any baron of this realm, or towards any other honourable person of greater degree." The number of honourable persons who gave their sanction to companies of players was sufficient to secure a sanction for dramatic performances, wherever there was a demand for such amusements. But, notwithstanding these privileges, there was frequent opposition to the acting of plays, especially in London; and thus the earl of Leicester's players, of which company James Burbage was the chief shareholder, being refused a license to perform within the walls of the city, erected a theatre in the Blackfriars, in 1576. The original theatrical performances were in the inn-yards of the city, such as the Belle-Savage. The better sort of spectators sat in the gallery which connected the inn-chambers; the larger number of the audience stood in the open yard. Gradually, hostelries were converted into theatres, and new buildings were erected for dramatic representations. They were multiplied in various parts of the town, and especially in Southwark. The company of the Lord Chamberlain, who were the queen's household servants, had two theatres —the Blackfriars and the Globe— the one for winter, the other for summer performances. Of this company Richard Burbage was the chief actor, and William Shakspere was a shareholder in 1589. This we know from a document, in which the "poor players" address lord Burleigh, affirming that they "have never given any cause of displeasure, in that they have brought into their plays matters of state and religion, unfit to

Richard Burbage.

* 14 Eliz. c. 5.

be handled by them, or presented to lewd spectators." A commission had been issued to inquire what companies of players had thus offended. This was the period of the Marprelate controversy; and the stage was made an instrument for attacking the Puritans. Nash boasted that "Vetus Comœdia had brought forth Divinity with a scratched face, holding her heart as if she were sick." Spenser has described this period of license as one of ugly barbarism and brutish ignorance, of scoffing scurrility and scornful folly; and he asks why "the man whom Nature self had made to mock herself"—"our pleasant Willy" chooses "to sit in idle cell" rather "than so himself to mockery to sell." There can be little doubt that "the gentle spirit," thus alluded to by the greatest poet of that time—a poet of enduring greatness—was Shakspere. He had, we are assured, already written two or three of his comedies, of which "unhurtful sport, delight, and laughter" were the characteristics. A grander labour was before him—the labour of preserving for all ages and all nations the influences of what has been truly called "great Eliza's golden time;" a time of free thought and heroic action, when individual prosperity had not deadened the sympathy for national greatness; when men lived for their country as much as for themselves; a time of security and comparative peace, born out of a long period of unrest. Of the great interpreter of the spirit of that age we shall have again to speak, in a brief notice of the Elizabethan Literature.



The Globe Theatre.

RICHARD CROMWELL.

ADMIRAL BLAKE.

Medal of Henry IV. of France.

CHAPTER XVII.

Henry of Navarre succeeds to the throne of France—English expeditions to aid Henry IV.—A Parliament called—Contests of the Crown and the Commons—Intrigues of Spain in Scotland—Naval expeditions—The taking of Cadiz—Parliament—Statutes regarding the Poor—Progress of Poor-Law Legislation—Poverty and Vagabondage—Labourers refusing to work at usual wages—Egyptians and pretended Egyptians—Villanies of London—Insecurity of the Suburbs—Statutes against the increase of Buildings—Almshouses—Incidental causes of Indigence—Fluctuations of Price—Sickness—Nuisances—Fires—Insufficient household accommodation—Increase of town populations—Crimes of towns—Police.

HENRY OF NAVARRE, the great champion of Protestantism, by a tragical event was suddenly placed upon the throne of France. On the 8th of August, 1589, Jacques Clement, a monk, stabbed Henry III.; and the king died of his wounds on the following day. Henry IV. became the sovereign of a troubled kingdom, reduced by long intestine conflicts to extreme weakness and misery. Henry III., when he fell under the blow of an assassin, was in arms against the great catholic confederacy known as the League; then exasperated by the murder of their leader, the duke of Guise, and of the cardinal his brother. The king was advancing against Paris with an army to put down this formidable party, and the rebellious citizens who adhered to them; when the Dominican friar fearfully revenged the crime which his monarch had perpetrated. Henry IV., on account of his religion, had to encounter the most determined opposition to his succession to the crown, although the undoubted heir. The duke of Mayence, the brother of the murdered Guises, took the command of the League. The king of Spain was ready with his most strenuous aid, to keep a protestant out of the throne of France, coveting

probably that great kingdom for himself. Elizabeth of England hesitated not to give her support to the Huguenot king, who had so long battled with the most adverse fortune. She sent him a supply of money—no large sum, it may seem in these days, being only twenty-two thousand pounds,—but Henry declared it was a larger treasure than he had ever seen. An English force, under the command of lord Willoughby, soon after landed at Dieppe; and the king was thus encouraged to continue a contest which without this timely assistance might have been hopeless. Henry, who had learnt the art of war in many a desperate struggle with the powerful enemies of the reformed religion—and had early known how to win the love of all who served him, and to gain new adherents to his cause, by his kind and generous nature, his courage and endurance—was now in a position to risk a general engagement with the enemy who, at his accession to the throne, appeared well able to destroy him. At the great battle of Ivry a gallant army followed his white plume to a complete victory. But the duke of Parma, with the forces of Spain, came to the relief of the League, and compelled Henry to raise the siege of Paris. Elizabeth again sent him succour. In April, 1591, sir John Norris landed in France with a force of three thousand men; and in July of that year, another small army, four thousand in number, under the earl of Essex, was also sent to the aid of Henry. But the duke of Parma, the most accomplished general of that time, again came to the relief of the League; and the expeditions of England had no satisfactory result.

Robert Devereux was the son of a distinguished but unfortunate nobleman, Walter, earl of Essex, who died at Dublin in 1576, "his hard estate having long ebbed even to the low water mark," as he described the issue of his ruinous attempt to subdue and colonise a district of Ulster. He committed his eldest son, Robert, who was born in 1567, to the kindness of the queen, requesting that he might be brought up in the household of lord Burleigh. The youth was sent to Trinity College, Cambridge, and with a handsome person, and many accomplishments, made his appearance at court in 1584. He was related to the queen; and the favourite, Leicester, had become his step-father by marrying Letitia, the widow of the lord Walter. Honours were showered upon him, to an extent which provoked the jealousy of older courtiers, and increased the dangerous impetuosity of his own nature. We have mentioned his participation in the attack upon Lisbon under Drake and Norris. He had displeased the queen by joining this expedition without her permission; but on his return soon regained her favour. Raleigh and Essex were each jealous of the influence of the other; and the Cecils, though they kept their feelings under subjection to their policy, could ill brook the confidence which the queen placed in one so young and so indiscreet. The petted earl claimed an almost exclusive right to the royal smiles; and having offered an insult to sir Charles Blount, to whom Elizabeth had given some mark of her approbation, a duel ensued, in which Essex was wounded. The queen upon the occasion exclaimed, "By God's death, it was fit that some one or other should take him down, and teach him better manners, otherwise there would be no rule with him." Such was Essex, at the age of twenty-four, when he was appointed to the command of the expedition sent to the aid of Henry IV. He conducted himself with his native gallantry; but made a singular display of his want of discretion, by

sending a challenge to the governor of Rouen to meet him in single combat. He had attempted the same revival of the worn-out spirit of chivalry in his Lisbon campaign. The only brother of Essex, Walter Devereux, was killed in the unsuccessful warfare of 1591.

The naval enterprises of this year had no more fortunate issue. A squadron of seven ships was sent, under the command of lord Thomas Howard, to intercept the Indian fleet on its return to Spain. But Philip was prepared; and had fitted out a force of fifty-five sail as an escort. The little English squadron fell in with this armament; and one of Howard's vessels became a Spanish prize. This was the first ship that Spain had taken from England during the war. It was commanded by sir Richard Grenville, the vice-admiral; and the memory of the unequal fight which this heroic captain sustained from three in the afternoon to day-break the next morning, long abided with the English sailor as one of his noblest examples of courage and resolution. Grenville was three times wounded during the action, in which he again and again repulsed the enemy, who constantly assailed him with fresh vessels. At length the good ship lay upon the waters like a log: Her captain proposed to blow her up rather than surrender; but the majority of the crew compelled him to yield himself a prisoner. He died in a few days, and his last words were,—"Here die I, Richard Grenville, with a joyful and quiet mind; for that I have ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, fighting for his country, queen, religion, and honour."

The mode in which the war against Spain was carried on by England made the wealth of the Indies a very insecure possession to king Philip. Rich carracks were sometimes taken and sometimes destroyed. Real treasures, such as fourteen hundred chests of quicksilver, which were found in two ships captured by a Londoner, were abstracted from the riches of the Spaniard; and the Catholic king's dealings in a commodity which he sold at great profit to his Indian subjects were also interrupted. Thomas White, the Londoner, with his valuable quicksilver, also obtained a prize, worthless in England, of two millions of papal bulls for indulgences. But this war was also costly to England; and in 1593 Elizabeth called a parliament, for she needed a subsidy. In this parliament the Act against "Popish recusants," and the Act against the Puritans, "to restrain the queen's subjects in their obedience," * were passed with little debate, but amidst manifest heart-burnings. The queen and the Commons were beginning to be at issue. Prerogative and Privilege were giving indications that the time was approaching when they would come into actual conflict. There was a temper growing up amongst the people which, if it appeared feeble when compared with the ancient feuds between the sovereign and the aristocracy, was, to some acute observers, the little cloud which foretold the coming tempest. Cecil, in 1569, complained of "the decay of obedience in civil policy, which being compared with the fearfulness and reverence of all inferior estates to their superiors in times past, will astonish any wise and considerate person, to behold the desperation of reformation." There is a remarkable passage in Sidney's "Arcadia," in which he, no doubt, seeks to indicate the popular temper of his times: "When they began to talk of their griefs, never bees made such

* See Chapter XVI. p. 244.

confused humming: the town-dwellers demanding putting down of imposts, the country fellows laying out of commons: some would have the prince keep his court in one place, some in another: all cried out to have new counsellors; but when they should think of any new, they liked them as well as any other that they could remember; especially they would have the treasure so looked unto, as that he should never need to take any more subsidies. At length they fell to direct contrarieties. For the artisans they would have corn and wine set at a lower price, and bound to be kept so still; the ploughmen, vine-labourers, and the farmers would have none of that. The countrymen demanded that every man might be free in the chief towns; that could not the burgesses like of. The peasants would have all the gentlemen destroyed; the citizens, especially such as cooks, barbers, and those other that lived most on gentlemen, would but have them reformed. And of each side were like divisions, one neighbourhood beginning to find fault with another, but no confusion was greater than of particular men's likings and dislikings: one dispraising such a one, whom another praised, and demanding such a one to be punished, whom the other would have exalted. No less ado was there about choosing him who should be their spokesman. The finer sort of burgesses, as merchants, prentices, and cloth-workers, because of their riches, disdaining the baser occupations: and they, because of their number, as much disdaining them; all they scorning the country men's ignorance, and the country men suspecting as much their cunning." This picture of a state of things from which the "regimenting" of the Plantagenets and the two first Tudors had passed away, presents a vivid notion of the keen and jealous competition of an industrious people amongst themselves; and the grudging submission which citizen and peasant now yielded to those who had once lorded it over their traditionary liberties. Out of such "contrarieties" is gradually formed that power of public opinion which no statesman can safely despise. When the chaotic elements have grown into form and substance—when there is liberty of speech and liberty of writing—representative government becomes the surest basis of social order. But in the first rough utterances of public opinion rulers only hear prophetic sounds of coming woe. Such a condition of society as Sidney has described, of which the more daring spirits in the House of Commons were the exponents, was calculated to precipitate a contest between the Crown and the people's representatives. But the strength was as yet all on one side; and Elizabeth was too sagacious to use her strength unnecessarily. There was a discontented temper amongst some members of the parliament of 1593, and the queen put it down with a haughtiness which looks like unmitigated despotism. When the Commons asked, according to ancient usage, for Liberty of Speech, the lord keeper replied, in the name of the queen, "Privilege of speech is granted, but you must know what privilege you have; not to speak every one what he listeth, or what cometh in his brain to utter that; but your privilege is, aye or no. Wherefore, Mr. Speaker, her majesty's pleasure is, that if you perceive any idle heads, which will not stick to hazard their own estates; which will meddle with reforming the Church, and transforming the Commonwealth; and do exhibit any bills to such purpose, that you receive them not, until they be viewed and considered by those who it is fitter should consider of such things, and can better judge of them." A few bold members were not

daunted by this temper; but prepared a bill for entailing the Succession to the Crown. This, of all other subjects, was the most disagreeable to the queen; and four of the members were committed to prison for this hardihood. The courage of the Puritans was not subdued by this severity, for Mr. Morice brought in a bill for correcting the abuses of the Ecclesiastical Court. The queen sent for the Speaker, who delivered a message to the House, that her majesty commanded that "no bills touching matters of state, or reformation in causes ecclesiastical, be exhibited." The same day Morice was committed to custody, and, according to some statements, was in confinement when he died in 1596. In a dignified letter to Burleigh, the persecuted Morice says, "That I am no more hardly handled, I impute, next unto God, to your honourable good-will and favour. . . . . I see no cause in my conscience to repent me of what I have done, nor to be dismayed, although grieved, by this restraint of my liberty; for I stand for the maintenance of the honour of God and of my prince, and for the preservation of public justice and the liberties of my country against wrong and oppression; being well content, at her majesty's good pleasure and commandment, (whom I beseech God long to preserve in all princely felicity,) to suffer and abide much more. But I had thought that the judges ecclesiastical, being charged in the great council of the realm to be dishonorers of God and of her majesty; perverters of law and public justice; and wrong-doers unto the liberties and freedoms of all her majesty's subjects, by their extorted oaths, wrongful imprisonments, lawless subscription and unjust absolutions; would rather have sought means to be cleared of this weighty accusation, than to shroud themselves under the suppressing of the complaint and shadow of mine imprisonment." Such men as Morice built up the constitutional freedom whose foundations were still strong, however decayed the old fabric. Upon the matter of the subsidy, the Commons met the wishes of the Crown, but with evident reluctance. Francis Bacon, then rising into importance, made a strong speech against the amount of the subsidy, and for some time lost his chance of court favour.

The contest between the Crown and the Commons, in the question of the succession, was the renewal of a controversy which had been conducted with some bitterness in 1566. There had been other occasions on which the queen resisted the freedom with which members uttered opinions which seemed to limit her prerogative. Mr. Yelverton, in 1576, said that princes were to have their prerogatives, but yet to be confined within reasonable limits; the queen could not of herself make laws, neither could she break them. In 1576, Peter Wentworth complained that the liberty of free speech had been infringed; and he went so far as to say, "none is without fault, no, not our noble queen,—but has committed great and dangerous faults to herself." The Commons themselves consigned Wentworth to the Tower; but after a month's imprisonment, the queen said she remitted her displeasure towards him. Before we join in the common cry against the despotism of Elizabeth as a personal attribute, we must bear in mind that in those days the doctrine of ministerial responsibility for every act of the Crown was utterly unknown. There was no intervening authority to break the force of a collision between the sovereign and the parliament. Elizabeth was responsible to public opinion for her public acts, and she almost invariably took these acts upon herself.

We need therefore scarcely wonder at occasional displays of temper when any member made an attack upon her administration of affairs. Mr. Hallam has truly remarked upon the conflicts between the Crown and the parliament, that "if the former often asserted the victory, the latter sometimes kept the field, and was left on the whole a gainer at the close of the campaign."* Whatever might have been the desire of the Crown to narrow the powers of parliament, its constitutional authority was universally recognised. Had the monarchy under Elizabeth been so wholly despotic as Hume, the defender of the divine right of the next race of kings, has chosen to maintain, Harrison, in 1577, would not have dared to write the following unqualified statement of the nature of parliament: "This house hath the most high and absolute power of the realm; for thereby kings and mighty princes have from time to time been deposed from their thrones; laws either enacted or abrogated; offenders of all sorts punished; and corrupted religion either disannulled or reformed. To be short, whatsoever the people of Rome did in their *centuriatis* or *tribunitiis comitiis*, the same is and may be done by authority of our parliament-house, which is the head and body of all the realm, and the place wherein every particular person is intended to be present, if not by himself, yet by his advocate or attorney. For this cause also any thing there enacted is not to be misliked, but obeyed of all men, without contradiction or grudge."†

The war of Spain against England never lost its original character of a war of religious hatred, in which the utter destruction of the Protestant queen was the great object to be kept in view. In 1593 Elizabeth was to be assailed through Scotland. Philip was conspiring with the earls of Angus, Errol, and Huntley, to send an army to operate with them in re-establishing Romanism in Scotland, and to march upon England with a united force for the same purpose. This scheme to betray Scotland to Spain, and then to subdue England, had been the policy of the Roman Catholic faction for several years. The lord-keeper, in his speech to the parliament in 1593, says, "A greater part of the nobility in Scotland be combined in this conspiracy, and they have received great sums of money for their services therein. . . . . This conspiracy the king of Scots was hardly brought to believe, but that her majesty advertised him thereof, having entertained intelligence thereof, as she hath of all things done and intended in these parts." This vigilance on the part of the English government was necessary for its own safety; for James, with the weakness and cunning of his nature, suspected Elizabeth of a design to promote discord between himself and his friends—a design which many historians take for granted in these transactions, as in every other between the governments. A writer, who is too well informed to be led away by these historical prejudices, says, with regard to this plot of the Catholic nobles, that when the truth became too apparent to the Scottish king, "to admit of denial, his childish fondness for some of the very persons who were striving to ruin him, involved his country in troubles and bloodshed, and called down upon him many an indignant remonstrance from his neighbour queen."‡ James at length took arms against the "Spaniolised rebels," and this danger was past. But Philip had in his armoury another weapon against Elizabeth. He bribed her domestic physician, Roderigo Lopez, a Portuguese Jew, to poison her,

* "Constitutional History," chap. v. † "Description of England."
‡ Bruce, Introduction to "Letters of Elizabeth and James," p. xv.

This man had been taken prisoner in one of the ships of the Armada, and his skill in medicine, according to the imperfect knowledge of that time, recommended him to the queen. He soon availed himself of his position to become a spy of the Spanish ministers. The count de Fuentes accepted the offer of Lopez to poison the queen for a reward of fifty thousand crowns; and he urged the mediciner to complete the business speedily, "that the king may have a merry Easter." Lopez had two Portuguese refugees as confederates. They were convicted, and hanged on the 7th of June, 1594. The discovery of this atrocious scheme was due to the perseverance of Essex.

In 1593 Henry IV. made a formal abjuration of those Protestant opinions for which he had so long gallantly fought. Without this concession he would probably never have succeeded in tranquillising France. But he did not, as many apostates have done, persecute the religion which he had forsaken. The edict of Nantes, by which he granted toleration to the Protestants, in 1598, may advantageously contrast with the penal laws to which the Roman Catholics of England were so long subjected. Elizabeth, although displeased at the position which Henry had taken, still continued to render him aid in his war with Spain—the common cause of each country. An English naval armament assisted him, in 1594, in taking Brest from the Spaniards. In the attack upon this fort, sir Martin Frobisher was mortally wounded. Two other of the heroes of 1588 fell victims to disease, in an expedition against the Spanish settlements in the West Indies. Sir Francis Drake and sir John Hawkins sailed in 1595, with six of the queen's ships, and twenty others, fitted out at private charge, having on board a considerable land force, commanded by sir Thomas Baskerville. They made an assault on Porto Rico; but they were repulsed. Hawkins soon after died. Drake went forward, and landed at Nombre di Dios, in the isthmus of Darien. The success which had attended his early exploits had now deserted him. The Spaniards were prepared, as at Porto Rico. The enterprise failed, and the great admiral succumbed to sickness and to disappointment. Baskerville returned home, after having fought with a Spanish fleet off Cuba, with no decisive results on either side.

The year 1596 was signalised by an expedition against Philip's European dominions. He was making preparations for another invasion of England; and the lord-high admiral, Howard, of Effingham, counselled that the blow should be anticipated by an attack upon Spain herself. Burleigh, always cautious, but more cautious in his declining years, was opposed to so costly and doubtful an enterprise. But there was a youthful counsellor with influence greater than Burleigh's, whose sentence was for the boldest warlike policy. Essex prevailed; and was appointed commander of the expedition, but somewhat restrained by a council of war. The English fleet sailed from Plymouth on the 1st of June, 1596. The harbour of Cadiz was known to be full of shipping; and after an attempt, which failed, to land at St. Sebastian's, it was determined to attack the galleys in the bay. Essex, when the council had somewhat unwillingly come to this determination, threw his hat into the sea, in the extravagance of his joy; and, though against the orders which had given the honour of leading the attack to Raleigh and lord Thomas Howard, broke through the midst of the fleet in which he had been stationed, and was soon in the heat of the action. The Spanish ships fled to

the protection of the guns at the fort of Puntal, where some were set on fire by their own crews. The English admiral refused to accept a price as the ransom of the remainder; and they were all burnt by the Spanish commander. Essex now led his men to an attack upon the town of Cadiz, which was strongly fortified. The daring of this young leader called forth the impetuous courage of his "war-proof" English. At the moment when the issue of the attack seemed doubtful, Essex threw his own standard over the wall; "giving withal a most hot assault unto the gate, where, to save the honour of their ensign, happy was he that could first leap down from the wall, and with shot and sword make way through the thickest press of the enemy." The town was taken, and given up to plunder. But Essex, departing somewhat from the brutal spirit of ancient warfare, exerted himself as strenuously to prevent slaughter as he had done in leading the attack. The town was burnt, after the unhappy inhabitants had been permitted to withdraw. It was the wish of Essex to hold Cadiz; but he was over-ruled by the council. Nor was he more successful in receiving their support for other enterprises which he proposed. The fleet returned to England, with no greater success than the large destruction which had been effected of the resources of Spain, whose loss was estimated at twenty millions of ducats. Essex wrote a "Censure" upon the conduct of the expedition, in which he blamed the lord admiral and Raleigh. His impetuous nature was calculated to draw down opposition, even in the hour of the most brilliant success. For such a feat as the capture of Cadiz he was eminently fitted; and in being restrained in carrying forward his victory some injustice was probably inflicted upon him. In our time, what Essex did at Cadiz has been described as "the most brilliant military exploit that was achieved on the Continent by English arms during the long interval which elapsed between the battle of Agincourt and that of Blenheim." *

In the following year another naval armament was fitted out against Spain. A fleet sailed from Plymouth, on the 9th of July, 1597; but was driven back by a storm, in which many of the ships were disabled and sunk. The remainder of this shattered squadron sailed again on the 17th of August. The commanders, Essex and Raleigh, had disagreements; and the only success that saved the expedition from disgrace was the profitable capture of three ships returning from the Havannah.

A new parliament was called to meet on the 24th of October, 1597, which sate till the 9th of February, 1598. In this parliament some of the most important statutes of domestic policy were passed, which require a detailed notice; illustrating, as they all do, the condition of society at that period; and some having held their places in our system of economical law, even to the present time.

When the legislators of the reign of Edward VI. had suddenly repealed their wicked and foolish Statute of Vagabondage,† they had discovered that something more effectual than severity was necessary to be applied to the large number of the population who were unable to work, who were unwilling to work, or for whom no work was provided. They saw that there was a class for whom some public provision must be appointed—a class who would not

* Macaulay, "Essays," art. "Lord Bacon."

† See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 469.

be content to starve whilst beggary or thievery offered a last resource. The nation, generally, was growing richer in the advance of profitable industry; but there was a large body who found no place in the ranks of the industrious. The feudal organisation was gone. The more healthful organisation of free labour was essentially imperfect. All the irregular modes of subsistence which belonged to the transition period, when the unreclaimed portion of the land was, to some extent, for common use, were passing away. In the towns, the organisation of trades, with their strict laws of apprenticeship and their guilds, excluded from competition with the recognised artisan all those who had not the claim of caste—for caste it was, when a workman must have been brought up to a calling, and could follow that calling and no other. The population of England at the end of the sixteenth century was probably not far short of five millions. Some of the more fortunate of the humbler classes were forcing their way into wealth; for although there was a jealous system of exclusion against a general invasion of the domain of profitable employment, the more resolute spirits, having conquered some small vantage-ground, could readily win a higher position by never-ceasing toil and thrift. One of the wits of this age who, as he says, "had spent many years in studying how to live, and lived a long time without money," looks around him and sees how some thrive whom he considers as base men: "I called to mind a cobbler that was worth five hundred pounds; an hostler that had built a goodly inn, and might dispense forty pounds yearly by his land; a carman, in a leather pilch, that had whipped a thousand pounds out of his horse tail."* The way to wealth was open to the meanest, if they could find an entrance into the road. But there was a large body who never found the way even to a bare subsistence. It was impossible to have been otherwise in a country where the local divisions that belonged to the times before the Conquest were still so rigidly preserved; and where the means of communication were still so imperfect. In such a condition of society, with the larger number of the more fortunate prospering, and a comparatively few, but still a large body, driven into vagabondage, it was necessary to do something more than enforce the old terrors of the stocks and the whip. A legal provision for the poor, supplied by the assessment of all property, was perfected at the close of Elizabeth's reign by bold and far-sighted legislation. This was the result of a series of experiments which are in themselves a conclusive indication of the gradual advance of society to a condition sufficiently stable to dispense with temporary expedients,—to build up a system which would endure through all political vicissitudes, and without which the inequalities of modern competitive life would be fatal to the security of the whole social fabric.

The tentative process by which the principle of a public contribution for the relief of the poor was first approached, is distinctly set forth in the Statute of 1551-2.† A book was to be kept for each parish, in which should be entered the names of the householders and of the impotent poor. In Whitsun week two or more persons were to be appointed as collectors of alms; and on the Sunday following, when the people are at church, "the said collectors shall gently ask and demand of every man and woman, what they of their charity will give weekly towards the relief of the poor." The sums so collected weekly were

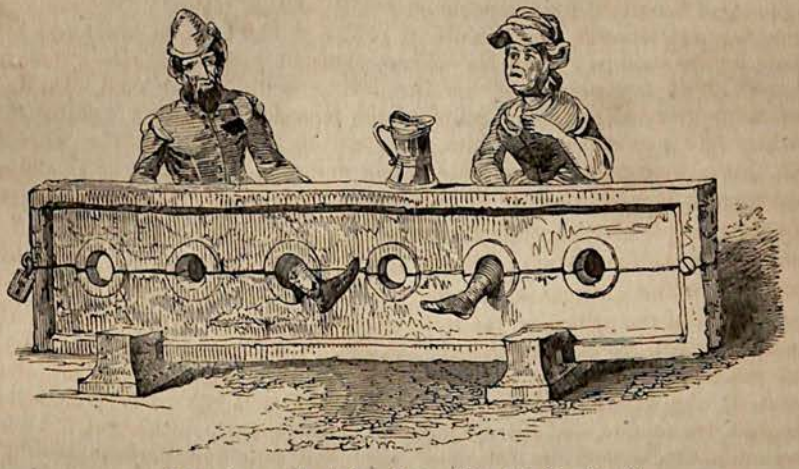
* Nash, "Pierce Pennilesse," p. 6.

† 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 2.

to be distributed by the same collectors, "after such sort that the more impotent may have the more help, and such as can get part of their living have the less; and by the discretion of the collector to be put in such labour as they be able to do." If any person, being able, refused to contribute, he was to be gently exhorted by the parson and churchwardens; and if their exhortations failed, he was to be sent for by the bishop, to be induced and persuaded to so charitable a deed. A Statute of 1555, and another of 1557, continue to provide for the impotent poor by weekly collections, the principle being held "good and beneficial for the common wealth of this realm." The same principle is maintained by the Statute of 1562-3;* but there is to be now something more stringent than the exhortations of parson, churchwardens, and bishop. "If any person of his froward or wilful mind shall obstinately refuse to give weekly to the relief of the poor according to his ability," the bishop had power to bind him to appear at the next sessions, when the justices, if he continued obstinate, might determine what sum he should pay, and commit him to prison if he persisted in his refusal. This first assertion of the principle of a compulsory assessment of property for the relief of the destitute is the foundation of the system of Poor Laws, which has endured through all the changes of three centuries. In a few years the general application of the principle was to be gradually effected by a far more perfect machinery. In 1572-3 was passed "An Act for the punishment of vagabonds, and for relief of the poor and impotent."† It repeals all previous enactments by one sweeping law, in which the old principle of severity against "rogues, vagabonds, and sturdy beggars" receives little mitigation, but which also emphatically declares that poor, aged, and impotent persons should be provided for. The justices of the peace in their several divisions are to use diligent inquiry as to all such impotent poor; to make a register of the names of those who were born within such divisions, or have been living there by alms within three preceding years; to assign them convenient places for their habitations, if the parish does not provide for them; to assess the inhabitants of such division to a weekly charge; and to appoint overseers of the poor, who shall have the power of setting to work all such diseased or impotent persons who are not wholly past labour. In this Act the system of parochial administration was not fully developed; the justices were to make the assessment. By an Act of 1575-6 a stock of wool and hemp was to be provided for setting the poor at work; and "houses of correction" were to be established.‡ The law remained in this state of transition till 1597-8, when it took the form in which it subsisted, with various slight modifications, till within the last quarter of a century. The Statute of the 39th Elizabeth provides for the appointment of overseers of the poor in every parish, who were to make a rate with the consent of the justices. This Act "approximates very closely to that passed four years afterwards (the 43rd of Elizabeth), which still continues in force, and is the foundation and ground-work of our English Poor Law."§ But the Act of the 39th Elizabeth, which makes so wise and merciful a provision for the helpless portion of the community, was accompanied by "An Act for the punishment of rogues, vagabonds, and

* 5 Eliz. c. 4. † 14 Eliz. c. 5.
‡ 18 Eliz. c. 3. § Sir G. Nicholls, "History of the English Poor-law," vol. i. p. 185.

sturdy beggars." This Act repealed all previous Statutes. It prescribed the whipping, the stocks, and the passing from parish to parish, as of old; but it empowered the justices assembled at quarter-sessions to erect houses of correction within their respective counties or cities, and to provide funds for the maintenance of the same. The houses of correction were for the employment of vagrants till they could be placed in some service; or, if infirm of body, in some alms-house. Under the laws of Henry VIII. destitution was



Man and woman in stocks. (From "Caveat for Cursitors.")

treated as a crime, and wandering poverty was to be stocked and scourged out of existence. By the law of Elizabeth the impotent poor were nurtured the sturdy mendicant was punished. The spirit of Christian charity had systematised a provision for the poor, in each parish, even while the justices, under the Act of 1572-3 had the power of assessing the district. Stubbes, writing in 1583, says, "The sabbath-day of some is well observed, namely, in hearing the word of God read, preached, and interpreted; in private and public prayers; in singing of godly psalms; in celebrating the sacraments; and in collecting for the poor and indigent."* Individual benevolence might have mitigated much suffering by its merciful zeal; but legalised benevolence, by including alike the warm-hearted and the grudging, compelled every owner of property to recognise the absolute claims of the impotent poor to a small portion in the bounty of the All-giver.

The principle of compulsory assessment was immediately productive of the parochial despotism that has always attached to any Law of Settlement, even in the mitigated form which the law has assumed in modern times. Long before "the Settlement Act" of Charles II., their own parish was the boundary within which the poor might endeavour to obtain a livelihood; beyond that circle they could not pass. That Act recited that, "by reason of some defects in the law, poor people are not restrained from going from one parish to another; and therefore do endeavour to settle themselves in those

* "Anatomy," &c., p. 154.

parishes where there is the best stock." By "the best stock" is meant the largest amount of capital; and in those parishes where there was the best stock the funds for the maintenance of labour were most readily unlocked for the labourers there established. Of course other poor people would endeavour there to settle themselves. A natural struggle took place between those who wanted to come in, and the authorities who were resolved to keep them out. The dread that under-tenants might become chargeable led to a domestic inquisition of a very tyrannous nature. At Leicester a search was made every month to discover under-tenants. At Brighton no incomer was to be allowed until the constable and churchwardens had ascertained that he was of sufficient ability not to be likely to become burthensome to the town. A new tailor comes to Lyme, and he is met by a peremptory notice of a day on which he is to depart. The jury in that place even present a man who "harboureth his wife's sister."* We may also be assured that, armed with two such laws as those of the 39th Elizabeth, the justices and overseers often confounded the class that was to be relieved with the class that was to be punished. After the passing of these Statutes, instructions were issued by the judges at the assizes for carrying out their provisions.† They are very minute; and their precise directions were no doubt useful. But the definition of "a rogue," however intelligible to those who were practically acquainted with the species, must have been liable to the harshest misconstruction. The articles thus begin:—"A rogue that saith he was born in such a town, in such a county, he ought to be sent thither." The ninth article runs thus: "No man is to be put out of the town where he dwelleth, nor to be sent to the place of birth or last dwelling, but a rogue." The third article says, "If the husband and wife have a house, and either of them *rogue* about, they must be sent to the town where that house is; and so of inmates." The verb may explain what the noun leaves doubtful. To "rogue about" was to be living from hand to mouth, even if that living was derived from occasional labour; to be without regular service under a master; to be without a settled abode and a permanent occupation. The old definition of "a rogue" is, "an idle sturdy beggar that wanders up and down from place to place without a licence."‡ One statutory definition of the class is, "Persons whole and mighty in body, but having neither land nor master, nor able to give an account of how they get their living."§ Shakspere's Autolycus is a specimen of the clever species of the genus. When the chronicler describes "a great parcel of rogues encompassing the queen's coach near Islington one evening, when she was riding abroad to take the air, which seemed to put her in some disturbance,"‖ we must not conclude that they were thieves who contemplated an attack upon the queen. They were "masterless men," some "valiant and sturdy rogues," but the greater number having no permanent occupation, and gradually swelling the army of professional beggars and robbers. The rogue, as distinguished from the mere vagabond and beggar, was perhaps more particularly comprised in the busy-idle classes which are

* See these, and numerous other instances, in Roberts's "Southern Counties," pp. 179—184.

† These articles, as addressed to the constables of Swanbourne, Bucks, are given in the "Verney Papers," published by the Camden Society, p. 88.

‡ Phillips "World of Words," 1696. § 14 Eliz. c. 5. ‖ Stow.

minutely recited in the Statute: "All persons calling themselves scholars, going about begging; all seafaring men pretending losses of their ships and goods on the sea; all idle persons going about either begging, or using any

The valiant rogue and the mendicant. (From "Caveat for Cursitors.")

subtle craft or unlawful games and plays, or feigning to have knowledge in physiognomy, palmistry, or other like crafty science, or pretending that they can tell destinies, fortunes, or such other fantastical imaginations; all fencers, bear-wards, common players and minstrels; all jugglers." But the poor itinerant tradesman came under the same definition. "Tinkers, pedlers, and petty chapmen" were consigned to the constable by this sweeping statute. Necessary as the severities might be for "all persons that wander abroad begging, pretending losses by fire or otherwise; and all persons pretending themselves to be Egyptians," there was a bitter relic of the old tyranny of capital over labour when those severities were applied to "all wandering persons and common labourers, able in body, and refusing to work for the wages commonly given." The Statute of the 5th Elizabeth, entitled "An Act touching divers orders of artificers, labourers, servants of husbandry, and apprentices," repeals all previous statutes, chiefly because the wages limited are in many instances too small, and not answerable to that time, on account of the great advancement of prices. The rates of wages were therefore to be settled annually by the justices in sessions assembled. The rate so settled, having been approved by the Privy Council, was to be proclaimed by the sheriff; and the payer and the receiver of higher wages were subjected to fine and imprisonment. The Act which declares all able-bodied labourers, wandering through their refusal to work for the wages commonly given, to be "rogues and vagabonds," and subjects them to cruel punishments, was an outrage upon the freedom of labour, which was as certain to be ineffectual as the obsolete statutes for an invariable determination of the rate of wages. The general

impulse of society towards industrial improvement was sure to free the labourers from these galling restraints, step by step, as the true principle of the common interest of employer and employed came to be better understood, and more honestly carried out.

The Statute of the 39th Elizabeth includes amongst Rogues and Vagabonds, "all persons pretending themselves to be Egyptians." The Egyptians, or Gipsies, themselves, were to be dealt with by the very summary process under the statute of Philip and Mary, by which, being declared felons, they were liable to be hanged. But the pretended Egyptians, by an early statute of Elizabeth, were also recognised as felons: "Every person which shall be seen or found in any company or fellowship of vagabonds commonly called Egyptians, or counterfeiting, transforming, or disguising themselves by their apparel, speech, or other behaviour, like unto such vagabonds, and shall continue and remain in the same by the space of one month, every such person shall be deemed and judged a felon, and suffer the pains of death." * This special Act, to meet a condition of life which we might otherwise consider most rare and exceptional, shows us that England was still a country offering facilities for existence to those who elected to go forth from the restraints of civilisation into the extremest license of vagabondage. The Robin Hood class had passed away with the Plantagenets. A lower class of denizens of the woods, with nothing heroical about them, had grown with the growth of a population amongst which the principle of competition had wholly superseded the feudal organisation. The bold spirits of the time of Elizabeth, who spurned the base mechanical arts, had many outlets of honourable employment. The wild profligate who had spent all his means had a new career opened to him, when the rovers became captains and admirals: "He will go to the sea, and tear the gold out of the Spaniards' throats." † But the most reckless of the large number to whom regular labour was misery went out of the towns and villages to the wealds and heaths; discoloured their skins; gave an oriental fashion to their ragged apparel; learnt the gipsy-dialect; and put on the gipsy-nature of cheating and pilfering. To some minds there must have been a charm in this mode of life, proscribed as it was, far beyond the mere desire of a precarious subsistence. The dramatic poets saw its sunny side; and when we read "The Beggars' Bush" of Fletcher, in which the whole aspect of vagrancy has a freshness which makes it look like an essential part of nature, we need not wonder that "pretended Egyptians" were numerous enough to have a statute to themselves. There is another Act of Elizabeth which is also an indication of an altered condition of society.‡ It sets forth that lewd and licentious persons "have, of late days, wandered up and down in all parts of the realm, under the name of soldiers and mariners, abusing the title of that honourable profession to countenance their wicked behaviour, and do continually assemble themselves, weaponed, in the highways and elsewhere, in troops, to the great terror and astonishment of her majesty" true subjects." There had been ten years of war with Spain at the time of passing this Act; and in the long interval between the military service of feudality and the standing army of modern times, troops were occasionally raised for a special warfare, such as the expedition to Cadiz; and, whether

* 5 Eliz. c. 20. † Nash. ‡ 39 Eliz. c. 17.

with pockets filled with plunder, or penniless, they were returned to their parishes, and were told, by this same statute, "to betake themselves to some lawful course of life, on pain of being reputed felons." This was hard measure, and we need not be surprised that "under the name of soldiers and mariners," some of the honourable profession were a real terror to the true men, whilst the habitual thieves and beggars became their counterfeits. In this case, as in most others where punishment was first resorted to as the cure of an evil, severity alone was found to be ineffectual; and, four years afterwards, the parishes were required by statute to pay a weekly sum, to be determined by the justices, towards the relief of sick, hurt, and maimed soldiers and mariners, having been in the queen's service. If they were found begging, after receiving such allowance, they were to forfeit all claim, and be deemed rogues and vagabonds.*

The latter period of the reign of Elizabeth was a time when the ability to read was widely extended, compared with the general education of the previous century. All readers, especially those with whom study is not habitual, want amusing reading; and there were several smart writers then ready to supply this demand. The Puritans denounced, as "invented by Belzebub," the little novels, and other "toys and bableries" which these writers produced; and the more they railed at the Greenes and Dekkers who supplied this ephemeral literature, the more their productions were purchased. These men, who lived amongst the irregular frequenters of taverns and play-houses, had a keen eye for observing the various forms of crime and imposture which presented themselves in London; and their racy descriptions of "Coney-catching," and of the more daring "Villainies," were amongst the most popular of pamphlets. We should do great injustice to the morals of the community if we were to conclude from these representations that society was then mainly composed of two classes—the rogues and the gulls. The natural attraction of the subject led to the production of such descriptions in an age before police-reports; and the amplitude of the details has induced some in recent times to assign far too large a proportion of folly and roguery to the composition of Elizabethan society. Cutpurses there were in abundance. There were gangs of thieves "under Pancras" and at "Hyde Park Corner."† Fleetwood, the recorder, is wearied out of his equanimity by the multitude of rogues for whom he has to make search. When he catches them, and the gallows is ready, gentlemen of the court can baulk justice by reprieves.‡ Within the city walls there is watch and ward, not altogether ineffectual; but the suburbs are wholly unprotected. The northern side of London and Westminster is almost wholly fields and woods; and "the ways over the country," from Finsbury-field

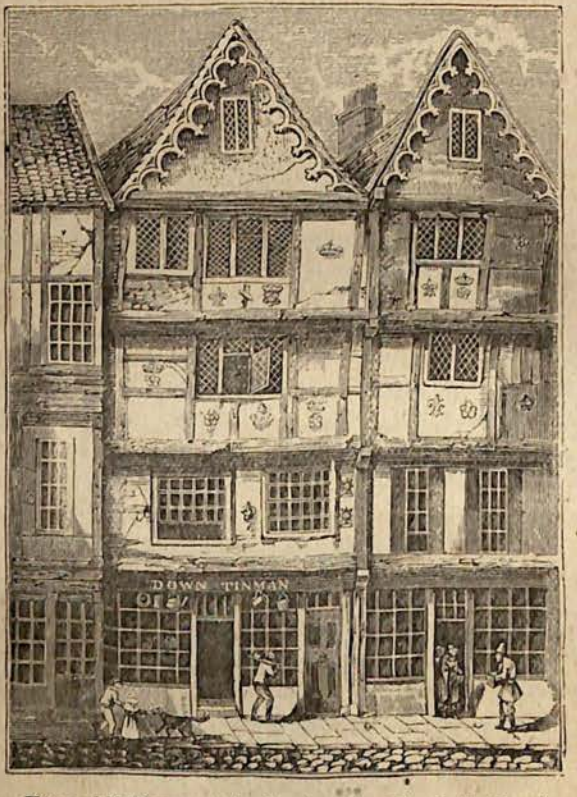
Watchman.

* 43 Eliz. c. 3.

† Norden's "Essex," Camden Society.

‡ See Ellis, First Series, vol. ii. pp. 283, 291, 299.

covered with trees and windmills, to Kilburn, with its solitary priory, surrounded by a real "St. John's Wood," are familiar to robbers by day and night. The "Marribone justice," who lives in these rural parts far away from city magistrates, is the warrant-granter of the district.* But the metropolis and its suburbs of the days of Fielding could match their robbers for numbers and audacity against those of Fleetwood. Let us not imagine that the times of Elizabeth were marked by more than usual enormities. The gallows then consumed about three hundred annual victims; but the hangmen of Henry VIII. had to operate upon two thousand in each average year. Hanging was the one remedy; and its efficacy did not begin to be much doubted till the present



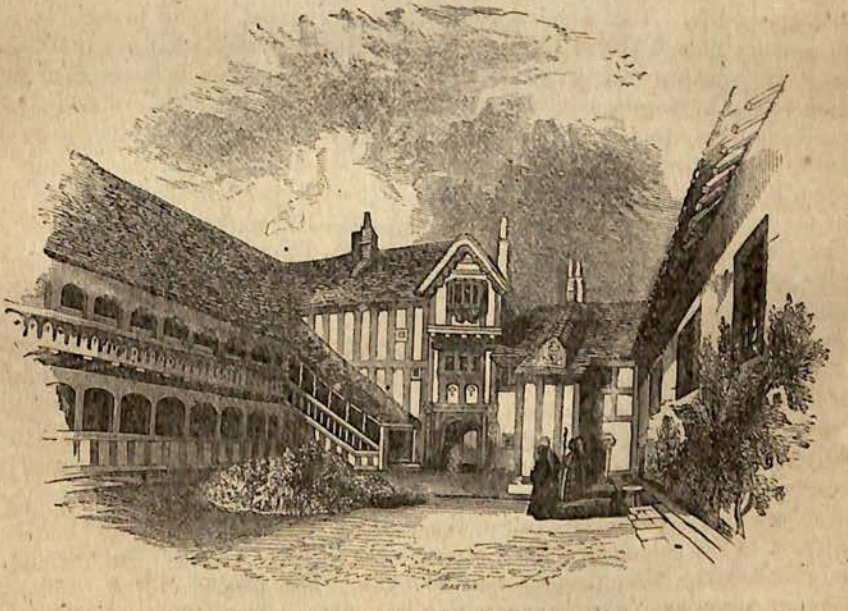
House of M. Beaumont, the French Ambassador, in the Strand.

century. The increase of London through the rapid progress of commerce, and of Westminster as the seat of government and of legal administration, constantly brought thither a large class of "valiant and sturdy rogues, masterless men, vagrants, and maimed soldiers."† Splendid houses connected the City with Westminster, some of which, in the Strand, were standing at the beginning of the present century. But a dense population was beginning to crowd into obscure alleys. In 1580 a proclamation was issued against the erection of new buildings in London.

* Jonson, "Every Man in his Humour." † Stow.

The number of beggars, it alleged, was increased; there was greater danger of fire and of the plague; the old open spaces for walking and for sports were enclosed; the trouble of governing so great a multitude was become too great. By a statute of 1593 it was provided that no new buildings should be erected in London and Westminster, or within three miles, unless they were fit for the habitation of persons assessed at 5*l.* in goods or 3*l.* in land. Houses were not to be converted into separate dwellings. By the increase of buildings, it is said, "great infection of sickness, and dearth of victuals and fuel, hath grown and ensued, and many idle, vagrant, and wicked persons have harboured there." In 1602, the Act had been so ineffectual, that a proclamation was issued for pulling down newly-built houses. "Little was done," says Stow, "and small effect followed." The increase of the poorer classes was sought to be prevented in the country districts upon the same principle. By a statute of 1589, no cottage was to be erected, unless four acres of land were perpetually annexed to the holding; and one family only was to occupy the tenement. The system might be a temporary expedient; but long experience, and in the case of Ireland bitter adversity, have shown how incompatible is the principle of small holdings of land with the proper cultivation of the country, and the inevitable increase of population as a generation succeeds that must be driven forth into irregular means of subsistence.

It was in the merciful spirit which produced the Act for the relief of the Poor of the 39th Elizabeth, that, in the same year, the Legislature placed the endowment of hospitals, or alms-houses, upon a new footing. By a special



Leicester's Hospital, Warwick.

Act of Parliament the earl of Leicester had been enabled to found his hospital at Warwick,—an institution which still remains to make the observer doubt whether the favourite of the great queen was altogether so bad a man

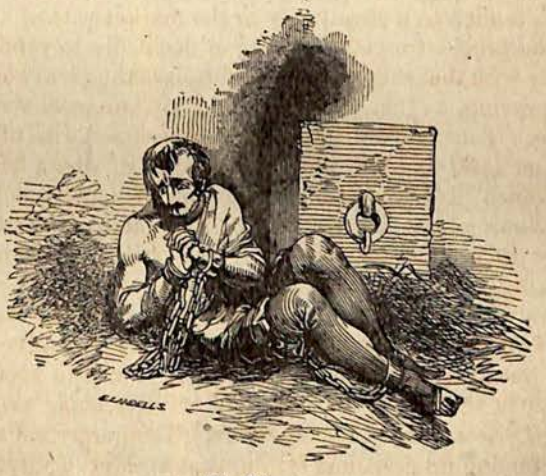
as historians have chosen to represent. Other hospitals had been founded by special license under the Great Seal. By this Act any person might, within twenty years, found and establish, with an adequate provision of land, "hospitals, maisons de Dieu, abiding-places, or houses of correction, as well for the sustentation and relief of the maimed poor, needy, or impotent people, as to set the poor to work; and from time to time place therein such head and members, and such number of poor, as to him shall seem convenient." * By an Act of the 21st James I., this statute was made perpetual. Such foundations, which are numerous throughout the land, are enduring monuments of the kindly spirit of our ancestors; and others have been established in the same spirit by associations in modern times. The purposes of many of the old endowments have been abused; their funds have been misapplied; but the value of such institutions has been universally felt as decent retreats for the unprosperous—resting-places, before the final resting-place, where poverty may exist without degradation.

As early as 1563 the Legislature had declared that the Statutes for the regulation of Wages could not be enforced, on account of the advancement of prices. The unnatural advances that had been produced by the depreciation of the currency, in previous reigns, had been wisely remedied in 1560 by reducing the coin of the realm to a just standard.† But there were causes in operation which tended to a steady rise in the market-rate of all commodities. The influx of the precious metals had begun decidedly to produce this effect; and concurrently with that increase the condition of the great body of the people was greatly improving, so that there was a more universal demand for every necessary of life. This demand produced a consequent rise of price. In the half century from 1550 to 1599, the average price of wheat had risen 100 per cent. This advance of prices is no indication of a more impoverished condition of the labourers, but the contrary. The increase of the market rate gave an impulse to production; and the cultivation of the land necessarily went on improving. But the improvements were too slow,—the amount of agricultural produce too entirely dependent upon good or bad seasons,—so that the utmost misery was occasionally produced by excessive fluctuations in price. Wheat was at a famine price in 1573, in 1586 and 1587, in 1596; the price per quarter in those terrible seasons of scarcity being as high, or higher, than the average prices of the present times. Temporary relief was given, in some places, by buying up corn, and selling it at a reduced rate. The necessity in the summer of 1587 was so extreme, that some foreign hulks, belonging to the subjects of a friendly power, were seized by English vessels, and brought into Weymouth, being laden with corn and provisions for Spain. The Council held that they might be compelled to sell their corn; but wisely did not attempt to enforce such a violation of commercial freedom. The mayor of Weymouth had hoped that a compulsory sale of these stores would relieve the distresses of that part of the country.‡ Such fluctuations of price were amongst the most bitter inflictions that poverty had to bear. The plague was a necessary attendant upon any dearth approaching to famine. The general health of the people was habitually inferior to the sanitory condition of our own days.

* 39 Eliz. c. 5. † See *ante*, p. 130.

‡ Roberts's "Southern Counties," p. 212.

Medical knowledge was to a great extent empirical. The universal system of blood-letting twice a year was likely to produce more maladies than it averted. Those who lived in detached cottages and small villages were subject to fevers, from the ill-drained lands by which they were surrounded. Those who lived in towns had to endure the pestilent nuisances of the streets, which no magisterial power could keep clean. The scarcity of fuel made the mud-built cottages, in which chimneys were still rare, miserably cold in winter. The thatched cottages of the towns were often on fire; and the rapid destruction of whole streets produced the greatest misery, when the protection of fire insurance was unknown. Such were some of the many causes that reduced the poor to helpless indigence, and which sometimes prostrated even the comparatively wealthy. It was a state of society in which a merciful provision for the relief of the poor was one of the great exigencies of the time. The old laws which equally consigned crime and misery to the fetter and the whip had happily died out.



The Prisoner.

Robert Cecil, afterwards Earl of Salisbury.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Death of lord Burleigh—Death of Philip II.—Condition of Ireland—Rebellion of Tyrone—Essex appointed Lord-lieutenant of Ireland—His bootless campaign—Essex suddenly returns to England—He is committed to free custody, and then suspended from his offices—His discontent, and schemes for redress—Armed assembly at Essex-House—Attempt at insurrection—Essex and Southampton tried for high-treason—Conduct of Bacon on that trial—Essex executed—Scotland—The Gowrie conspiracy—The last parliament of Elizabeth—Debates on a subsidy—Bill for abating monopolies—The queen's wisdom in yielding to public opinion—Death of Elizabeth—Note on the story of Essex's ring.

In August, 1598, died William Cecil, lord Burleigh, the faithful counsellor of Elizabeth for forty years. He was the acknowledged head, by character as well as by office, of that illustrious band, whom Mr. Macaulay terms "the first generation of statesmen by profession that England produced." His consummate prudence, his large experience, his perfect adaptation to the nature of his royal mistress, made his long tenure of power almost as much a political necessity as the security of the throne itself. In his last illness Elizabeth sent him a cordial, saying "that she did entreat Heaven for his longer life; else would her people, nay herself, stand in need of cordials too."* Months after his death, it was written of the queen that her highness "doth often speak of him in tears, and turn aside when he is discoursed of."† Burleigh, like Elizabeth herself, had a deep and abiding sense of responsibility. Walsingham, seeing him come in from prayers, wished he were as good a servant of God as the lord treasurer, "but that he had not been at church for a week past." The reply of Burleigh is worthy to be held in remembrance:

* Harrington, "Nugæ Antiquæ," p. 237.

† *Ibid.*, p. 244.

"I hold it meet for us to ask God's grace to keep *us* sound at heart who have so much in our power; and to direct us to the well-doing of all the people, whom it is easy for us to injure and ruin." * Cecil, Walsingham, Smith, Mildmay, Nicholas Bacon, were themselves of the people. They were English gentlemen—the best depositaries of political power that our country has produced; with broader views for the common welfare than the views of the intriguing churchmen, and of the ambitious nobles, who had the chief direction of affairs before the days of Elizabeth. When Burleigh died there was a struggle for

North Front of Burleigh House.

ascendancy between two court factions, which had a tragical ending, and made the last days of the queen's life dark and dreary.

Within a month of the decease of Burleigh died Philip II. Henry IV. had concluded a separate peace with Spain; for which act, though probably one of imperious necessity, Elizabeth called him "an antichrist of ingratitude." But the two sovereigns had a respect, each for the other; and there was no permanent ill-will between England and France. The death of Philip, however, caused no abatement of the hostility between the Protestant queen and the Most Catholic king. In 1599 Spain again threatened invasion; and extensive preparations for resistance were made with the usual alacrity. The weak place of Elizabeth's dominions was Ireland. The intrigues of Jesuits, who

* Harrington, "Nugæ Antiquæ," p. 174.

were always scheming and negotiating with the Spanish ministers to obtain money and men for the restoration of the Roman Catholic religion in England, might be detected and defeated by ordinary prudence; but Ireland, with its rude native population, under the control of the Romish priesthood, and with the ancient families of their Anglo-Irish oppressors, haters of Protestantism, was a perpetual trouble to the English government. Ireland yielded no revenue to England; she absorbed a large annual amount of the queen's treasure for her defence. Since the time of Henry VIII., Ireland, without having been wholly neglected, had not been governed with the same vigour that characterised the general administration of Elizabeth. Sir Henry Sidney was engaged for eleven years in keeping down the animosities of the Desmonds and the Ormonds; in repressing insurrections and rebellions; in doing a little, but only a little, for the general civilisation of the people. Lord Gray succeeded Sidney, and had the same chronic difficulties to contend with. The attempt of the elder lord Essex to colonise some forfeited lands was a ruinous failure. Spenser, who made his few years' residence on the banks of the Mulla famous, had his house burned over his head, and his child slaughtered. The neglect and misrule of previous centuries was visited upon those who, in the second half of the sixteenth century, desired "to turn so goodly and commodious a soil to good uses," by "reducing that nation to better government and civility." * So Spenser felt when he prophetically wrote, "whether it proceed from the very genius of the soil, or influence of the stars; or, that Almighty God hath not yet appointed the time for her reformation; or, that he reserveth her in this unquiet state still, for some secret scourge, which shall by her come unto England,—it is hard to be known but yet much to be feared." The poet, with the practical wisdom of a statesman, saw that the greatest evils of Ireland were social evils; and that her state would never be otherwise than unquiet until these were in some degree remedied. They were so difficult to be remedied that Spenser says that he had often heard it wished,—"even by some whose great wisdom in opinion should seem to judge more soundly of so weighty a consideration—that all that land were a sea-pool." It was Walsingham who uttered that wish. He could dive into plots with a sagacity that beat the Jesuits at their own weapons; but he could not comprehend the height and breadth and depth of the troubles of Ireland; or, comprehending them, could not see any instant remedy. The footing of the English was still confined to the Pale.† Beyond that narrow region there was barbarism. But where the quiet cultivator took the place of the gallow glass and kerne, there grew up a system even worse than that of the outlaw, whose boast was that he "did never eat his meat before he had won it with his sword." It was the foolish oppression of the landlords, who "there use most shamefully to rack their tenants;" it was the inconstancy of the tenant, who "daily looketh after change and alteration, and hovereth in expectation of new worlds,"—that kept Ireland miserable, rebellious, the scourge of England, for three centuries. It was no political evil—it was not even religious differences—that made the description which Spenser gives of the Irish cabin in 1593, the true picture of the same cabin two hundred and fifty years after;—"rather swine-sties than houses"—these dwellings of abject

* Spenser, "View of the State of Ireland."

† See *ante*, vol. ii. p. 386.

poverty being the chiefest cause of the poor cultivator's "beastly manner of life and savage condition, lying and living with his beast, in one house, in one room, in one bed, that is, clean straw, or rather a foul dunghill." The mode in which this accurate observer speaks of the tenure of land in Ireland implies that a wholly contrary practice prevailed in England; and we may thence

have one solution of the different rate of industrial progress in the two countries. "There is one general inconvenience, which reigneth almost throughout all Ireland,—that is, the lords of land and freeholders do not there use to set out their land in farm, or for term of years to their tenants, but only from year to year, and some during pleasure; neither indeed will the Irish tenant or husbandman otherwise take his land than so long as he list himself." The natural bonds of mutual interest between landlord and tenant thus hanging loose, there could be no growth of capital, and no improved cultivation: a wretched Cottier tenantry, worn to the bone by exactions, increased in numbers and in poverty generation after generation; till at length the great collapse came, and the merciful severity of God's providence solved the problem which man's wisdom could never wholly fathom.

The first remedy for the evils of Ireland at the end of the sixteenth century was to put down rebellion with a sufficient force. Hugh O'Neale, earl of Tyrone, had been for some time in insurrection against the English government. He had received arms and military stores from Spain; he was the leader of all who, according to Spenser, were "waiting when the watch-word should come that they should all arise generally into rebellion." As yet he had met with no adequate resistance. Sir John Norris, with the few thousand men that the English government maintained, was unable to make head against an enemy whose defeat only drove his wild companies to the woods and morasses, again to sally forth in new strength. Norris died of fatigue and vexation in this troublesome warfare. Another commander, Sir Henry Bagnal, was defeated with great loss, and himself killed, in an attempt to

relieve the fortress of Blackwater, which was besieged by Tyrone's men. It became necessary to make some great effort, if Ireland were to remain to the English crown.

The determination to employ Essex in subduing the Irish rebels was unfortunate for Elizabeth's government, and more unfortunate for himself. He was a chivalrous soldier, fit for daring exploits, but unqualified for conducting a war requiring not only bravery and decision, but that foresight and faculty of organisation which are rarely united with an ardent temperament. He was a courtier, but not a statesman; and as a courtier he was rash and obstinate to a degree. Friends and foes alike predicted his fall. He differed in council with the queen, and then insolently turned his back upon her. The thin jewelled hand of Elizabeth was raised in uncontrollable anger, and she boxed his ear as a mother would a petted child. The earl put his hand upon his sword, and swore that he would not have borne such an affront from Henry VIII. For months he sulked and kept away from court. At length, probably to remove him without disgrace, he was appointed to the lord lieutenancy of Ireland, with higher powers than had ever before been granted to that great office. At the end of March, 1599, he left London for Dublin, surrounded by a train of nobles and knights, and greeted by the acclamations of the people, with whom he was an especial object of regard. There were those who said that the high trust bestowed upon Essex would be fatal to him. Bacon, his friend, and probably then a sincere friend, endeavoured to dissuade him from accepting the dangerous appointment; and afterwards declared that he plainly saw his overthrow, "chained as it were by destiny to that journey." Stow, describing the march of Essex from the city, amidst the blessings of the multitude, says, "When he and his company came forth of London, the sky was very calm and clear; but before he could get past Islington, there arose a great black cloud in the north-east, and suddenly came lightning and thunder, with a great shower of hail and rain, the which some held as an ominous prodigy." The superstition, which saw a presage of danger in the great black cloud in the midst of sunshine, was the natural reflection of the judgment of those who anticipated evil from the too confident deportment of Essex. He swore that "he would beat Tyr-Owen in the field, for nothing worthy her majesty's honour hath yet been achieved." * He underrated the services of all who had preceded him, and the policy they had pursued, of endeavouring to conciliate the Irish malcontents, rather than extirpate them. He was to return from Ireland,

"Bringing rebellion broached on his sword."

He came back in six months, without having accomplished a single object that his predecessors in the government had not more completely effected with a far inferior force. He was entirely ignorant of the difficulties of the enterprise. Raleigh, who knew the country and the people, shrank from the command. Essex maintained that a man of the highest rank, a man popular with soldiers, a man of military experience, should be the queen's vicegerent. He pointed to himself; and his rivals, Robert Cecil and Raleigh, suffered

* Harrington, p. 246.

him to fall into the toils. He had a force of sixteen thousand men when he marched out of Dublin on the 10th of May. From some extraordinary vacillation, produced, it is said, by interested advisers in the Irish Council, instead of leading his force against Tyrone, he made a progress of seven weeks through Munster; now and then skirmishing with small parties of rebels, and displaying his superfluous energy, "flying like lightning from one part of the army to another;" and having his love of popularity abundantly gratified by his reception in the towns. At Kilkenny the streets were strewed with rushes. At Limerick, "where he arrived by easy journeys," he was "entertained with two English orations." At Waterford he "was received with two Latin orations, and with as much joyful concourse of people as any other town of Ireland." He had marched to Waterford; and he marched back to Dublin by another route, having obtained some useless triumphs over small bodies of rebels, and wasted his army without the least beneficial result. Essex remained at Dublin from the 3rd of July till the 28th of August, and then set forth into Ulster to do battle with Tyrone. After a skirmish, the queen's army and the rebel's army were in sight of each other; and Tyrone sent a message that he desired her majesty's mercy, and asked that the lord lieutenant would hear him. He proposed to meet Essex at the ford of Bellachinche. "Upon this message his lordship sent two gentlemen with H. Hagan to the ford, to view the place. They found Tyrone there, but the water so far out as they told him they thought it no fit place to speak in. Whereupon he grew very impatient, and said, 'Then I shall despair ever to speak with him;' and at last, knowing the ford, found a place, where he, standing up to the horse's belly, might be near enough to be heard by the lord lieutenant, though he kept the hard ground; upon which notice the lord lieutenant drew a troop of horse to the hill above the ford, and seeing Tyrone there alone, went down alone: at whose coming Tyrone saluted his lordship with a great deal of reverence, and they talked near half an hour, and after went either of them up to their companies on the hills."* There was a second conference, when others on each side were present; and the result was an armistice for six weeks. "This being concluded," says Harrington, "on the 8th of September, on the 9th the lord lieutenant dispersed his army." Tyrone retired with his forces. On the 17th of September Elizabeth wrote a letter to Essex, disapproving of his proceedings in the strongest terms. The impetuous nature of the man would not endure this reproof. He saw, and perhaps justly, that his rivals in Elizabeth's court were working his downfall; and, in a blind confidence in the queen's favour, he took the fatal resolution of leaving his command in Ireland. There is a graphic narrative by a contemporary of his arrival in England. On the 28th of September, "about ten o'clock in the morning, my lord of Essex lighted at the court-gate in post, and made all haste up to the presence, and so to the privy chamber, and stayed not till he came to the queen's bed-chamber, where he found the queen newly up, with her hair about her face: he kneeled unto her, kissed her hands, and had some private speech with her, which seemed to give him great contentment; for when he came from her majesty, he was very pleasant, and thanked God, though he had suffered

* Harrington's "Report concerning the Earl of Essex's Journeys in Ireland," p. 299.

much trouble and storms abroad, he found a sweet calm at home. 'Tis much wondered at here that he went so boldly to her majesty's presence, she not being ready, and he so full of dirt and mire, that his very face was full of it. About eleven he went up to the queen again, and conferred with her till half an hour past twelve. As yet all was well, and her usage very gracious towards him. He was visited frankly by all sorts here of lords and ladies, and gentlemen; only strangeness is observed between him and Mr. Secretary, and that party. After dinner he went up to the queen, but found her much changed in that small time, for she began to call him to question for his return, and was not satisfied in the manner of his coming away, and leaving all things at so great hazard. She appointed the lords to hear him, and so they went to council in the afternoon, and he went with them, where they sat an hour, but nothing was determined on, or yet known: belike it is referred to a full council, for all the lords are sent for to be here this day. It is mistrusted that for his disobedience he shall be committed." *

The personal affection of the queen for Essex was, as in the instances of other favourites, under subjection to what she held as her public duty. We have avoided, and shall still avoid, those passages of the scandalous chronicles of the reign of this queen, which may add to the interest of a novel, but have little to do with the sober narratives of history. The passions of Elizabeth—if we may apply the term passions to her feminine weaknesses—never turned her aside from an impartial decision upon the political faults of those who appear to have had the largest share of her private regard. These favourites, it must be observed, were always men of great ability and rare accomplishments. They were no low adventurers or fierce desperadoes, such as other female sovereigns have honoured. Leicester, Hatton, Raleigh, Essex, were men that brought no disgrace upon the court; though the queen's relation to them might be so equivocal that historians have chosen to doubt whether, in youth or age,

> "the imperial votaress passed on,
> In maiden meditation, fancy-free."

The adulation which her flatterers, and even Raleigh, heaped upon her was in the exaggerated style of the euphuistic romance of the time; and, however we may smile at the vanity with which a gray and wrinkled woman received these compliments with approving delight, we must not forget that when she went from the presence chamber to the council-board, the wisest who sat there, the most patriotic, could not excel Elizabeth in sagacity, or show a deeper solicitude for the honour and prosperity of her country. We can forgive every personal folly to the ruler who felt that she held her power as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people. There were many despotic practices recognised as lawful in that period, and the queen had enough of the arbitrary notions of the Tudors in her composition. She required obedience; but she knew what conduct ensured the heartiest and most constant obedience. Harrington has a domestic anecdote which illustrates this principle of Elizabeth's conduct as well as her set orations: "The queen did once ask my wife in merry sort, 'how she kept my good will and love, which I did always maintain to be truly good towards her and my children.' My

* Letter of Rowland White, in the "Sidney Papers."

Mall, in wise and discreet manner, told her highness, 'she had confidence in her husband's understanding and courage, well founded on her own stedfastness not to offend or thwart, but to cherish and obey; hereby did she persuade her husband of her own affection, and in so doing did command his.'—'Go to, go to, mistress,' saith the queen, 'you are wisely bent I find: after such sort do I keep the good will of all my husbands, my good people; for if they did not rest assured of some special love toward them, they would not readily yield me such good obedience." We may understand, as Essex did not understand, why his public delinquencies would not escape the displeasure of the queen through her private regard. In the morning of the 28th of September he thought he had escaped from the dangers of his Irish career. In the evening he was commanded to keep his chamber. On the next day he was examined before the Council, and, instead of being restored to favour, was commanded from court, and committed to the "free custody" of the lord keeper, and was afterwards under the same restricted liberty at his own house. This condition, so irritating to one of the temperament of Essex, was followed by more decided humiliation. His deportment was penitential; he addressed the queen in letters of the deepest contrition. But the affairs of Ireland had grown worse; Tyrone was again in rebellion. Another lord deputy was sent, and Blount, lord Mountjoy, although without military experience, soon restored obedience to the English authority by his energy and prudence. The contrast was injurious to Essex, and gave new opportunities to his rivals. He was again examined before commissioners; and received the severest censure in being suspended from his offices of privy counsellor, of lord marshal, and of master of the ordnance. He was released from custody in August, but was still commanded not to appear at court. A valuable monopoly of sweet wines which he held having expired, the queen refused to renew the patent, saying "that in order to manage an ungovernable beast, he must be stinted of his provender." Under these indignities the mind of Essex lost all balance. Harrington relates his demeanour in his last conversation with him, before the outbreak which sealed his fate: "It resteth with me in opinion, that ambition thwarted in its career doth speedily lead on to madness. Herein I am strengthened by what I learn in my lord of Essex, who shifteth from sorrow and repentance to rage and rebellion so suddenly, as well proveth him devoid of good reason or right mind. In my last discourse, he uttered strange words bordering on such strange designs, that made me hasten forth and leave his presence. Thank Heaven! I am safe at home, and if I go in such troubles again, I deserve the gallows for a meddling fool. His speeches of the queen becometh no man who hath *mens sana in corpore sano*. He hath ill advisers, and much evil hath sprung from this source. The queen well knoweth how to humble the haughty spirit; the haughty spirit knoweth not how to yield; and the man's soul seemeth tossed to and fro, like the waves of a troubled sea."*

It is difficult to understand what method there was in the madness of Essex. It is still more difficult to understand how other men, not having the same excitement of jealousy and revenge which drove the humiliated favourite to acts of treason, should have joined in his wild projects. There can be no

* "Nugæ Antiquæ," p. 179.

doubt that he contemplated removing the queen's advisers by force; believing them to be, as they to a great extent were, his personal enemies. Cecil, Raleigh, and Cobham were held by him to be the chief obstacles to his restoration to favour. But there were circumstances which rendered his attempt not altogether hopeless. The queen was now sixty-eight years of age; and although she had shown no signs of a failure of intellectual vigour, the people were naturally looking forward to a successor. James VI. of Scotland was intriguing in various quarters to procure his official recognition as the future king of England; but upon this point Elizabeth was unapproachable. The wary Cecil was in secret correspondence with James; but the incautious Essex had not scrupled to contemplate the possibility of compelling the government into such recognition; and had even proposed to Mountjoy, the lord deputy of Ireland, to bring over a body of troops for that purpose. His own plans to the same end during his tardy prosecution of the Irish war were more than suspected. There was great discontent amongst the opposing classes of Papists and Puritans, naturally excited by the penalties to which each was subjected as recusants or non-conformists. Essex, whether conscientiously or politically, professed sentiments of toleration. The citizens of London were greatly inclined to the Puritan opinions; and Essex had his house open to preachers of that denomination. The more fanatical Romanists, in which number were included several of those who were afterwards prominent in the Gunpowder Plot, did not scruple to ally themselves with those of the extreme opposite opinions, in any scheme for the overthrow of the government. Essex surrounded himself with a number of those who had been his companions in arms; but he placed a greater reliance upon his popularity with the Londoners. Extraordinary pains were taken to familiarise the people with that great story of English history which told how a corrupt and imbecile king had been hurled from his throne. Elizabeth was apprehensive of the effect of the example thus made prominent of the deposition of Richard II.; and when, during the period in which Essex was secluded from court, Hayward dedicated his life of Henry IV to the earl, she asked Bacon whether he did not see treason in it? She persisted in her notion in spite of Bacon's witty answer, that he "saw no treason, but very much felony, for every second sentence was stolen from Tacitus." The queen was perhaps right as to the possible effect of the popular knowledge of this passage of our annals. At any rate those who were concerned in the schemes of Essex fancied that the bringing forward upon the stage the deposition of a king might familiarise the people with an idea that had long passed out of the English mind, as to the responsibility of sovereign power. Sir Gilly Meyrick, an officer of the household of Essex, on the afternoon of February 1, "procured the out-dated tragedy of 'The Deposition of Richard II.' to be publicly acted at his own charge." * The overt act of treason in which Essex and his adherents were involved took place on the 8th of February. Six months after this event, Elizabeth, in a conversation with Lambarde, keeper of the records in the Tower, in examining a list of historical documents, "her majesty fell upon the reign of Richard II., saying 'I am Richard II.; know ye not that?'" In this

* There are reasonable doubts whether this play was Shakspere's "Richard II." See "Studies of Shakspere," by Charles Knight.

conversation the queen also said, "This tragedy was played forty times in open streets and houses."*

On Sunday morning, the 8th of February, the earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Sandys and Monteagle, with about three hundred gentlemen, assembled at Essex House, in the Strand. Essex had sent round to say that his life was threatened by Raleigh and Cobham. The queen was apprised of this remarkable gathering, and she despatched the lord keeper, the comptroller of the household, the lord chief justice, and the earl of Worcester to demand the cause of this assembly. They were admitted by the wicket, without their servants, and found the court full of men. The lord keeper declared their errand, to which Essex replied that his life was sought, and that he had been perfidiously dealt with. These great officers assured him that he should have honourable and equal justice. The evidence given by the lord chief justice upon the trial of Essex describes this scene very strikingly. After this conversation, "There was a great clamour raised among the multitude, crying 'Away, my lord, they abuse you, they betray you, they undo you, you lose time.' Whereupon the lord keeper put on his hat, and said with a loud voice, 'My lord, let us speak with you privately, and understand your griefs;' and then he said to the company, 'I command you all, upon your allegiance, to lay down your weapons and to depart, which you ought all to do, being thus commanded, if you be good subjects and owe that duty to the queen's majesty which you profess.' Whereupon they all broke out into an exceeding loud shout, crying, 'All, all, all.' And whilst the lord keeper was speaking, the earl of Essex and most of the company put on their hats. Then the earl of Essex went into the house, and we followed him, thinking that his purpose had been to speak with us privately as we had required; and at that instant one at my back cried, 'Kill them, kill them.' I know him not, if I should see him again, but he had on a white satin doublet. And as we were going into the great chamber some cried 'Cast the great seal out of the window;' some others cried there, 'Kill them,' and some others said, 'Nay, let us shut them up.' The lord keeper did often call to the earl of Essex to speak with us privately, thinking still that his meaning had been so, until the earl brought us into his back chamber, and there gave order to have the farther door of that chamber shut fast. And at his going forth out of that chamber, the lord keeper pressing again to have spoken with the earl of Essex, the earl said, 'My lords, be patient awhile and stay here, and I will go into London and take order with the mayor and sheriffs for the city, and will be here again within this half hour.'"

When Essex left the lord keeper and the others in custody, he drew his sword, and rushed out of his house, followed by a large number of his adherents, and he shouted, "For the queen, for the queen, a plot is laid for my life." The people, as he rode at the head of his company, either did not comprehend his object, or were unwilling to assist him; for though they were provided with arms, and trained, as they always were during any apprehension of foreign invasion, not a sword or a musket was brought forth to give him assistance. Camden shrewdly says, "Though the citizens were, accord-

* Nicholls' "Progresses of Queen Elizabeth."

ing to the temper of the common people, desirous enough of change, yet their wealth made them cautious and loyal. And, to say the truth, poverty is that, which, above all things, prompts the English to rebellion." Disheartened, the unhappy nobleman and his friends attempted to return from the city; but they found the streets barricaded with empty carriages. At Ludgate the chains were drawn; and a party of soldiers opposed their progress. A fight ensued, in which several were killed. Essex escaped by water to his own house; which he attempted to defend, with those who got in with him. But

Essex House. (From Hollar's View of London.)

no succour from the city reached him, and they surrendered. Essex and Southampton were that night removed to the Tower.

On the 19th of February the two noble friends were put upon their trial, in the court of the lord high steward. The facts against them were too clearly proved to allow of any verdict of the Peers but that of Guilty. They were tried upon the old statute of Edward III. "As far as can be ascertained, it seems to have been intended to rest the charge on two propositions: first, that the design to restrain the queen's person, and remove her counsellors, amounted to treason, in the article of compassing the queen's death, of which general treason, the consultation at Drury-house, the insurrection in London, the imprisonment of the lord keeper and his companions, and the refusal to dismiss the company upon the queen's command, were overt acts; and, secondly, that the insurrection in the city was in itself a rebellion, and, consequently, a levying of war against the queen, within the statute of Edward III., of which the skirmish at Ludgate, the defence of Essex-house against the queen's troops, and many other actions of the earl's on that day, were overt acts."* There was no straining of the law to procure the con-

* Jardine, "Criminal Trials," vol. i. p. 383.

demnation of these rash men; although we may well believe the truth of the solemn averment of Essex, "Here I protest before the living God, as he may have mercy upon me, that my conscience is clear from any disloyal thought of harm to her majesty, and my desire ever hath been to be free from blood-shed." Coke, the attorney-general, bitterly alluded to that part of the indictment which accused him of aiming to be king, saying of Essex, "He of his earldom shall be Robert the Last, that of a kingdom sought to be Robert the First." Essex, to this charge, made his denial in these words: "And thou, O God, which knowest the secrets of all hearts, knowest that I never sought the crown of England, nor ever wished to be of higher degree than a subject."

There is an incidental circumstance connected with the trial of Essex which cannot be passed over, affecting as it does the moral character of one of the most illustrious in the roll of England's immortals. Francis Bacon was one of the queen's counsel, and he was officially employed against Essex in this trial. He was bound to Essex by no common obligations. The generous earl had given him an estate, because he could not procure for him a lucrative appointment. Essex had struggled against the ill-will of the Cecils to advance Bacon's fortunes, in season and out of season. Yet upon the trial Bacon said stronger things against his friend than were urged by his bitterest adversaries. Bacon compared his proceeding in saying his life was in danger, to that of "one Pisistratus, in Athens, who, coming into the city with the purpose to procure the subversion of the kingdom, and wanting aid for the accomplishing his aspiring desires, and as the surest means to win the hearts of the citizens unto him, he entered the city, having cut his body with a knife, to the end they might conjecture he had been in danger of his life." He compared "this rebellion of my lord of Essex to the duke of Guise's, that came upon the barricades at Paris in his doublet and hose; and when he failed, alleged that he was there upon a private quarrel." There was a general indignation expressed against Bacon for this severity; but what his contemporaries objected to him was mildness itself, compared with the judgment of an eloquent modern writer upon these passages of his speeches. They were intended, Mr. Macaulay holds, to deprive the prisoner of those excuses which "might incline the queen to grant a pardon"—"to produce a strong impression on the mind of the haughty and jealous princess on whose pleasure the earl's fate depended."* Bacon, in the "Apology" which he wrote of his conduct in this trial, says, "that which I performed at the bar in my public service, by the rules of duty I was bound to do it honestly and without prevarication." To shut out Essex from mercy, Mr. Macaulay says that Bacon "employed all his wit, his rhetoric, and his learning." We would, rather than impute deliberate blood-guiltiness to this great man, whose kindness of nature was as conspicuous as his genius, entertain the belief that the temptation to a counsel, almost for the first time employed on a great cause, to show forth "his wit, his rhetoric, and his learning" to the best advantage, was a temptation too great to be resisted, even at the sacrifice of his gratitude. That Bacon was a high-minded man in public transactions is as difficult to believe as that he possessed a treacherous

* "Essays," vol. ii.; art. "Bacon."

and cruel nature. His concern with the official publication entitled "The Declaration of the Treasons of the late earl of Essex and his complices," is as little to be defended as his rhetorical flights upon the trial. It is a garbled and partial narrative. He says, "never secretary had more particular and express directions and instructions, in every point, how to guide my hand in it.—Myself, indeed, gave only words and style in pursuing their directions;" —those of certain principal counsellors. We must feel acutely the meanness of the great writer—he who had already published a volume of his noble "Essays"—in becoming such an unworthy instrument of expediency. But there were excuses. He was poor; he was ambitious. In penning his Apology for his conduct in the unhappy affair of Essex, he is manifestly unconscious of his own degradation. There was a singular combination, in those times, of private virtue and public immorality, amongst courtiers and statesmen. "High-erected thoughts seated in a heart of courtesy" were to be found in the English gentleman as his general characteristic; but the rivalry for power, when power was to be reached chiefly by subserviency, made the aspirant too often a sycophant and a tool. Bacon pocketed the wages of an hireling, when he received a large sum out of the fine which Catesby, one of the Romanist followers of Essex, paid for his pardon. But Bacon probably did not himself see that this was the price of his dishonour.

The earl of Essex was beheaded within the walls of the Tower on Wednesday morning, the 25th of February. There were few persons present at the execution, which was stated to have been in private by his own desire. There were politic reasons for avoiding the manifestations of popular sympathy which one so generally beloved would have called forth in his dying hour. His end was truly "pious and Christian," to use the words of Camden. To the noblemen and others who sat upon the scaffold he addressed a brief speech, in which he deplored the "last sin," which had drawn others for love of him to offend God, to offend their sovereign. But he besought them to hold a charitable opinion of him for his intention towards her majesty, "whose death I protest I never meant, nor violence to her person." Lord Southampton, who had been found guilty and sentenced to death at the same time with Essex, was spared from the scaffold but was confined during the remainder of Elizabeth's reign. Sir Gilly Meyrick, Henry Cuffe, Sir Christopher Blount, and Sir Charles Danvers, were executed as adherents to the conspiracy.

The correspondence of Essex with king James VI. was certainly amongst the causes which prevented his restoration to the favour of Elizabeth. The harshness with which he was treated in the autumn of 1600 was a natural consequence of the indignation of the English government at the proceedings of James. At a convention of the Scottish estates, in June of that year, the king proposed that a tax should be levied, for the purpose of asserting his claim to the succession to the crown of England. This demand met with the most strenuous resistance. Amongst those who led the opposition was the young earl of Gowrie, who had recently returned from the court of Elizabeth. The king was furious against his parliament. They had laughed at his notion of raising money to make a conquest of England; and altogether refused to give him more than forty thousand pounds Scots. After this, Robert Cecil was informed that James had a party in England, and intended not to tarry for the queen's death. The mutual ill-will that subsisted at this time between

James and Elizabeth has led to the belief, resting upon very insufficient foundation, that what is called the Gowrie plot may be traced to the contrivance of the English queen.* The whole of this dark affair is involved in the greatest mystery. The facts which are commonly related are briefly these. On the morning of the 5th of August, 1600, James was going forth from his palace at Falkland to hunt, when Alexander Ruthven, the younger brother of Gowrie, desired to speak with him privately. He whispered something about an unknown man having found a pot of gold; and the treasure, which was in Gowrie house, at Perth, might be seen by the king if he would come thither without his attendants. The scent of gold was irresistible to James. After the chase he rode off to Perth with young Ruthven; but he was ultimately joined by his attendants. James dined alone; and after dinner Gowrie, with James's suite, went into the pleasure garden. Alexander Ruthven then told the king it was now time to go and look at the gold. They went together through various apartments, Ruthven locking the doors as they passed along. At length they reached a small round room; and then Ruthven, removing a curtain, disclosed a portrait of his father, and asked James who murdered him? He held a dagger to the king's breast, and said that if he made any attempt to open the window, or to cry out, the dagger should be in his heart. There was a man in the room, Henderson, who had been placed there to aid in the plot. Young Ruthven left the king alone with this man. James appealed to Henderson for protection. Ruthven, soon returning, ran upon the king and attempted to bind him. A desperate struggle ensued; in which James managed to reach the window and cry out for help. Lennox and the other courtiers in the garden saw the king's flushed face at the window, as he uttered the cry of "Treason." Some rushed up the great staircase; but found the door locked. Ramsay, one of the suite, remembered a back stair; and reaching the door of the round chamber, dashed it open, and found the king still struggling with Ruthven. Ramsay stabbed the youth, who was quickly dispatched by others who came up the turnpike-stair. Gowrie himself, with his servants, having seen the dead body of his brother, rushed frantically to the gallery where some of the attendants of James were assembled, and was quickly slain. The populace in the streets of Perth were roused to madness when they heard of the deaths of the two Ruthvens; and they cried to the king, as he looked out, "Come down, thou son of signor Davie; thou hast slain a better man than thyself." Some of the preachers of the kirk maintained that the king conspired against the Gowries, and not the Gowries against the king; and this belief was by no means confined to the Presbyterian ministers.

The last parliament of Elizabeth met on the 27th of October, 1601. There were debates on the question of a subsidy, which it would be scarcely necessary here to notice, but for a mis-statement of Hume. The prejudiced historian affirms that, when Mr. Serjeant Heyle said, "all we have is her majesty's, and she may lawfully at her pleasure take it from us," there was no one who "cared to take him down, or oppose those monstrous positions." In the Reports of D'Ewes, where Hume found Serjeant Heyle's speech, he would have read the reply of Mr. Montague: "If

* Robertson, "History of Scotland."

all preambles of subsidies were looked upon, he should find it were of free gift. And although her majesty requireth this at our hands, yet it is in us to give, not in her to exact of duty." Hume compares the government of England, under Elizabeth, to that of Turkey. "The sovereign possessed every power except that of imposing taxes: and in both countries this limitation, unsupported by other privileges, appears rather prejudicial to the people. In Turkey, it obliges the sultan to permit the extortion of the bashas and governors of provinces, from whom he afterwards squeezes presents or takes forfeitures: in England, it engaged the queen to erect monopolies, and grant patents for exclusive trade; an invention so pernicious, that had she gone on during a tract of years at her own rate, England, the seat of riches, and arts, and commerce, would have contained at present as little industry as Morocco, or the coast of Barbary." * There was one difference between England and Turkey which the historian does not point out in this commentary upon the English government. Public opinion, expressed to herself in person, and through the House of Commons, led Elizabeth, with true wisdom, entirely to reform that system which many members of her Council had an interest in upholding. On the 20th of November a bill was brought in by Mr. Lawrence Hyde, entitled, "An Act for the explanation of the Common Law in certain cases of Letters Patent." Bacon, as attorney-general, opposed the bill, saying, "the use hath been ever to humble ourselves unto her majesty, and by petition desire to have our grievances remedied, especially when the remedy toucheth her so nigh in point of prerogative." Many independent members used strong language in support of the bill, for considering which a committee was formed. On the 25th of November, the Speaker stood up, the House wondering at the cause, and said that he had been commanded to attend upon the queen, and had a message to deliver. She thanked them, he said, most heartily for the subsidy; and then added, "that partly by the intimation of her Council, and partly by divers petitions that have been delivered unto her both going to the chapel and also to walk abroad, she understood that divers patents, which she had granted, were grievous to her subjects; and that the substitutes of the patentees had used great oppressions." She concluded by declaring, said Mr. Speaker, "that further order should be taken presently, and not '*in futuro;*' and that some should be presently repealed, some suspended, and none put in execution but such as should first have a trial according to the law, for the good of the people." Then Mr. Secretary Cecil stood up, and in a speech as important as amusing, declared that no new patents should be granted, and that the old ones should be revoked: "I say, therefore, there shall be a proclamation general throughout the realm, to notify her majesty's resolution in this behalf. And because you may eat your meat more savoury than you have done, every man shall have salt as good and cheap as he can buy it or make it, freely without danger of that patent which shall be presently revoked. The same benefit shall they have which have cold stomachs, both for aquavitæ and aqua composita and the like. And they that have weak stomachs, for their satisfaction, shall have vinegar and alegar, and the like, set at liberty. Train-oil shall go the same way; oil of blubber shall march in equal

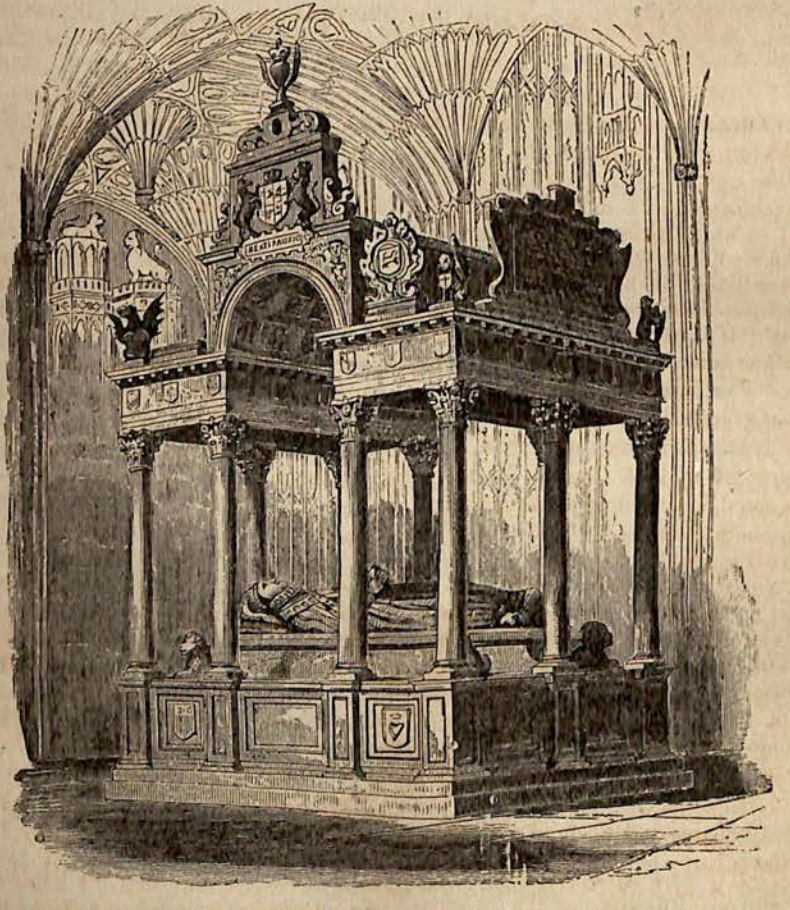
* "History of England," vol. v. Appendix iii.

rank; brushes and bottles endure the like judgment." The proclamation against the growth of woad was to be revoked, only the queen "prayeth thus much, that when she cometh on progress to see you in your countries, she be not driven out of your towns by suffering it to infect the air too near them. Those that desire to go sprucely in their ruffs, may at less charge than accustomed obtain their wish; for the patent for starch, which hath so much been prosecuted, shall now be repealed." The patents for calf-skins and fells, for leather, for cards, for glass, should also be suspended, and left to the law. From this speech we may judge how extensive was the evil of monopolies; and although Cecil disclaimed a desire to yield to popular clamour, he was not insensible to the words which he says he heard as he came along in his coach, "God prosper those that further the overthrow of these monopolies! God send the Prerogative touch not our Liberty." The House was in a fever of rapture at the declaration of the queen; and it was moved that the Speaker should convey their thanks to her majesty. On the 30th, a hundred and forty members of the House were received by Elizabeth; and, after the Speaker's address, he, with the rest, knelt down, and the queen gave her answer. Having spoken a few sentences she begged them to rise, and then proceeded: "Mr. Speaker, you give me thanks, but I doubt me, I have more cause to thank you all, than you me: and I charge you to thank them of the House of Commons from me: for had I not received a knowledge from you, I might have fallen into the lap of an error, only for lack of true information. Since I was queen, yet never did I put my pen to any grant, but that upon pretext and semblance made unto me that it was both good and beneficial to the subjects in general, though a private profit to some of my ancient servants who had deserved well; but the contrary being found by experience, I am exceeding beholding to such subjects as would move the same at first. . . . . I have ever used to set the last judgment-day before mine eyes, and so to rule as I shall be judged to answer before a higher judge. To whose judgment seat I do appeal, that never thought was cherished in my heart that tended not to my people's good. And now if my kingly bounty hath been abused, and my grants turned to the hurt of my people, contrary to my will and meaning; or if any in authority under me have neglected or perverted what I have committed to them, I hope God will not lay their culps and offences to my charge. . . . . Though you have had, and may have, many princes more mighty and wise, sitting in this seat, yet you never had, or shall have, any that will be more careful and loving." This was the last address of Elizabeth to the Commons of England.

The remaining events of this reign may be briefly told. Lord Mountjoy was more fortunate than Essex in his Irish administration. The Spaniards had landed in Ireland to assist the Roman Catholic insurgents. They took up a strong position at Kinsale, with four thousand troops. Tyrone came to the assistance of the Spanish commander, with six thousand Irish, and some foreigners. Mountjoy defeated him; and the Spaniards capitulated. Tyrone, in 1602, surrendered, upon a promise of life and lands.

In March, 1603, Elizabeth was fast sinking. Some have held that she looked back with poignant anguish to the fate of Essex, and hence "the deep melancholy visible in her countenance and actions," noticed by Beaumont, the French ambassador. But he more justly ascribed her dejection to "the

sufferings incident to her age." She died at three o'clock in the morning of the 24th of March. On the night before, she was entreated to name a successor. Her reply was equivocal. Cecil, however, affirmed that she declared by signs that the king of Scots should succeed her; holding her hands joined over her head, in manner of a crown, when his name was mentioned.



Tomb of queen Elizabeth, in the north aisle of Henry VII.'s Chapel, Westminster Abbey.

NOTE ON THE STORY OF ESSEX'S RING.

THERE is, in the State Paper Office, an Account, written in French, by Dudley Carleton, "of the death of queen Elizabeth, as caused by melancholy on the death of the earl of Essex."* This paper, which bears the date of April 4th, 1603, to a certain extent confirms the court belief which the French ambassador refers to, but to which he reasonably gives little credit. The story of the ring which Essex sent to Elizabeth, as the token that he asked her mercy, but which token was never delivered, has been circumstantially told by Hume. We have not inserted a similar narrative in our text, believing, with a very competent judge of evidence, that "it is of too doubtful authenticity."† But as we are unwilling entirely to omit so romantic a story, we here give it, as related by Dr. Birch:—

"The following curious story was frequently told by lady Elizabeth Spelman, great-grand-daughter of Sir Robert Carey, brother of lady Nottingham, and afterwards earl of Monmouth, whose curious Memoirs of himself were published a few years ago by lord Corke:—When Catherine, countess of Nottingham, was dying (as she did, according to his lordship's own account, about a fortnight before queen Elizabeth), she sent to her majesty to desire that she might see her, in order to reveal something to her majesty, without the discovery of which she could not die in peace. Upon the queen's coming, lady Nottingham told her that while the earl of Essex lay under sentence of death, he was desirous of asking her majesty's mercy in the manner prescribed by herself during the height of his favour; the queen having given him a ring, which, being sent to her as a token of his distress, might entitle him to her protection. But the earl, jealous of those about him, and not caring to trust any of them with it, as he was looking out of his window one morning, saw a boy with whose appearance he was pleased; and, engaging him by money and promises, directed him to convey the ring, which he took from his finger and threw down, to lady Scroop, a sister of the countess of Nottingham, and a friend of his lordship, who attended upon the queen; and to beg of her, that she would present it to her majesty. The boy, by mistake, carried it to lady Nottingham, who showed it to her husband, the admiral, an enemy of lord Essex, in order to take his advice. The admiral forbade her to carry it, or return any answer to the message; but insisted upon her keeping the ring. The countess of Nottingham, having made this discovery, begged the queen's forgiveness; but her majesty answered, 'God may forgive you, but I never can,' and left the room with great emotion. Her mind was so struck with the story, that she never went into bed, or took any sustenance from that instant; for Camden is of opinion that her chief reason for suffering the earl to be executed was his supposed obstinacy in not applying to her for mercy."

* "Calendar of State Papers of the reign of James I.," edited by Mrs. Green, 1857.

† Jardine, "Criminal Trials," vol. i. p. 370.

A sequel to this story was communicated by a trustworthy correspondent to the editor of "Old England." The substance of this communication is, that when Mary, queen of Scots, married Darnley, she sent Elizabeth a ring, being a plain gold circle, to fit the thumb, having a rose diamond, in the form of a heart; that Elizabeth gave this ring to Essex; that it passed into the hands of king James, that it was given by him to sir Thomas Warner; and has remained in the possession of his descendants to the present time. It must be clear to every reader that the existence of such a ring does not in the slightest degree add to the authenticity of the original story. In the relation as given by Dr. Birch there is manifest exaggeration. The countess of Nottingham died, according to lord Corke, "about a fortnight before queen Elizabeth." It has been ascertained that she died on the 25th of February; Elizabeth died on the 24th of March. The death of the queen must have been even more remarkable than her life, if, upon this fatal disclosure, "she never took any sustenance from that instant." A drawing of the "Warner" ring was engraved in "Old England."

Spenser.

CHAPTER XIX.

Literature and Art characteristic of the periods of their production—First years of Elizabethan literature bore the impress of the two preceding reigns—Sackville—The early popular drama—Marlowe and the contemporary dramatists—Growing refinement—Spenser—Shakspere—Lyrical poetry—Its association with Music—Rural images in the poets connected with the pleasurable aspects of country life—Architecture—The palatial mansion—Gardens—The gentleman's manor-house—Classical education.

The historian Hume, in his desire to exhibit the reign of Elizabeth as a period of uncontrolled despotism, says, "It is remarkable that in all the historical plays of Shakspere, where the manners and characters, and even the transactions, of the several reigns are so exactly copied, there is scarcely any mention of *civil Liberty!*" * Mr. Hallam, without adverting to this passage, has furnished an answer to it: "These dramatic chronicles borrowed surprising liveliness and probability from the national character and form of government. A prince, and a courtier, and a slave, are the stuff on which the historical dramatist would have to work in some countries; but every class of free men, in the just subordination without which neither human society nor the stage, which should be its mirror, can be more than a chaos of huddled units, lay open to the selection of Shakspere."† The "manners

* "History," Appendix iii. vol. v. † "Literature of Europe," vol. ii. p. 395.

and characters," not only of Shakspere's historical plays, but of all his other dramas, are instinct with all the vitality that belongs to a state of social freedom, in which what we hold as tyranny was exceptional. The very fact which Hume alleges, but which must be taken with some limitation, that in Shakspere's historical plays "there is scarcely any mention of civil liberty," is really a proof of the existence of such liberty. In our own time a French writer has recorded, that after attending a debate in our House of Commons, he observed to an English statesman that he had heard no assertion of the general principles of constitutional freedom. The answer was, "We take all that for granted." We are not about to analyse the characters of Shakspere's dramas to show that "they comprise every class of free men." We believe of Shakspere, as we believe of Chaucer, that neither of these great poets could have existed except under a condition of society which permitted a very large amount of civil liberty. But this is not the place to set forth any detailed reasons for this belief; and we should scarcely have alluded to the assertion of Hume, except to show that he properly looked beyond Courts and Parliaments to discover the spirit of an age. All Poetry, as all other Art, must in a great degree be the reflection of the time in which it is produced. The Elizabethan Poetry, and especially the Drama; the Elizabethan Music; the Elizabethan Architecture; bear the most decided impress of their own time. The rapid, and therefore imperfect, view which we shall take of the most prominent indications of intellectual progress will be principally to exhibit them as characteristics of their period.

The stormy reigns of Edward VI. and of Mary were not favourable to the cultivation of Literature. Wyatt and Surrey belonged to the time of Henry VIII., before the elements of religious contention had penetrated much below the surface of society. But when the nation came to be divided into two great opposing classes, earnest in their convictions, even to the point of making martyrs or being martyrs, the sonneteer and the lyrist would have little chance of being heard. There were a few such poets—Vaux, Edwards, Hunnis—but even their pleasant songs have a tincture of seriousness. The poet who at the very beginning of the reign of Elizabeth struck out a richer vein—Thomas Sackville—breathes the very spirit of the gloomy five years of persecution and almost hopeless bigotry through which England had passed into a healthier existence. There was then a long interval, during which poetry was imping her wings for her noblest flights. The drama was emerging from the childishness and buffoonery of her first period of separation from the shows of Catholicism. The same Thomas Sackville, early in the reign of Elizabeth, produced his tragedy of "Gorboduc," of which it may be sufficient to say, that Sidney describes it as "full of stately speeches and well-sounding phrases, climbing to the height of Seneca his style."* English Dramatic poetry was not born with the courtly Sackville. It was struggling into life when it first seized upon the popular mind as an instrument of education—"made the ignorant more apprehensive, taught the unlearned the knowledge of many famous histories, instructed such as cannot read in the discovery of all our English chronicles."† Roughly was that useful work

* "Defence of Poesy."

† Heywood's "Apology for Actors."—Shakspere Society, p. 52.

originally done; but it was a reflection of the national spirit; and it produced its effect upon the national character. The early dramatists, if we may credit one of their eulogists, proposed great moral lessons in their representations. "In plays, all cozenages, all cunning drifts, overgilded with outward holiness, all stratagems of war, all the canker-worms that breed on the rust of peace, are most lively anatomised: they show the ill-success of treason, the fall of hasty climbers, the wretched end of usurpers, the misery of civil dissention, and how just God is evermore in punishing of murder." * Such passages have been again and again quoted; but we repeat them to show how thoroughly the English drama became adapted to its time, even before its palmy state. It went forth from the courtly direction of the Master of the Revels at Whitehall and Greenwich, to delight multitudes at the Belle Savage and the Bull. The bones of brave Talbot were "new embalmed with the tears of ten thousand spectators at least." † It was a rude stage, in which the place of action was "written in great letters upon an old door;" a stage without scenes, so that "a hideous monster came out with fire and smoke, and then the miserable beholders are bound to take it [the stage] for a cave." ‡ And yet the most elaborate mechanism, the most gorgeous decoration, never produced the delight which the unassisted action and the simple dialogue of these early plays excited. The spectators were in a new world. They were there to believe, and not to criticise. "You shall have three ladies walk to gather flowers, and then we must believe the stage to be a garden." The thousands who paid each their penny did so believe. They gave up their imaginations to the delusion, and were taken out of themselves into a higher region than that of their daily labours. When the transition period arrived, in which the first rude utterings of a mimetic life were passing into the higher art of the first race of true dramatists,—of which race Marlowe was the undoubted head—there was extravagance in action and character; bombast in language; learning,—for Marlowe, Peele, Greene, Lodge, Kyd, were scholars—but learning falsely applied; yet there was real poetical power. They dealt in horrors; their comedy was for the most part ribaldry. The Drama, says Sidney, "like an unmannerly daughter, showing a bad education, causeth her mother Poesy's honesty to be called in question." But the bad education of the unmannerly daughter was to be greatly attributed to the examples of the outer world in which she was born. She asserted her divine origin when strength and refinement had become united, in the greater assimilation of character between the courtly and the industrious classes; when rough ignorance was not held to be the necessary companion of martial prowess; and elegance and effeminacy had ceased to be confounded.

Against the growing refinement which was a natural consequence of the more general diffusion of wealth, the satirist, whether he belonged to the severe religionists or to the class held by them as the licentious, directed his constant invectives. There was a general belief that luxury, as the use of the humblest comforts was termed, was lowering the national character. Harrison denounces the chimneys which had taken the place of the rere-dosse in the hall; the feather bed and the sheets which had driven out the straw pallet; the pewter vessels which were splendid at the yeoman's feasts, instead

* Nash. † *Ibid.* ‡ Sidney.

of the wooden platters; the carpets and the tapestry, the bowl for wine, and the dozen silver spoons. The town wits held the growing riches of the citizens as the spoils of usury and brokery; and the lawyers who "fatted on gold" were counted the oppressors of the poor. All this is indicative of a great change of manners, resulting from the growing opulence of the middle classes, and the wide increase of competition. There was a general activity of intellect; and it was one of the fortunate circumstances of the social condition of England, that there was a great national cause to fight for, which lifted men out of the selfishness of unwonted industrial prosperity. At such a period arose the two greatest poets of that age, or of any age, Spenser and Shakspere. They each essentially belonged to their time. They each, in their several ways, reflected that time. Spenser dealt much more largely than Shakspere with the events and characteristics of his age. In his "Shepherd's Kalendar," he is a decided Church-reformer. In the "Faery Queen" he shadows forth "the most excellent and glorious person" of Elizabeth; and many historical personages may be traced in the poem. Amongst the numerous allegorical characters we find Una, the true Church, opposed to Duessa, the type of Romanism. But it is not in these more literal marks of the time, that we discover in Spenser the spirit of the time. It is not in his "Mother Hubberd's Tale," where we find the boldest satire against courtly corruption—justice sold, benefices given to the unworthy, nobility despised, learning little esteemed, the many not cared for,—that we must look for the general reflection in Spenser's verse of the spirit of his age. His fate had been "in suing long to bide," and he took a poet's revenge for the neglect. It is in the general elevation of the tone of "the Faery Queen," and of the other poems of his matured years, that we may appreciate the moral and intellectual tastes of the educated classes of Elizabeth's latter period. Unquestionably the poet, by his creative power, may in some degree shape the character of an age, instead of being its mirror; but in the relations of a great writer to his readers there is a mutual action, each inspiring the other. The tone of Spenser's poetry must at any rate have been in accordance with the mental condition of those with whom "the Faery Queen" became at once the most popular of all books. It ceased to be popular after two generations had passed away, and the Rochesters and Sedleys were the great literary stars. The heroic age to which Spenser belonged was then over. "Fierce wars and faithful loves" had become objects of ridicule. The type of female perfection was not "heavenly Una, with her milk-white lamb," but "Mistress Nelly" in the side-box. "The goodly golden chain of chivalry" was utterly worthless compared with the price paid for Dunkirk. Such were the differences of morals and intellect between 1600 and 1670. Spenser was the most popular of poets while the ideal of chivalry still lingered in the period that had produced Sidney, and Essex, and Raleigh, and Grenville—when the rough Devonshire captains fought the Spaniard with an enthusiastic bravery and endurance that the Orlandos and the Red Cross Knights of Ariosto and Spenser could not excel. The great laureate's popularity was gone when the Dutch sailed up the Medway; for the spirit of the Elizabethan "golden time" was gone.

The age of Elizabeth may pre-eminently claim the distinction of having called up a great native literature. The national mind had already put forth

many blossoms of poetry, and in the instance of Chaucer the early fruit was of the richest flavour. But in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign England had a true garden of the Hesperides. It has been most justly observed that "in the time of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., a person who did not read French or Latin could read nothing or next to nothing."* Hence the learned education of the ladies of that period. The same writer asks, "over what tragedy could lady Jane Grey have wept, over what comedy could she have smiled, if the ancient dramatists had not been in her library?" Lady Jane Grey meekly laid her head upon the block in 1554. Had she lived fifty years longer she would have had in her library all Shakspere's historical plays, except King John and King Henry VIII.; she would have had Romeo and Juliet, Love's Labour's Lost, the Merchant of Venice, Midsummer Night's Dream, Much Ado about Nothing, The Merry Wives of Windsor, Hamlet,—for all these were printed before that period. She might have seen all these acted; and she might also have seen As you Like it, All's Well that Ends Well, The Two Gentlemen of Verona, Twelfth Night, Othello. Her pure and truly religious nature would not have shrunk from the perusal of these works, which might worthily stand by the side of her Terence and her Sophocles in point of genius, and have a far higher claim upon her admiration. For they were imbued, not with the lifeless imitation of heathen antiquity, but with the real vitality of the Christian era in which they were produced; with all the intellectual freedom which especially distinguished that era from the past ages of Christianity. The deities of the old mythology might linger in the pageants of the court; but the inspiration of these creations of the popular dramatist was derived from the pure faith for which the lady Jane died. From no other source of high thought could have originated the exquisite creations of female loveliness which Shakspere, and Spenser equally, presented. Some portion of what was tender and graceful in the Catholic worship of "Our Lady," passed into the sober homage involuntarily paid to the perfectness of woman by the two great Protestant poets. In Shakspere was especially present a more elevated spirit of charity than belonged to the government of his times, although his toleration must have abided to a great extent amongst a people that had many common ties of brotherhood whatever were their differences of creed. Hence the patriotism of Shakspere—a considerate patriotism founded upon that nationality by which he is held "to have been most connected with ordinary men."† But Shakspere lived in an age when nationality was an exceeding great virtue, which alone enabled England, in a spirit of union, to stand up against the gigantic power which sought her conquest through her religious divisions. All around the dramatist, and reflected by him in a thousand hues of "many-coloured life," were those mixed elements of society, out of whose very differences results the unity of a prosperous nation. There was a great industrious class standing between the noble and the peasant, running over with individual originality of character, and infusing their spirit into the sovereign, the statesman, and the soldier. The gentlemen of Shakspere are distinct from those of any other poet in their manly frankness; and the same quality of straightforward independence may be traced in his yeomen and his peasants.

* Macaulay, "Essays,"—art. "Bacon."

† Frederick Schlegel.

His clowns even, are the representatives of the national humour, which itself was a growth of the national freedom. There was a select lettered class, who, having shaken off the trammels of the scholastic philosophy, were exploring the depths of science and laying the foundations of accurate reasoning. Shakspere stood between the new world of bold speculation that was opening upon him, and the world of submission to authority that was passing away. Thus, whilst he lingers amidst the simplicity and even the traditionary superstitions of the multitude with evident delight—calls up their elves and their witches, and their ghosts, but in no vulgar shapes—he asserts his claim to take rank with the most elevated of the world's thinkers in the investigation of the hardest problems of man's nature. Such are a few of the relations in which the art of Shakspere stood to the period in which he lived; and although it has been truly said, "he was not for an age, but for all time," we hold that he could not have been produced except in that age, and in the country of which he has become the highest glory. There

John Shakspere's House in Henley Street. (From an old Print.)

must have been a marvellous influence of the social state working upon the highest genius, to have called forth those dramas for the people, which having their birth in a yeoman's house at Stratford,

"Show, sustain, and nourish all the world."

The lyrical poetry of the Elizabethan time was chiefly written to be married to music. As Shakspere's drama was drama to be acted, so his songs were songs to be sung. Their grace, their simplicity, their variety of measure, were qualities which are found in the lyrical poems of Marlowe, Green, Lodge, Raleigh, Breton, Drayton, and others less known to fame, who contributed to the delight of many a tranquil evening in the squire's pleasure garden, and by the citizen's sea-coal fire-side, where Morley's "Airs," and

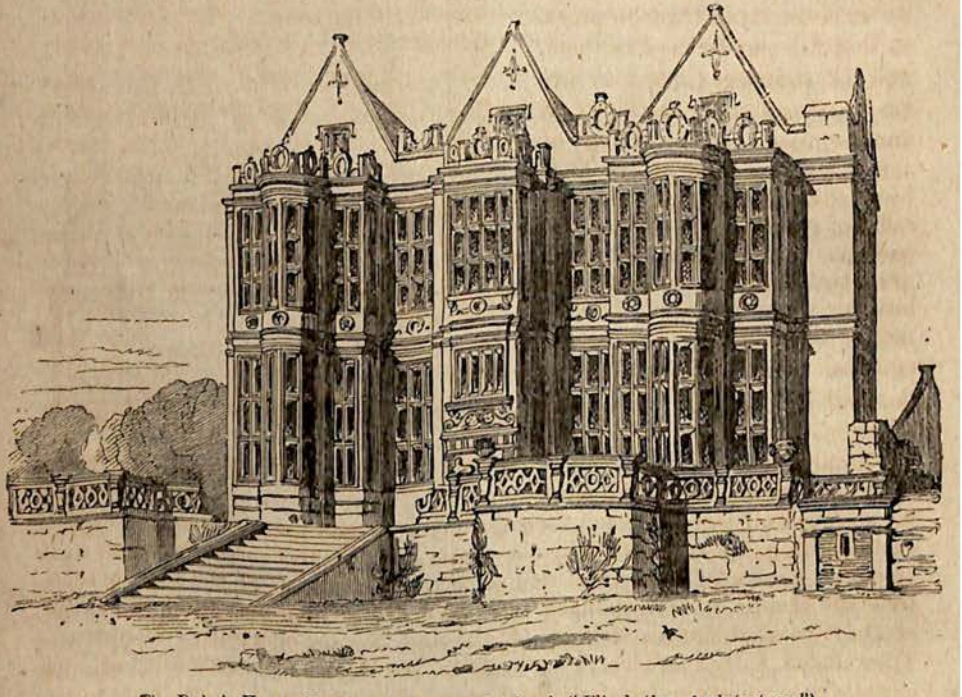
other popular collections, were as familiarly known as Moore's "Melodies" in our own day. It was not that the musical taste of England was first developed in this period, but that it had spread from the court to the people. There was a greater diffusion of wealth, and therefore more leisure for the cultivation of the elegancies of life. Property was secure. The days of feudal tyranny were past. The whole aspect of the country was necessarily changed. If we open the county histories of this period we find an enumeration of "principal manor-houses," which shows how completely the English gentleman, of moderate fortune, had in every parish taken the place of the baron or the abbot, who were once the sole proprietors of vast districts. A poet of the period has noticed this change in his description of rural scenery.

> "Here on some mount a house of pleasure vanted
> Where once the warring cannon had been planted."

These lines are from the "Britannia's Pastorals" of William Browne, whose poems, unequal as they are, contain many exquisite descriptions of country life. But nearly all the poetry of this age shows how thoroughly the realities of that life had become familiar to the imaginative mind. The second-hand images with which town poets make their rural descriptions wearisome are not found in the Elizabethan poets. The commonest objects of nature uniformly present their poetical aspects in Shakspere, as they did in Chaucer. The perpetual freshness and variety of creation were seen by these great masters with that rapid power of observation which belongs to genius. But the minor poets of the end of the sixteenth century evidently studied rural scenery with that feeling of the picturesque which is always a late growth of individual or national cultivation. The country, to the educated proprietor of the soil, had become something more than the source of his revenue. His ancestral trees had now for him a higher interest than to furnish logs for his hall-fire. His garden was no longer a mere place for growing kail and pot-herbs;—it was to have choice flowers and shady seats—the stately terrace and the green walk—the fountain and the vase. The poets reflect the prevailing taste. They make their posies of the peony and the pink, the rose and the columbine. They go with the huntsman to the field, and with the angler to the river. They are found nutting with the village boys, and they gather strawberries in the woods. They sit with the Lady of the May in her bower, and quaff the brown ale at the harvest-home. The country has become the seat of pleasant thoughts; and the poets are there to aid their influences.

The Architecture of the reign of Elizabeth is essentially characteristic of the period, not only in the simple manor-house of the squire, but in the "great house" of the noble. Sidney has described his own Penshurst, in the earlier half of that period, when the old massive style, adapted for security rather than convenience, had not wholly passed away:—"They might see (with fit consideration both of the air, the prospect and the nature of the ground) all such necessary additions to a great house, as might well show that provision is the foundation of hospitality, and thrift the fuel of magnificence. The house itself was built of fair and strong stone, not affecting so much any extraordinary kind of fineness, as an honourable representing of a firm stateliness. The lights, doors, and stairs, rather directed to the use of the guests than to the eye of the artificer; and yet, as the one chiefly heeded,

so the other not neglected; each place handsome without curiosity, and homely without loathsomeness; not so dainty as not to be trod on, nor yet slubbered up with good fellowship; all more lasting than beautiful, but that the consideration of the exceeding lastingness made the eye believe it was exceeding beautiful."* The "firm stateliness," the "exceeding lastingness," became of secondary importance when the lord of the house and his retainers had ceased to dine in the great hall; and that principal apartment became little more than an entrance to those rooms dedicated to privacy or to state. There was to be provided, in the latter part of the century, a gorgeous gallery "for feasts and triumphs," as Lord Bacon held;—such a gallery as may still be seen at Hardwick. Here all the quaint forms of



The Duke's House, Bradford. (From Richardson's "Elizabethan Architecture.")

decoration in carving and colour were lavished. The walls were covered with portraits, almost the only branch of art then cultivated or encouraged in England. In these palaces there were tapestried "chambers of presence;" many bed-chambers for the family and their guests; lodgings for the various officers of the household; bake-houses and brew-houses; the great court in the centre; and the whole distribution of the private rooms often regulated by "My lord's side" and "My lady's side." The garden was an especial object of artistical decoration. Hentzner, in his "Travels in England," in 1598, has described the garden of Theobalds, one of the mansions of lord Burleigh. It was "encompassed with a ditch full of water, large enough for one to have the pleasure of going in a boat, and rowing between the shrubs;

* "Arcadia."

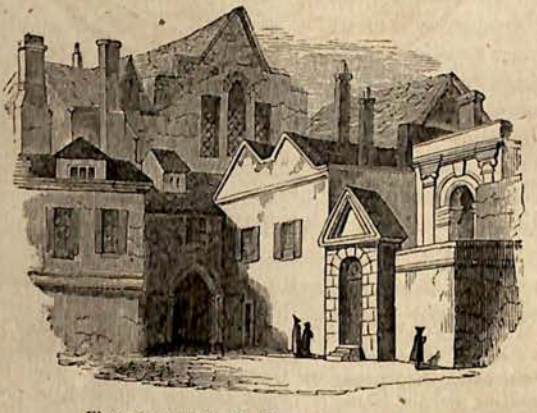
here are great variety of trees and plants; labyrinths made with a great deal of labour; a *jet d'eau*, with its bason of white marble; and columns and pyramids of wood and other materials up and down the garden. After seeing these, we were led by the gardener into the summer-house, in the lower part of which, built semi-circularly, are the twelve Roman emperors in white marble, and a table of touchstone; the upper part of it is set round with cisterns of lead, into which the water is conveyed through pipes, so that fish may be kept in them, and in summer time they are very convenient for bathing; in another room for entertainment very near this, and joined to it by a little bridge, was an oval table of red marble." From the gardens and terraces of these great houses the hall was entered; but now, when the grandest apartments were above, there was a staircase in the hall, of the most decorated character. At such mansions Elizabeth rested during her progresses, when her nobles vied with each other in the most lavish hospitality to welcome their queen; and soon turned their old dreary castles into gorgeous palaces, by the magic art of John Thorpe, the great constructive genius of that age. He perfected that union of the Italian style with the Gothic, which produced what we call the Tudor architecture. Some of these palatial edifices still stand, although for the most part dilapidated. Their faded splendours carry us back to the days of "mask and antique pageantry," when the lavish magnificence had something poetical even in its discomfort.

Staircase at Claverton, Somersetshire. (From Richardson's "Elizabethan Architecture.")

The Elizabethan manor-house is too well known to need any description. It is generally a plain building, with two projecting wings and a central porch. The initial letter of Elizabeth has been held to have suggested this form. In its homely provision for domestic convenience, the manor-house is more completely identified with the prevailing character of English society than the more gorgeous mansion. The manor-house had its hall and its buttery; its dining-room and its parlour; sometimes its chapel; always its great kitchen. It was surrounded with a moat; it possessed its little flower-garden. When the tobacco which Raleigh introduced ceased to be worth its weight in silver, the smoking-room was added. On great festival days the rich plate is brought out, and displayed on the "court-cupboard" of the dining-parlour; and "it is merry in hall, when beards wag all."

The reign of Elizabeth, which witnessed such an outburst of our native

literature, had not neglected that cultivation of ancient learning, upon which sound literature and correct taste must in a great degree be built. New colleges had been founded at Oxford and Cambridge. Elizabeth had also founded Trinity College, Dublin. James VI. had erected the university of Edinburgh, in addition to the Scottish academical institutions; and Marischal College, Aberdeen, was built in his reign. To the London Grammar Schools of St. Paul's and Christ Church had been added Westminster School, by the queen, and Merchant Tailors' School, by the great city company of that name. The grammar-schools were essentially the schools of the people; and it is a sufficient praise of Elizabeth's new foundation of Westminster to say that Camden there taught, and that Jonson there learnt.



Westminster School. From an ancient print.

CHAPTER XX.

James proclaimed king of England—Question of the Succession—Sir Robert Carey's ride to Edinburgh—James quits Scotland—His progress to London—His system of punishments and rewards—Cecil's influence—The coronation—Raleigh, Cobham, Grey, and others arrested on charges of conspiracy—The two plots—Trial of Raleigh—His conviction and long imprisonment—Conferences at Hampton Court—Meeting of Parliament—Contest between the King and the House of Commons upon a question of Privilege—Statutes of this session—Wardship—Purveyance—Temper of the Commons—Peace with Spain—James proclaimed king of Great Britain—Character of James.

Queen Elizabeth died at Richmond at three o'clock in the morning of the 24th of March. Before ten o'clock of that day James, king of Scotland, was proclaimed as her successor. Cecil, and others of the Council who were favourable to the claim of James to the English throne, were about the queen during her last illness, and lost not a moment in taking the important step of proclaiming him to the people. It was a wise decision; for, although the title of the descendants of Margaret, queen of Scots, was clear, according to the principle of hereditary succession, the statute of the 35th of Henry VIII., gave that king power to dispose of the succession to the crown by will, and in his will he passed over the descendants of Margaret. The parliamentary title was thus placed in opposition to the hereditary claim. There were descendants in existence of Mary, duchess of Suffolk, the younger sister of Henry VIII. To lord Beauchamp, one of these, it may be supposed that Elizabeth alluded, in the speech ascribed to her that she would have no "rascal" as her successor. Other titles to the throne were talked of, however remote, amongst which that of Arabella Stuart was most prominent. The queen's political sagacity would naturally have pointed out the king of

Scotland as the successor whose claim would have been recognised with the least confusion; and she probably would not have hesitated, in her dying hour, however she might have unwillingly entertained the question at previous seasons, had she not had sufficient reason to think meanly of the character of James. He was weak and untruthful. Their natures were essentially opposite. There was no love between them.

Sir Robert Carey, at the moment of Elizabeth's death, received a token from lady Scrope, his sister, that the great queen had passed away after a placid sleep. With the ring that this lady took from the finger of her mistress, Carey posted for Scotland. On Saturday night, after an extraordinary ride of three days and two nights, the alert courtier was on his knees before James to salute him as king of England, with the royal ring as his credential. Carey had obtained the start of the slow messenger of the Privy Council, who arrived in Edinburgh on the following Tuesday. On the 3rd of April, James, having attended the service in the High Church of St. Giles, delivered a farewell harangue to the congregation; and on the 5th he took his departure from Edinburgh. His queen, Anne of Denmark, and his children, were left behind. Curious was his progress towards London, and very characteristic of his coarse and self-sufficient nature. Men saw the respect for law which was at the foundation of English liberty and order, despised by the man who was coming to rule over them. A cut-purse was taken at Newark, who had followed the court from Berwick; upon which the king sent a warrant to the recorder of Newark to have the thief hanged. The wise perceived the approach of an ignorant despotism in this contempt of the ordinary course of justice: "I hear our new king," writes Harrington, "hath hanged one man before he was tried; 'tis strangely done; now if the wind bloweth thus, why may not a man be tried before he hath offended?" But James's notion of kingly rewards was as absurd as his notion of kingly punishments. During his journey of thirty-two days from Edinburgh to London, he showered the honour of knighthood on two hundred and thirty-seven gentlemen who were presented to him. Elizabeth bestowed such honours sparingly upon her statesmen and soldiers. James made the noblest title of the old chivalry ridiculous.

Anne of Denmark, queen of James I.
(From Strutt.)

During his progress to London James feasted at many houses, where he beheld the tokens of wealth and luxury to which he was little used. He at last rested at Theobalds, where the adroit Cecil made his arrangements for a long tenure of power. The king entered London on the 7th of May. Mean-

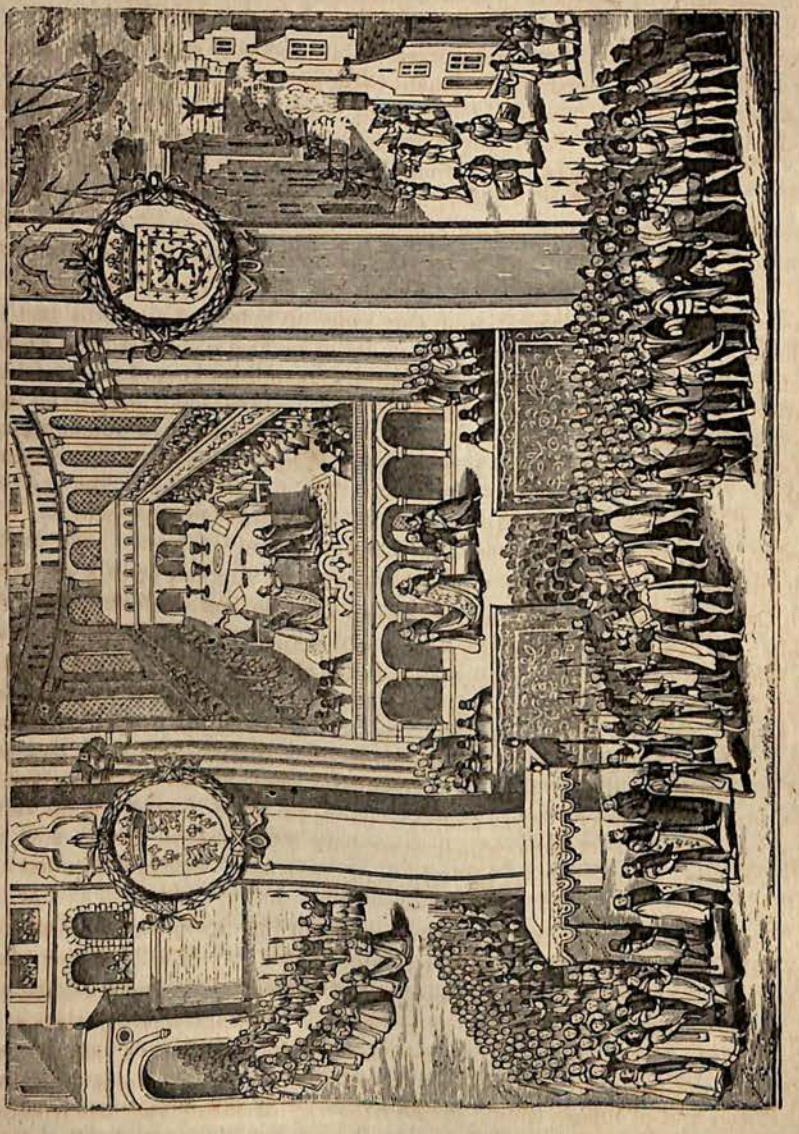
while Elizabeth had been followed to her grave at Westminster by fifteen hundred gentlemen in mourning. Many of her late subjects were looking to her successor for relief from the penal laws, which obstructed Puritan as well as Papist in the exercise of their religion. Before James reached London a petition was presented to him, signed by eight hundred and twenty-five ministers from various counties, desiring the redress of ecclesiastical abuses. In the State Paper Office there is an address to him from the Catholics of England, imploring "the free exercise of their religion, in private if not in public, by sufferance if not with approbation." * Some of the Romanists, however, expected more from the new king than toleration. In a letter dated from Rome, May 14th, of Robert Parsons, the Jesuit, he hopes the king may become a Catholic; says there are prayers for him in the seminaries; and states that the pope is delighted with the king's book, "Basilicon Doron." † There can be no doubt that, before the death of Elizabeth, James had promised that the Roman Catholics should be tolerated. Within three months of his arrival in London, some of the leading recusants were assured that the fines for recusancy should no longer be enforced; and in the following year the sum paid as fines was very small. That the king had no large views of toleration was soon evident. He bestowed some honours and lucrative places on a few, upon a principle which he avowed when objection was made to lord Henry Howard, a Catholic, having a seat in the Council; James saying that by this tame duck he hoped to take many wild ones.

In June, the queen of James, and his eldest son prince Henry, arrived in England. The coronation took place on the 25th of July, amidst the gloom and consternation of the people of London, for the plague was making the most fearful ravages in the city. The sight of the pageant was confined to the nobility and the court. On this account, as alleged, a parliament was not summoned, according to the usual course upon the accession of a new sovereign. Ambassadors came from the United Provinces, from the archduke of Austria, and from Henry IV., to congratulate the new king of England. To all of them James made professions of peace. Sully, the minister of France, was there to sustain the influence of his master. He did so by the power of gold, and not by the sympathies of friendship, as in the time of the great queen. Sully wore mourning for Elizabeth when he first appeared at James's court; but he was soon told that such a tribute of respect was disagreeable, and that at Whitehall her name must no longer be mentioned.

At the death of Elizabeth, the rivalry which had sprung up between Robert Cecil and Raleigh was to have its triumph, in the confirmed favour of James to the minister with whom he had for some time been in secret communication. The wily Secretary of State was far too strong for the bold Captain of the Guard. The adroit politician, weak of body but close and circumspect, would be secure of his advantage over the accomplished soldier and navigator, even if James had not manifested a personal dislike for Raleigh. It was unnecessary for Cecil to have written, within a week of the queen's death, that the Council had "stayed the journey of the captain of the guard, who was conducting many suitors to the king." ‡ If they had met, James would

* "Calendar of State Papers," edited by Mrs. Green, p. 5. † *Ibid.* p. 8.
‡ "Calendar of State Papers," p. 2.

probably have insulted the man whose most ardent passion was to diminish the power of Spain, while James would have laid England and Scotland at her feet. So Raleigh was deprived of his offices; and within a few months



Coronation of James I.

was under a charge of high treason. Hume, in a very brief relation of "the discovery of a conspiracy to subvert the government, and to fix on the throne Arabella Stuart, a near relation of the king by the family of Lennox, and descended equally from Henry VII.," mixes up the accounts of two alleged conspiracies. He says Roman Catholic priests; lord Grey, a puritan; lord Cobham, a profligate man; and Raleigh, a freethinker; were engaged in "a

conspiracy;" and he asks "what cement could unite men of such discordant principles, in so dangerous a combination?" The Roman Catholic conspiracy was wholly different from that in which Raleigh, Cobham, and Grey were accused of engaging; and was known as "the treason of the priests," or the "Bye," —the cant word by which it was designated upon the trials of the accused. Its object was to seize the person of the king. The other treason was known as the "Main;" and its purposes were so ill defined, that, half a century afterwards, it was described, by Rushworth, as "a dark kind of treason;" the author of the "Historical Collections" adding, "in his time the veil still rested upon it." Subsequent investigations have not withdrawn the veil. Cobham, a very weak man, though possessed of great power from his position, had taken part with Raleigh in his jealousy of the earl of Essex; and James, who considered that Essex had been sacrificed through his anxiety to promote that claim to the succession which Elizabeth did not recognise, held them both in great dislike. Cecil, who was equally united with them in jealousy of Essex, had propitiated the king of Scotland; and to him was confided the chief power of the government when James came to the English throne. There is little in these alleged treasons that deserves any minute relation, except as they involve the trial and conviction of one of the most remarkable men in the history of our country. The mind of Raleigh never was exhibited in a more heroic attitude than in his conduct on this memorable trial.

On the 17th November, 1603, a Special Commission was held at Winchester, the plague then raging in London and other parts. Sir Walter Raleigh had been indicted on the previous 21st of August, upon a charge of high treason; the overt acts alleged being that he had conferred with lord Cobham as to advancing Arabella Stuart to the crown of England, dispossessing the king; and that it was arranged that lord Cobham should go to the king of Spain and the archduke of Austria, to obtain six hundred thousand crowns for the support of Arabella's title. It was also alleged in the indictment that Cobham communicated the plan to George Brooke, and that they both said "there never would be a good world in England till the king and his cubs were taken away;" that Cobham wrote to count Aremberg for the six hundred thousand crowns, which Aremberg promised to give; and that Raleigh was to receive eight thousand crowns. Raleigh pleaded Not Guilty.

The conduct of the Attorney-General upon this trial, was such as made even Cecil remonstrate against his unfairness. Coke's brutality to the prisoner remains as a perpetual warning to the bar and the bench, that if the character of the gentleman is ever publicly dissociated from that of the lawyer in the administration of justice, the greatest learning, the most elevated rank, will not save the trickster or the bully from the contempt of his own generation and of future times. Coke began by declaring that the treason of Raleigh was "the treason of the *main*, the others were the *bye*," and then went on to mix him up, as the historian has done, with both treasons. "I pray you, gentlemen of the jury," said Raleigh, "remember I am not charged with the *bye*, which was the treason of the priests." To this quiet observation Coke replied, "You are not; but your lordships will see that all these treasons, though they consisted of several points, closed in together, like Samson's

foxes, which were joined in the tails, though their heads were severed." Let us pursue this dialogue a little further. Coke went on, again travelling far out of the indictment, to associate Raleigh with every charge against other conspirators of whose proceedings it is manifest that he knew nothing. "To what end do you speak all this?" said the prisoner. "I will prove you to be the most notorious traitor that ever came to the bar," rejoined Coke. "Thou art a monster. Thou hast an English face but a Spanish heart." Coke then proceeded with a recital of his charges against Cobham. "If my lord Cobham be a traitor, what is that to me?" said Raleigh. Then the great lawyer replied, "All that he did was by thy instigation, thou viper, for I *thou* thee, thou traitor!" * When Coke came to the words about "destroying the king and his cubs," which rested upon a declaration of one of the priests of what the Jesuits intended, Raleigh lost patience for a moment, and exclaimed, "O barbarous! Do you bring the words of these hellish spiders against me?" Coke retorted, "Thou art thyself a spider of hell." Such were the flowers of rhetoric with which the Attorney-General of that day sustained the dignity of English justice. There is an account of the trial, supposed to be written by sir Thomas Overbury, in which he contrasts the conduct of Coke, behaving himself "so violently and bitterly," and using "so great provocation to the prisoner," with the demeanour of Raleigh: "As the attorney was noted, so was the carriage of Raleigh most remarkable; first to the lords, humble yet not prostrate; dutiful yet not dejected; for in some cases he would humbly thank them for gracious speeches; in others, when they related some circumstances, acknowledged that what they said was true; and in such points wherein he would not yield unto them, he would crave pardon, and with reverence urge them and answer them in points of law and essential matter of fact; towards the jury, affable, but not fawning; not in despair, but hoping in them; carefully persuading with reason, not distemperedly importuning with conjuration; rather showing love of life, than fear of death. Towards the king's counsel patient, but not insensibly neglecting nor yielding to imputations laid against him by words; and it was wondered that a man of his heroic spirit could be so valiant in suffering that he was never once overtaken in passion."

The charge against Raleigh rested solely upon the accusation of lord Cobham, of which a contemporary letter-writer says, it "was no more to be weighed than the barking of a dog." Sir Dudley Carleton, in a letter from Winchester, gives a narrative of the trial of Raleigh. He says, "The evidence against him was only Cobham's confession, which was judged sufficient to condemn him; and a letter was produced, written by Cobham the day before, by which he accused Raleigh as the first practiser of the treason betwixt them, which served to turn against him; though he showed, to countervail this, a letter written by Cobham, and delivered to him in the Tower, by which he was clearly acquitted." Raleigh demanded that Cobham should be confronted with him. He contended that by the law of treasons two witnesses were necessary to conviction. His eloquence was unavailing. He was found

* The speech of sir Toby Belch, "if thou *thou'st* him some thrice it shall not be amiss," has been held to have been suggested by Coke's insult. But "Twelfth Night" had been acted in 1602.

guilty, and sentenced to death. The opinion of after times is expressed by Mr. Hallam: "His conviction was obtained on the single deposition of lord Cobham, an accomplice, a prisoner, not examined in court, and known to have already retracted his accusation. Such a verdict was thought contrary to law, even in that age of ready convictions." Raleigh's contemporaries felt that his conviction was most unjust. Raleigh was unpopular, for he was proud; but his trial produced a complete change in the general feeling. One who was present at Winchester affirmed "that whereas when he saw him first, he was so led with the common hatred that he would have gone a hundred miles to see him hanged,—he would, ere he parted, have gone a thousand to save his life."* The priests and Brooke were found guilty of the "Bye" plot, and were executed. Cobham, Grey, and Markham were found guilty, and were brought upon the scaffold to die. After a theatrical

Raleigh in the Tower.

mummery these were reprieved, and wore out long years of imprisonment. Raleigh was also reprieved, and was confined in the Tower till 1616. Those twelve years of captivity were not spent in vain repining. In his prison

* Carleton's letter in the "Hardwicke State Papers." This, and other documents connected with Raleigh's trial, are given by Mr. Jardine.

chamber he wrote his "History of the World"—a noble book, worthy of the man and of the days in which he had gloriously lived—full of poetry and high philosophy, and in its solemn recognitions of the "power, light, virtue, wisdom, and goodness" of the "Omnipotent Cause," and "Almighty Mover," furnishing the best answer to the scurrility of the Attorney-General, who called him "damnable atheist," and of the Chief Justice who, in sentencing him, said, "You have been taxed by the world, sir Walter Raleigh, with holding heathenish, atheistical, and profane opinions, which I list not to repeat, because Christian ears cannot endure to hear them; but the authors and maintainers of such opinions cannot be suffered to live in any Christian commonwealth."

When the Puritan ministers presented their petition to James on his journey to London, they asked for a conference. On the 14th, 15th and 16th of January, 1604, the king summoned to Hampton Court the archbishop of Canterbury, eight bishops, five deans, and two doctors, who were to sustain the ceremonies and practices of the Church, and to oppose all innovation. To meet them, four members of the reforming party were summoned, including Dr. Reynolds, a divine of acknowledged learning and ability. Royalty never displayed itself in a more undignified manner. Episcopacy never degraded itself more by a servile flattery of royalty. James, in his insolent demeanour to the representatives of a growing party in the English Church, thought to avenge himself of the humiliation he had been occasionally compelled to endure from ministers of the Scottish kirk. He was the chief talker in these conferences. Harrington, who was present, says "The king talked much Latin, and disputed with Dr. Reynolds; but he rather used upbraidings than argument, and told the petitioners that they wanted to strip Christ again, and bid them away with their snivelling. . . . . The bishops seemed much pleased, and said his majesty spoke by the power of inspiration. I wist not what they mean; but the spirit was rather foul-mouthed." * A few alterations were made in the Common Prayer Book; and a new version of the Holy Scriptures was ordered to be undertaken. James had taken his side; but his pedantic vanity, though suited to the taste of bishop Bancroft, who fell upon his knees and thanked God for giving them such a king, was not quite fitted for the government of the English nation. In the first Parliament of his reign James was at issue with the House of Commons.

On the 19th of March, 1604, the two Houses were assembled. In the proclamation by which the king called parliament together, he had, in his grand style of common places, chosen to prescribe the sort of men the people were to choose for their representatives. "There are often," he proclaims, "many unfit persons appointed for that service; and where it is so well known to every private man of wit and judgment, much more to Us, who have had so long experience of kingly government, what ill effects do follow." Amongst other directions, he emphatically says, "We do command that an express care be had that there be not chosen any persons bankrupt or outlaw." Furthermore, "We notify by these presents, that all returns and certificates of knights, citizens, and burgesses ought, and are, to be brought to

* "Nugæ Antiquæ," p. 182.

the Chancery, and there to be filed of record; and if any shall be found to be made contrary to this proclamation, the same is to be rejected as unlawful and insufficient, and the city or borough to be fined for the same." Again and again, in the reign of Elizabeth, as they had done in former reigns, the Commons had successfully maintained the principle that no writ for a second election of knight or citizen or burgess should issue, without an order from the House itself. It is strongly but truly observed that, in spite of these assertions of the constitutional principle, "a stranger is no sooner seated on the throne than he aims a blow at the very foundation of the people's rights."* The House of Commons had no especial regard for bankrupts or outlaws; but they chose themselves to examine into an allegation of this nature, and not let the Chancellor exercise an authority which interfered with their Privileges. Sir Francis Goodwin had been returned for Buckinghamshire, in opposition to sir John Fortescue, who was favoured by the government. An outlawry had been found to have formerly hung over him; and the election of Goodwin being declared void, a new writ was issued from Chancery. The House restored Goodwin to his seat; and then James, in his impatient ignorance of the spirit of the English monarchy, told the Commons that "they derived all matters of privilege from him, and from his grant;" and that precedents were not to be credited, when derived from "the times of minors, of tyrants, of women, of simple kings." His contemptuous mention of "women" was an intimation of his scorn for his predecessor, before whose genius he had crouched like a whipped schoolboy. The dispute went on; and then this interpreter of the spirit of the old free monarchy of England said, "We command, as an absolute king, a conference with the judges." The matter ended by both elections being set aside. James was wise enough not to engage in such a conflict a second time.

The House of Commons, at this commencement of a new dynasty, the head of which had not scrupled to proclaim principles inconsistent with the foundations of national freedom, did not care to separate without leaving a solemn record of their opinions, and a justification of their proceedings. It is entitled an "Apology of the House of Commons, made to the King, touching their Privileges." Had the doctrines therein asserted been respected by the Stuarts, the blood that was shed forty years afterwards might have been spared. We will extract one or two passages of this remarkable document. The Commons review the attempts to maintain that they held not Privileges of right, but of grace only; that they were not a Court of Record; and that the examination upon the return of writs was without their compass; and they thus proceed:—"Against which assertions, most gracious sovereign, tending directly and apparently to the utter overthrow of the very fundamental Privileges of our House, and therein of the Rights and Liberties of the whole Commons of your realm of England, which they and their ancestors from time immemorable have undoubtedly enjoyed under your majesty's most noble progenitors; we, the knights, citizens, and burgesses of the House of Commons assembled in parliament, and in the name of the whole Commons of the realm of England, with uniform consent for ourselves and our posterity, do expressly protest, as being derogatory in the highest degree to the

* Brodie, "British Empire," vol. i. p. 343.

true dignity, liberty, and authority of your majesty's high court of parliament, and consequently to the rights of all your majesty's said subjects, and the whole body of this your kingdom; and desire that this our protestation may be recorded to all posterity. . . . . What cause we your poor Commons have to watch over our privileges is manifest in itself to all men. The Prerogatives of Princes may easily, and do daily grow. The Privileges of the Subject are for the most part at an everlasting stand. They may be by good providence and care preserved; but being once lost are not recovered but with much disquiet. If good kings were immortal, as well as kingdoms, to strive so for privilege were but vanity perhaps and folly; but seeing the same God, who in his great mercy hath given us a wise king and religious, doth also sometimes permit hypocrites and tyrants in his displeasure, and for the sins of the people, from hence hath the desire of rights, liberties, and privileges, both for nobles and commons, had its just original, by which an harmonical and stable state is framed; each member under the head enjoying that right, and performing that duty, which for the honour of the head and happiness of the whole is requisite."

But it was not only upon the question of their Privileges that the Commons were not in accord with the Crown. There had been, with the king's assent, a novel code of canons established in convocation, which aimed at excluding non-conformists from civil rights, and setting up an unconstitutional authority over the laity, as well as the clergy. The Commons, in a conference with the Lords, remonstrated against such an innovation. The language in which the king was addressed in the "Apology," is the voice of men who have been nurtured in the belief that they were freemen, and who abide in the determination to remain freemen. They say to the king, "Your majesty would be misinformed if any man should deliver that the kings of England have any absolute power in themselves, either to alter religion, which God defend should be in the power of any mortal man whatsoever, or to make any laws concerning the same, otherwise than, as in temporal causes, by consent of Parliament. We have, and shall, at all times by our oaths acknowledge that your majesty is sovereign lord and supreme governor in both."

During this session a parliamentary title was given to king James and his descendants by an Act for "a most joyful and just recognition of the immediate, lawful, and undoubted succession, descent, and right of the Crown."* The natural and wise desire of the king for an Union of the two countries was not very cordially met; and in their "Apology" the Commons say, "We were long in treating and debating the matter of Union. The propositions were new; the importance great; the consequence far reaching, and not discoverable but by long disputes; our numbers also are large, and each hath liberty to speak." But at length an Act was passed, appointing Commissioners to treat with the Scots upon this great question † Many years elapsed before public prejudices had been softened down, and private interests conciliated, so that Scotland and England became one nation. We must not be too ready to hold the legislators of this time as peculiarly ignorant, in passing a law to declare Witchcraft felony, without benefit of clergy. ‡

* 1 Jac. I. c. 1. † 1 Jac. I. c. 2. ‡ 1 Jac. I. c. 12.

The superstition was productive of enormous cruelties; but it had its earnest supporters, and amongst others the king himself. The popular belief went wholly in that direction.

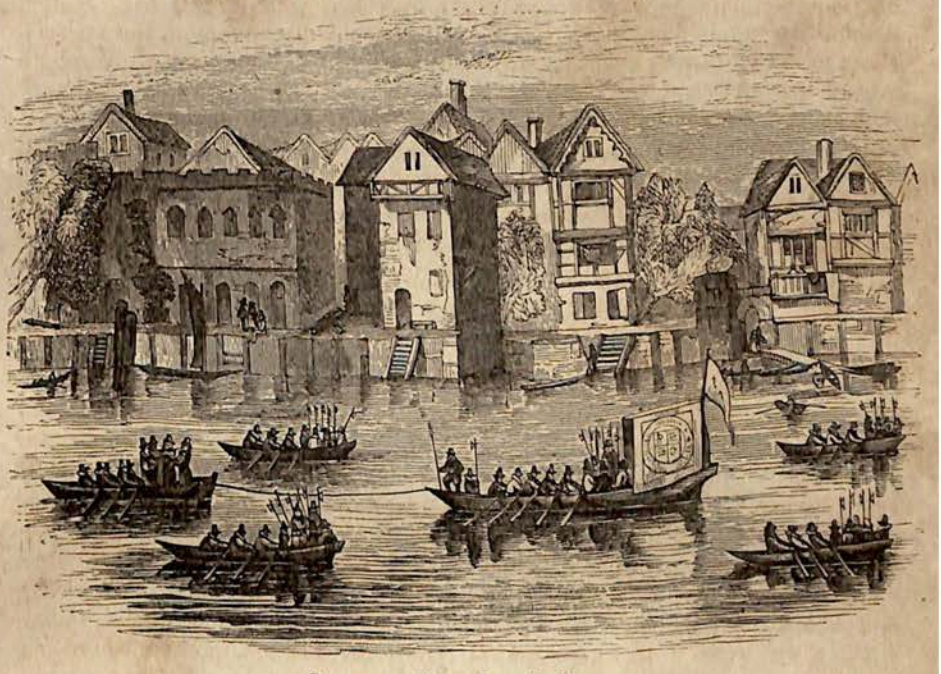
The legislation of the Parliament of 1604 was not so remarkable as the spirit which it displayed in the resistance of encroachments upon its ancient liberties, and in the demand for reforms of ancient abuses. Amongst those who most strongly maintained the necessity of improvement was Francis Bacon. The grievances of which the Commons had complained, in a petition, were those of purveyance, which fell upon all the people. The burthen of wardships, by which the custody, and therefore the profits, of every estate held under military tenure, was claimed by the crown during the minority of the heir, fell upon the landed proprietors. Purveyance was the relic of a condition of society which had passed away. Before the communications between the producers of food and the consumers in towns were easy, those wants of the sovereign's household which could not be supplied from the royal demesnes were arranged by purveyors,—a body of officers who had the right of claiming provisions in any market for the king's use. They took corn, flesh, every description of food, at their own prices. They had the right of impressing carts and carriages in the same arbitrary manner. Statute after statute had been passed for the regulation of purveyance; but a power so enormous was liable to the grossest abuse. Elizabeth herself called the purveyors "harpies." The evil when James came to the throne had become intolerable; and, according to a speech of Bacon, the purveyors, under their commissions from the Board of Green Cloth, lived at free quarters upon the country; terrifying dealers by their claims of immense quantities of provisions at an insufficient price, out of which they made a profit; cutting down woods without the owner's permission; and even demanding the labourers to work for them at their own grinding rate of payment. The Commons now asked for a total abolition of purveyance. Their petition was not offensive to the king, for he hoped to make good terms for himself by the concession of this remnant of feudal prerogative; but nothing was done. The question of wardship was also postponed, at the desire of the House of Lords.

The temper of parliament, as was the temper of the people, was favourable to the quiet rule of the new king. But it was directly opposed to his notion of a divine right which gave him, in the exercise of his prerogative, an absolute power such as he was prompt to claim. He had declared in a book, "The true Law of Free Monarchies," printed before he came to the English throne, that "although a good king will frame all his actions to be according to law, yet he is not bound thereto, but of his own will, and for example-giving to his subjects." He was told in distinct terms that the loyalty of the people was associated with the care which the sovereign had of their welfare. "If your majesty," says the Apology, "shall vouchsafe at your best pleasure and leisure, to enter into your gracious consideration of our petition for the ease of those burthens under which your whole people have of long time mourned, hoping for relief of your majesty, then may you be assured to be possessed of their hearts; and, if of their hearts, of all they can do or have." *

* The substance of this important paper is given by Mr. Hallam. It is to be found in "Cobbett's Parliamentary History."

In August, 1604, a treaty of peace was concluded between James, king of England, the king of Spain, and the archdukes of Austria. The policy of the country was wholly changed in the change of its sovereign. The hostility to Spain was a national sentiment; for it was built on the conviction that no peace would be safe with that power whilst England was Protestant, and was identified with the cause of Protestantism in Europe. Robert Cecil had been bred in the political creed of Elizabeth; but the disposition of James to abandon her policy, and to desire peace with her great enemy in a temper amounting to pusillanimity, compelled Cecil to a subserviency in the negociations with Spain very different from the spirit which a minister of Elizabeth would have shown. The old friendship with the Netherlands was abandoned. The king of England engaged to give no further aid to the Hollanders, or other enemies of the king of Spain and the archdukes. The commercial treaty, which was connected with the treaty of peace, contained clauses which the Hollanders felt were to their disadvantage. Enmity was thus to spring up between the two countries in which the struggle for the Reformation had been carried on most cordially and strenuously. There was one clause to which Elizabeth would never have consented as long as she had a ship or a cannon,—that there was to be "*moderation* had in the proceedings of the Inquisition" against English traders repairing to Spain. What the people felt with regard to Spain, and to the foreign policy of England, may be collected from the boldness with which Raleigh spoke on his trial. Indignantly repelling the charge that he had been bribed with Spanish gold to engage in a conspiracy, he alluded to the warfare in which he had battled so long against a power that once aimed at universal monarchy, but was now reduced to comparative insignificance. Spain never forgave Raleigh's efforts for her humiliation, nor his public mention of them when she was suing for peace. "I was not so bare of sense but I saw that if ever this state was strong and able to defend itself, it was now. The kingdom of Scotland united, whence we were wont to fear all our troubles; Ireland quieted, where our forces were wont to be divided; Denmark assured, whom before we were wont to have in jealousy; the Low Countries, our nearest neighbours, at peace with us; and instead of a Lady, whom time had surprised, we had now an active King, a lawful successor to the crown, who was able to his own business. I was not such a madman as to make myself in this time a Robin Hood, a Wat Tyler, or a Jack Cade. I knew also the state of Spain well; his weakness, and poorness, and humbleness at this time. I knew that he was discouraged and dishonoured. I knew that six times we had repulsed his forces, thrice in Ireland, thrice at sea, and once at Cadiz on his own coast. Thrice had I served against him myself at sea, wherein for my country's sake I had expended of my own properties 4000*l*. I knew that where before-time he was wont to have forty great sails at the least in his ports, now he hath not past six or seven; and for sending to his Indies he was driven to hire strange vessels;—a thing contrary to the institutions of his proud ancestors, who straitly forbad, in case of any necessity, that the king of Spain should make their case known to strangers. I knew that of five-and-twenty millions he had from his Indies, he had scarce any left; nay, I knew his poorness at this time to be such that the Jesuits, his imps, were fain to beg at the church doors; his pride so abated, as, notwithstanding

his former high terms, he was glad to congratulate the king, my master, on his accession, and now cometh creeping unto him for peace." With such a power the king of England might have concluded an honourable peace, without sacrificing the principle for which Elizabeth had fought for twenty years. She would not have forsaken the United Provinces, for any temptation which the Most Catholic king could have held out to shake her good faith and her constancy.

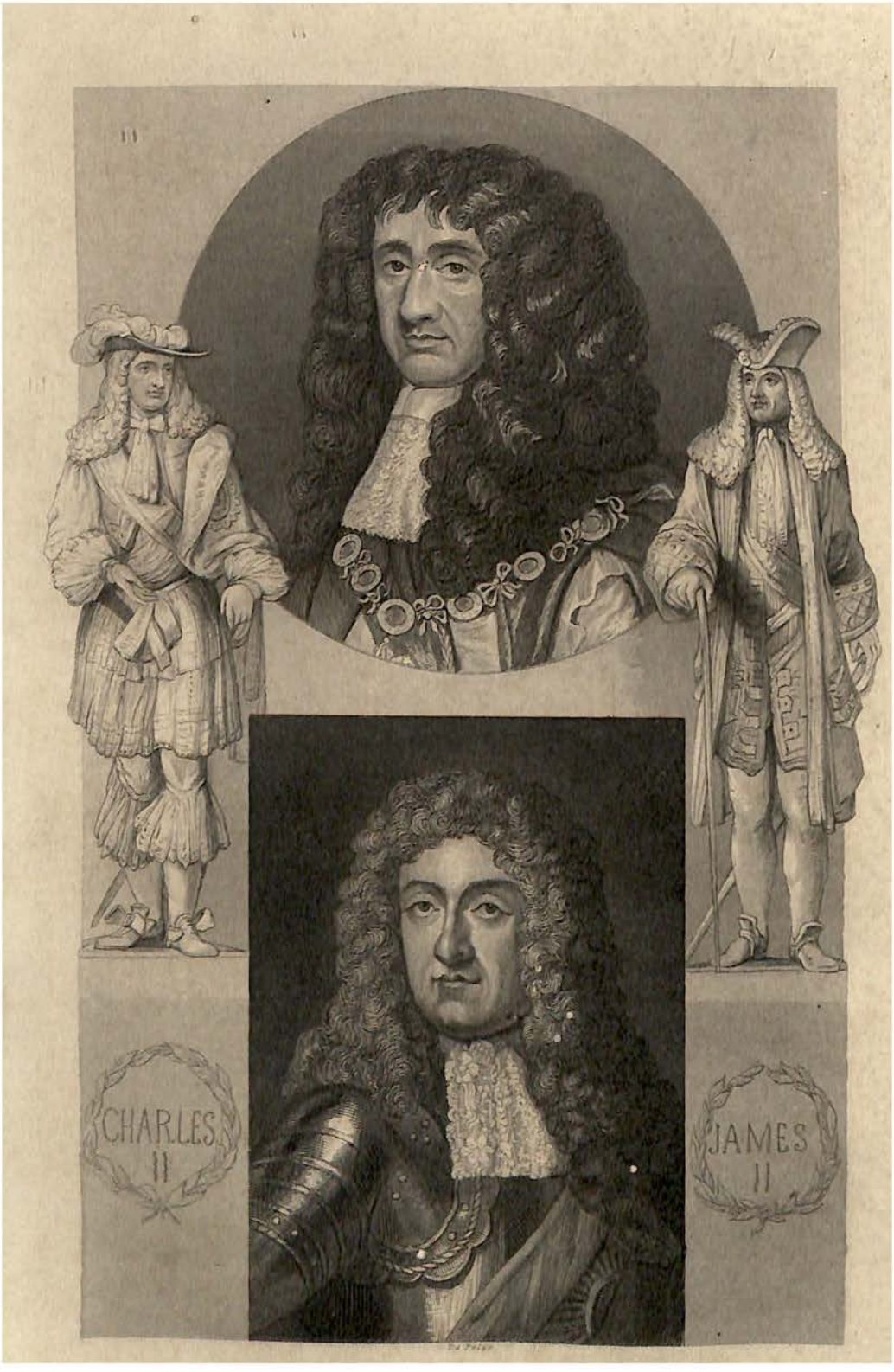


Procession of James I on the Thames.

Previous to the accession of James, the sovereign, in the unaltered style of ancient feudal assumption, had the title of "King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland." On the 24th of October, 1604, James was proclaimed "King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland." We cannot reflect upon him for retaining the absurd title of king of France, for the folly was kept up for two centuries longer. His vanity was abundantly gratified in being king of Great Britain and Ireland—an absolute king, as he believed; and not only a king, but a master of all learning, and especially of theological learning, of whom his Chancellor declared, at the Hampton Court conference, that never since our Saviour's time had the king and the priest been so wonderfully united in the same person. He was not altogether so royal a personage as Elizabeth, or her majestic father. His figure was ungainly; his habits were slovenly; he was by nature a coward. Not deficient in a certain talent which he rarely put to a right use—"the wisest fool in Christendom,"—he had no sense of that public responsibility which attached to his high office. He was a king for himself alone. He estimated the cost of war as the principal inducement to remain at peace. But the wise economy which was opposed to the martial

tendencies of the people that he was called to govern, was not an economy for the public good. He wasted his revenues upon silly baubles for personal ornaments, and in lavish grants to unworthy favourites. He almost wholly neglected the business of the state; for he was hunting, bolstered up on an ambling palfrey; or he was writing pedantic treatises which nobody read; or he was going in progress, to be flattered and feasted; or he was moving by easy journeys from his palace of Richmond to his palace of Windsor, or in triumphal procession in his state-barge from Greenwich to Whitehall. There were some refinements in his court, for the plays that were acted before him were often those of Shakspere; and at a later period Jonson wrote "Masques at Court," and Inigo Jones supplied the decorations. In a short time the palace became a scene of profligacy, in which even the mask of decency was not attempted to be put on. Yet this was the king who was to try his hand at making England an absolute monarchy by divine right. Lord Thomas Howard, who had been a powerful instrument in forwarding the accession of James, wrote to Harrington, "Your queen did talk of her subjects' love and good affection, and in good truth she aimed well. Our king talketh of his subjects' fear and subjection, and herein I think he doth well too,—*as long as it holdeth good.*"

Fifteen-shilling Piece of James I.


CHARLES
II
JAMES
II

James I. hawking.

CHAPTER XXI.

The Gunpowder Plot—Lord Mounteagle receives a letter—Fac-simile of the letter—Salisbury is made acquainted with the letter—Its interpretation—Search under the Parliament House—Seizure of Fawkes—The other Conspirators—Their preparations during eighteen previous months—Their proceedings after the discovery—They resist the sheriff—Some killed, others taken prisoners—Feelings of the Roman Catholics—Ben Jonson—Trial of Fawkes and others—Garnet the Jesuit—His conviction—His doctrine of Equivocation.

In the last week of October, 1605, the king was contemplating "his return from his hunting exercise at Royston, upon occasion of the drawing near of the parliament time, which had been twice prorogued already." * Whilst James was at his favourite sports, hunting according to a more discreet fashion than that of the old Norman kings, his "little beagle," for so he called Robert Cecil, now earl of Salisbury, was diligently carrying forward the business of the State. Salisbury was at his post at Whitehall on the night of the 26th of October, when his wonted meditations upon the difficulty of providing money for his extravagant master and his rapacious followers, were disturbed by the demand for an audience of a Catholic peer, lord Mounteagle. The position of this nobleman, who had been called to the House of Peers in the parliament of 1604, was a very equivocal one. He was the son of a

* "A Discourse of the Manner of the Discovery of the late intended Treason," &c. Published officially. Reprinted in "Harleian Miscellany."

Protestant peer, lord Morley; but, when very young, married a daughter of sir Thomas Tresham, who was a pervert to Rome under the guidance of missionary priests, and, during the reign of Elizabeth, a most uncompromising recusant. Lord Morley's son then became involved with several leading Roman Catholics in the conspiracy of Essex, and in their invitations to the king of Spain to invade England and to depose the queen. Upon the accession of James, when the king was either balancing the advantages of being Catholic or Protestant, or holding out to the Papists professions of toleration which he had no intention of accomplishing, Mounteagle was a satisfied recipient of court favours, whilst the old severities against recusants had been renewed, and the Roman Catholics in general were becoming hopeless of power, or even of indulgence. A strange incident had occurred on that night of the 26th of October, when Mounteagle broke in upon the quiet of the secretary of state. The catholic peer had a house at Hoxton, from which he had been absent a month, when he suddenly arrived that evening to supper. Very opportune was the return, as we learn from the official "Discourse:" "Being in his own lodging ready to go to supper, at seven of the clock at night, one of his footmen, whom he had sent of an errand over the street, was met by a man of a reasonable tall personage, who delivered him a letter, charging him to put it in my lord his master's hands; which my lord no sooner received, but that, having broken it up, and perceiving the same to be of an unknown and somewhat unlegible hand, and without either date or superscription, did call one of his men unto him, for helping him to read it."* It appears from another account, that the letter was read aloud, of course in the presence of the lord's attendants. It was as follows:—

"My lord out of the love i beare to some of youer frendz i have a caer of youer preservacion therefor i would advyse yowe as yowe tender youer lyf to devyse some exscuse to shift of your attendance at this parleament for god and man hathe concurred to punishe the wickednes of this tyme and thinke not slightlye of this advertisment but retyere youre selfe into youre contri wheare yowe maye expect the event in safti for thowghe theare be no apparance of anni stir yet i saye they shall receyve a terrible blowe this parleament and yet they shall not seie who hurts them this cowncel is not to be contemned because it maye do yowe good and can do yowe no harme for the dangere is passed as soon as yowe have burnt the letter and i hope god will give yowe the grace to mak good use of it to whose holy proteccion i comend yowe." The letter is addressed 'To the right honorable the lord Mowteagle.'

There have been many conjectures as to the writer of this extraordinary letter. One probable guess is that Francis Tresham, the brother-in-law of Mounteagle, gave him this warning to save his own life, though in such obscure terms as should not lead to discovery of the conspiracy in which Tresham and others of Mounteagle's friends were engaged. Greenway, the Jesuit, whose relation of the plot, although written to exculpate himself and others, contains many curious details, gives in his manuscript what seems "to have been the opinion of the conspirators themselves. They attributed it to Tresham, and suspected a secret understanding between him and lord

* As we give a fac-simile of this letter, now in the State Paper Office, our readers will be able to judge how far it is "unlegible."

To the ryght honorable
the lord mounteagle

my lord out of the coue i beare [illegible] to some of youere frendz
i haue a caer of youer preseruacion therfor i would ...
adnyse yowe as yowe tender youer lyf to deuyse some
excuse to shift of youer attendance at this parleament
for god and man hathe concurred to punishe the wickedues
of this tyme and thinke not slightlye of this aduertisment
but rethere youre self into youre contri wheare yowe ..
maye expect the euent in safti for thowyhe theare be no
apparance of anni stir yet i saye they shall receyue a terrible
blowe this parleament and yet they shall not seie who
hurts them this counceli is not to be a contemned because
it maye do yowe good and can do yowe no harme for the
dangere is passed as soon as yowe have burnt the letter
and i hope god will giue yowe the grace to mak good
use of it to whose holy proteccion i comend yowe

Fac-simile of the Letter to Lord Mounteagle.

Mounteagle, or at least the gentleman who was employed to read the letter at table. They were convinced that Tresham had no sooner given his consent than he repented of it, and sought to break up the plot without betraying his associates." * The circumstances indicate that there was a got-up scene enacted in the house of lord Mounteagle at Hoxton. The unexpected return of the lord of the house; the page met in the street by a man of tall person; the reading aloud of the letter, which the page had received as one of great importance to be delivered to his master's own hand;—these are all suspicious incidents. Whether the visit of Mounteagle to Salisbury, "notwithstanding the lateness and darkness of the night in that season of the year," † was a part of the same well arranged mystery, may be reasonably doubted. Mr. Jardine says, "Many considerations tend to confirm the truth of Father Greenway's suggestion, that the whole story of the letter was merely a device of the government to cover Tresham's treachery, or, for some other state reason, to conceal the true source from which their information had been derived." ‡ According to Dr. Lingard's account of Greenway's relation, he makes no such suggestion as that "the letter was merely a device of the government." It could have been no object of the government that the conspirators should escape. Thomas Winter, one of those actively concerned in the plot, had been a confidential attendant upon Mounteagle; and Thomas Ward, the man who read the letter aloud at Mounteagle's supper, went the next morning to Winter and urged him to fly. We can understand how Mounteagle might have sought to cover his previous knowledge of the plot by having a letter openly delivered which would convey to him the intimation of some dangerous design; and we can also understand how the very unusual course of causing a letter to be read aloud would have been adopted, that his old friends should have a hint to look after their own safety. But it appears unlikely that Salisbury should have been concerned in a device so calculated to defeat the discovery of some impending danger. It would be unsafe to affirm that the letter sent to Mounteagle gave the first intimation to the government of some imminent peril. A man of the name of Thomas Coe appears to have made a communication to Salisbury which conveyed "the primary intelligence of these late dangerous treasons." He claims this merit in a letter to Salisbury of the 20th December, in which he says, "My good lord, my writing so obscurely, and entitling my narration by the name of a dream or vision, was occasioned by the reason aforesaid"—[a doubt whether his letters might be opened]. "Not that it was a dream or idle fantasy, but such an approved truth as was wrested from a notorious Papist, unto whom I did so far insinuate by private conference that he confessed unto me the whole circumference of this treason, as it is since fallen out." § The administrative ability of Salisbury is shown by the wariness with which he conducted his operations, from the moment that Mounteagle came to him from Hoxton on that dark October night. Whether his suspicion was first raised, or whether he had a previous

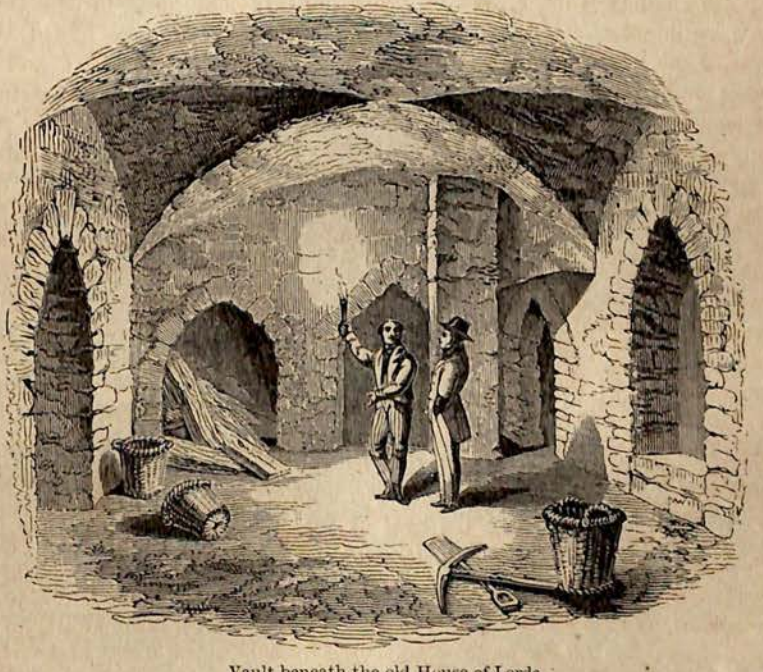
* Dr. Lingard's "History," vol. ix. p. 69, 8vo ed. Dr. Lingard brought Greenway's MS. from Rome, and first made it known in his "History."

† "Discourse," &c.

‡ "Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot," 1857. This admirable narrative is an expanded and corrected re-publication of Mr. Jardine's Introduction to "Criminal Trials," vol. ii.

§ Lodge, "Illustrations," vol. iii. p. 301.

knowledge, his course was unaltered. He made no fuss; he quietly communicated the letter to others of the Council; he suffered James to go on with his hunting exercise; and when the king came to London, the Secretary, having had the ominous letter six days in his possession, presented it to the king, no other person being present. The official "Discourse" claims for the king the right interpretation of the riddle, "For the danger is passed as soon as you have burnt the letter." If the danger was past so soon as the letter was burnt, argued Salisbury, what was the use of the warning. But the king read the mysterious sentence thus:—the danger is to be sudden and quick—the terrible hurts, of which the authors should be unseen, "should be as quickly performed and at an end, as that paper should be a blazing up in the fire." Thence, held the king, according to the "Discourse," it should be "by a blowing up of powder." It was "a divine illumination of the royal mind," said Coke on the trial of the conspirators. Salisbury, according to his own statement, had suggested the same interpretation to several of the Council, before the king knew anything of the matter. But Salisbury was too politic not to let the vanity of his master expatiate to his parliament upon his claim to the discovery. It was set forth in the "Discourse" how all inquiry had



Vault beneath the old House of Lords.

been postponed by the Council, "for the expectation and experience they had of his majesty's fortunate judgment, in clearing and solving obscure riddles and doubtful mysteries." The Secretary completely threw the conspirators off their guard, even when they knew that the letter to Mounteagle was in the hands of the vigilant minister. They had conferred upon their danger; but the absence of every indication of alarm or suspicion on the part of the

government made them despise the advice which Winter had received from his friend in Mounteagle's household.

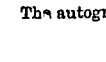
"On Monday the 4th of November, the Lord Chamberlain, whose duty it was to make arrangements for the meeting of parliament, went to the House of Lords; and afterwards entered the vaults under the parliament-chamber. Lord Mounteagle was of the party. They observed a large store of coals and wood in a cellar; and standing carelessly there they saw "a very tall and desperate fellow." The Lord Chamberlain asked who the fuel belonged to: and the man answered that they belonged to his master, Mr. Percy, who had rented the cellar for a year and a half. There were no more questions. But there was a general examination, by the direction of a Westminster magistrate, of neighbouring houses and cellars, under a pretence of looking for some missing property belonging to the royal wardrobe. The "tall and desperate fellow," was not yet frightened from his purpose. A little before midnight on the eve of the 5th of November, the same magistrate, with a strong body of attendants, repaired to the cellar under the parliament house. A man just stepping out of the door was seized and searched. Slow matches and touchwood were found upon him; and a lantern, with a light within its dark covering, was in the cellar. The heaps of billets were quickly removed, and beneath them were thirty-six barrels of gunpowder.

It is one o'clock in the morning. The prisoner is led to Whitehall. A Council is hastily assembled in the king's bed-chamber. The resolute man is beset with hurried interrogatories by king and peers. His name, he says, is John Johnson; he is a servant of Thomas Percy; if he had not been apprehended that night, he had blown up the parliament house, when the king, peers, bishops, and others had been assembled. "Why would you have killed me?" asks the king. "Because you are excommunicated by the pope," is the reply. "How so?" said James. "Every Maundy Thursday the pope doth excommunicate all heretics, who are not of the church of Rome," is the explanation. He is asked who were privy to the conspiracy, and answers, "he could not resolve to accuse any." The night was passed in the examination of the prisoner; but nothing could be obtained from him that could commit his accomplices. In the morning he was taken to the Tower.

That morning of the 5th of November was a time of deep anxiety in London. The news of a conspiracy so daring in its objects, so mysterious in its origin, so terrible in its remorseless fanaticism, filled all classes with alarm. It was scarcely possible to exaggerate the consequences of a plot which threatened to involve the whole machinery of government in one indiscriminate destruction. Two of the conspirators had left London on the 4th. Two others fled the instant they knew that the pretended servant of Percy was seized. Two more lingered till the morning. Five of these joined company on their road to Ashby St. Legers, in Northamptonshire, all riding with extraordinary speed, having relays of horses. It had been arranged that a general rendezvous should take place at Dunchurch, on the 5th of November, after the great act of vengeance should have been accomplished in London. Towards that place various bodies of Roman Catholics were moving on the appointed day; some being cognisant of a design against the government, but few having been intrusted with the secrets of the leaders. A party was col-

lected on the 5th at the house of lady Catesby, at Ashby St. Legers. They were at supper when the five who had fled from London rushed in, covered with the mire of the wintry roads, exhausted, hopeless. They had little to think of now but self-defence. Taking with them all the arms they could collect, they rode off to Dunchurch. Here they found a large assembly, with sir Everard Digby at their head, carousing, and anxiously expecting some joyful intelligence of the triumphs of their party, which they had been led to anticipate by vague hints of a coming time when heresy should no longer sit in high places. The ill-concealed fears, the pale looks, the secret whisperings of the friends who had ridden so hard to join them, told another tale. The instinct with which those who, with a half-confidence, are to be made the instruments of conspiracy fly from their leaders at the first approach of detection, was now in full operation. Those who came with numerous retainers to the great chase on Dunmore heath, which was to be a gathering for more important objects than the hunting of the deer, gradually slunk away. On that night the chief conspirators were left alone. Let us now see who were the principal actors in this perilous enterprise; and how they had been occupied for many months before the fatal fifth of November.

Robert Catesby, the only son of sir William Catesby, who in the time of Elizabeth passed from the Protestant faith to the Roman Catholic, and whose mother was a sister of Thomas Throckmorton, also a most determined recusant, was imbued with a more than common hatred to the established religion. He was concerned in the insurrection of Essex, but was pardoned upon paying a fine of £3000; and he was prominent in other seditions during the two latter years of the queen's reign. Thomas Winter was of a Roman Catholic family, who were connected by marriage with the family of Catesby; and he also had been occupied with plots, and had been in Spain to negotiate for the invasion of England by a Spanish force, in 1601. John Wright was a pervert from Protestantism, and he had also been engaged in the treason of Essex. These men were old and intimate friends; and these "three first devised the plot, and were the chief directors of all the particularities of it," as their principal associate declared in one of his examinations. He who stated this, on the 19th of November, was the "tall and desperate fellow" who called himself John Johnson, and refused when brought to Whitehall on the 5th, to declare any who were privy to the design which he so boldly avowed. He had been compelled to disclose his real name by a hateful process; for on the 6th of November the king proposed a number of interrogatories to be put to the prisoner, concluding thus: "The gentler tortures are to be first used unto him, *et sic per gradus ad ima tenditur*:" [and so proceed by steps to the extremest.] This recommendation produced its effect; as we may learn from the signature of Guido Fawkes to his examination before the torture, and his signature to an examination after the torture. He was the son of a notary of York, who was Registrar of the Consistory Court of the Cathedral and he was brought up as a Protestant, at the free school



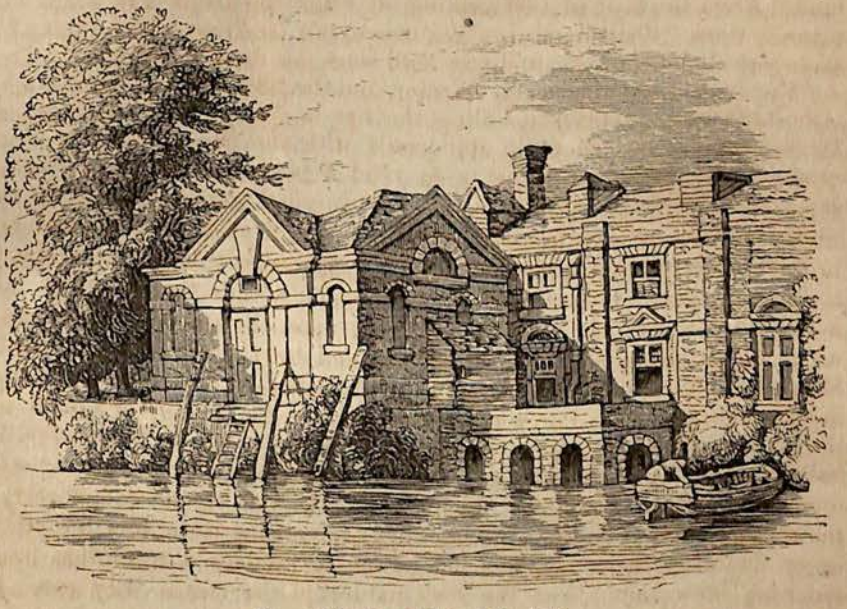
The autographs of Guido Fawkes before and after torture.

there. He became, however, a zealous Papist; and, having served in the Spanish army in Flanders, acquired some of the Spanish notions of the Christian treatment by which heresy was to be extirpated. Guido Fawkes and Thomas Winter came to London together in 1604; and a few days after there was a remarkable meeting between Catesby, Wright, Winter, Fawkes, and a new malcontent, Thomas Percy, a relation of the earl of Northumberland. From the time of this meeting, at which the first words which Percy uttered, were, "Shall we always, gentlemen, talk, and never do any thing?"—there was abundant work, and very hard work, for these five fanatics.

The confession of Thomas Winter, on the 23rd of November, is a very elaborate paper, minutely detailing the rise and progress of the conspiracy. It is perfectly consistent in its details with the facts derived from other sources; and altogether presents so vivid a picture of the energy and perseverance of these misguided men, that we shall use occasionally its exact words in detailing their proceedings after they were solemnly banded together in their dangerous enterprise. They gave each other an oath of secrecy, "in a chamber where no other body was;" and, going "into the next room, heard mass, and received the blessed sacrament upon the same." The object for which the oath was taken was then disclosed by Catesby to Percy, and by Winter and Wright to Fawkes. In the State Paper Office there is an agreement between Thomas Percy and Henry Ferrers, for the hire of a house next the parliament-house. It is dated, May 24th, 1604;—and is endorsed by Salisbury. "The bargain between Ferrers and Percy for the bloody cellar, found in Winter's lodging." * Eighteen months were these five men carrying their terrible secret close in their bosoms; imparting it to very few others; never doubting their own unaided power to produce a revolution by one stunning blow; and, from the very nature of the means they employed, exposed to detection at every step. "The bloody cellar," was not under the parliament chamber. They saw no chance of preparing a mine beneath that chamber, but by breaking through the massive foundation wall of the House of Lords. Fawkes received the keys of the house next the parliament-house; and they were ready for their work previous to the expected meeting of parliament. But the parliament was again prorogued to February, 1605; so they departed to the country for awhile. They then took another house at Lambeth, "where," says Winter, "we might make provision of powder and wood for the mine, which being there made ready, should in a night be conveyed by boat to the house by the parliament, because we were loth to foil that with often going in and out." The charge of this Lambeth house was given to Robert Keyes; who, although sworn as a member of the confederacy, appears to have been received "as a trusty honest man," who was ready to earn money for his services. At the beginning of Michaelmas term, 1604, Fawkes and Winter conferred with Catesby in the country, and they agreed "that now was the time to begin and set things in order for the mine." Percy's house was wanted for a meeting of the Commissioners for the Scotch Union. It was an official house; and Percy, its temporary tenant, was obliged to defer his unsuspected proceedings. Percy held the office of a Gentleman-Pensioner, which may account for the absence of all suspicion as to his

* Mrs. Green's "Calendar of State Papers," p. 113.

objects. The conferences of the commissioners were ended a fortnight before Christmas; and then other labours were commenced in right earnest within those walls. Percy and Wright now joined Catesby, Winter, and Fawkes; "and we," says Winter, "against their coming, had provided a good part of the powder; so as we all five entered with tools fit to begin our work, having



House of the Conspirators at Lambeth.

provided ourselves with baked meats, the less to need sending abroad. We entered late in the night." They had to get through a stone wall three yards in thickness. Their labour was far beyond what they had expected; and they sent to Lambeth for Keyes, and obtained the adhesion to their plot of Christopher Wright, the brother of John. Fawkes, with the boldness which characterised him, vindicated himself and his associates from the belief that they were men of low birth and mean employments, to whom such toil was habitual; but that they were "gentlemen of name and blood." In his examination of the 8th of November, he says, "not any was employed in or about this action, no, not so much as in digging or mining, that was not a gentleman. And while the others wrought, I stood a sentinel to descry any man that came near; and when any man came near to the place, upon warning given by me, they ceased until they had again notice from me to proceed. All we seven lay in the house, and had shot and powder; being resolved to die in that place before we should yield or be taken." Father Greenway expresses his surprise that men delicately nurtured should, in a short space of time, have accomplished far more rough work than men who had been bred to laborious occupation would have accomplished. They were enthusiasts. They had little sense of fatigue, in the confidence that they were engaged in a holy work to which they were called by the immediate

voice of heaven. Whether they were driven on their desperate course by those who claimed to be interpreters of the divine voice must remain to some extent a matter of doubt. They were all followers of the Jesuits. There were none of the conspirators who belonged to the more loyal body of Catholics who were guided by the secular priesthood. The Jesuit missionaries were, at this period, hiding in the secret chambers of old manor-houses to avoid expulsion from the kingdom. But if these seven gentlemen who worked in the mine had been bound together in their atrocious purpose by those who ruled over their consciences, they were at least faithful to their secret advisers. As they worked, they beguiled the time by discoursing about what should be their first proceeding when they had accomplished the sweeping destruction of all the estates of the realm. They were to carry off prince Charles, and his sister Elizabeth, prince Henry having perished with the king. They were then to proclaim the heir-apparent, and appoint a Protector of the kingdom, during the minority of the sovereign. They were to ask help of foreign princes, when "the business was acted." What next they were to do with a state so "out of joint," was not manifest. They were sometimes beset with superstitious fears. They heard a sound from the middle of the wall, as of a tinkling bell. It was an unearthly sound, and was heard no more when holy water had been sprinkled again and again. They did not resume their labours till February, 1605, having learnt that parliament was to be again prorogued. But now their plan of operations was changed. They had "wrought also another fortnight in the mine against the stone wall, which was very hard to beat through," when they heard a rushing noise above their heads. Fawkes, always foremost in any danger, went to ascertain the cause, in his usual disguise of a porter's frock. He found that above the spot where they had been mining was a cellar in the occupation of a coal-dealer, and that he was moving his coals, being about to give up possession. That cellar was immediately under the parliament chamber. They seized upon the opportunity. The cellar was hired, and was quickly filled with barrels of gunpowder, covered over with fagots and billets. In May all their stores were carried in, and, locking the cellar, they departed from London. Fawkes went to Flanders to see if any foreign plotting looked promising. Catesby employed the summer in raising a troop of horse, for service in Flanders, as a part of an English regiment levied by the Spanish ambassador. This troop was officered by Catesby's immediate friends. The conspiracy widened by the introduction to its secrets of sir Everard Digby, Ambrose Rookwood, and Francis Tresham. Digby was only twenty-four years of age, and was evidently a weak tool of the Jesuits, whom he secreted in his house. "He cordially joined in the project from religious zeal, as soon as he satisfied himself that the action had been approved by his spiritual advisers." * Rookwood was also a young man, who had been repeatedly prosecuted for harbouring priests in his house. He had scruples about joining in so extensive a scheme of slaughter, saying, "it was a matter of conscience to take away so much blood;" but Catesby silenced him by saying "it had been resolved on good authority that in conscience it might be done." Tresham and Catesby were cousins. Tresham had taken a prominent part

* Mr. Jardine refers to Digby's letters, published in 1678, as evidence of this.

in the Essex conspiracy; and he very narrowly escaped arraignment and execution; for it was he who kept guard over the Lord Keeper in Essex House, and told him that having stayed two years for a motion in Chancery, he hoped his lordship would now be at leisure to hear him. We have seen how Tresham was suspected to have been the author of the letter to lord Mounteagle; and it appears that Catesby had great misgivings of the success of his scheme from the time that Tresham became possessed of its perilous secret.

We now resume our narrative from the point at which we left the bewildered conspirators at Dunchurch, after the seizure of Fawkes. The timid adherents to some vague plan of revolt having departed, and left the bolder spirits to their own resolves, these daring confederates determined at once to march with their armed retainers, in the hope to excite a general insurrection of Roman Catholics in the midland counties, and in Wales. They set out from Dunchurch at ten o'clock on that same night of the 5th, having despatched a letter to the Jesuit Garnet, who was in the neighbourhood with sir Everard Digby's family. They marched through Warwick, where they helped themselves to horses, on to Alcester; and having seized some armour at lord Windsor's, on Wednesday night they had reached Holbeach, the house of Stephen Littleton, one of their friends. Their numbers were gradually diminished by desertion. Not one man joined them. The Roman Catholic party saw that the odious enterprise would long retard any hope of toleration from the government. The conspirators were pursued by the sheriff of Worcestershire with his *posse comitatus*. Digby fled from them at Holbeach, and was seized at Dudley; for the hue and cry had gone through the country. Those who remained at Holbeach prepared to defend the house against assault. An accidental circumstance filled them with terrible forebodings—a circumstance which Coke cleverly alluded to, upon the trial of Fawkes and others, as an exemplification of the principle that there is no law more just than that the wicked should perish by their own acts:—"Observe," he said, "a miraculous accident which befel in Stephen Littleton's house called Holbeach, in Staffordshire, after these traitors had been two days in open rebellion, immediately before their apprehension; for some of them standing by the fire-side, and having set two pounds and a half of powder to

Musketeer, 1603.

dry in a platter before the fire, and underset the said platter with a great linen bag full of other powder, containing some fifteen or sixteen pounds, it so fell out, that one coming to put more wood into the fire, and casting it on, there flew a coal into the platter, by reason whereof the powder taking fire and blowing up, scorched those who were nearest, as Catesby, Grant, and Rookwood, and blew up the roof of the house; and the linen bag, which was set under the platter, being therewith suddenly carried out through the breach, fell down in the court-yard whole and unfired, which if it had taken fire in the room, would have slain them all there, so that they never should have come to this trial; and *Lex justior nulla est, quam necis artifices arte perire suâ.*" * This explosion of gunpowder was regarded even by the boldest

Bates. R. Winter. C. Wright. J. Wright. Percy. Fawkes. Catesby. T. Winter.

The Gunpowder Conspirators. (From a Print published immediately after the discovery.)

of these men as a token that God was against them. But the next day when the sheriff arrived and summoned them to surrender, the few who remained determined upon resistance. Thomas Winter was not present when the gunpowder exploded. Stephen Littleton then fled, having asked Winter to fly with him; but Winter, who supposed that Catesby was killed by the accident, said he would see the body of his friend, and bury him before he left. Winter tells the remainder of the story with expressive brevity: "When I came I found Mr. Catesby reasonable well, Mr. Percy, both the Wrights, Mr. Rookwood, and Mr. Grant. I asked them 'what they resolved

* "Criminal Trials," vol. ii. p. 135.

to do.' They answered, 'we mean here to die.' I said again, 'I would take such part as they did.' About eleven of the clock came the company to beset the house, and, as I walked into the court, I was shot into the shoulder, which lost me the use of my arm; the next shot was the elder Wright struck dead; after him the younger Mr. Wright; and fourthly, Ambrose Rookwood. Then said Mr. Catesby to me (standing before the door they were to enter), 'stand by me, Tom, and we will die together.' 'Sir,' quoth I, 'I have lost the use of my right arm, and I fear that will cause me to be taken.' So, as we stood close together, Mr. Catesby, Mr. Percy, and myself, they two were shot, as far as I could guess, with one bullet, and then the company entered upon me, hurt me in the belly with a pike, and gave me other wounds, until one came behind, and caught hold of both my arms."

Previous to the trial of the principal conspirators who remained alive, there had been twenty-three days occupied in various examinations; during which the general progress of the conspiracy had been slowly extracted from the confessions of the prisoners. Tresham, who is supposed to have been instrumental in discovering the plot to the government, was not arrested till the 12th of November, although Fawkes had distinctly mentioned him as one concerned. He died in the Tower before the trial. In postponing the trial, it was the great object of the government to obtain evidence that would inculpate the Jesuit missionaries. All the conspirators, with the exception of Thomas Bates, a servant of Catesby, persisted in denying the privity of the Jesuits to the enterprise. The alarm which was felt at the revelation of a treason which contemplated such awful consequences was universal; and thus we may understand how Ben Jonson, a person who, although a writer of masques for the court, was of a sturdy and independent character, appears to have lent himself to the government, in what we may regard as the odious function of a spy. There is a letter in the State Paper Office, bearing date the 8th of November, addressed by the poet to Salisbury, in which he says, "There hath been no want in me, either of labour or sincerity, in the discharge of this business, to the satisfaction of your lordship, or the State." Upon the first mention of it the day before, he had consulted the chaplain of the Venetian ambassador, who, he says, "not only apprehended it well, but was of mind with me, that no man of conscience, or any indifferent lover of his country, would deny to do it." The chaplain had recommended a fitting person to assist in the "business," but he could not be found. Jonson had made attempts in other places, but could speak with no one in person, "all being either removed or so concealed upon the present mischief." In the "second means" which he had employed, he had "received answers of doubt and difficulties, that they will make it a question to the Archpriest, with other such like suspensions." The dramatist was himself at this time a Roman Catholic.* Not believing him to have been altogether in the position of a vile informer and betrayer, we are inclined to think that he was doing what other Roman Catholics were doing—assisting in the discovery of a conspiracy which the greater number of their persuasion repudiated. There was a

* In his Conversations with Drummond, he says that when he was imprisoned for killing his adversary in a duel, (which was in 1598) "then took he his religion by trust of a friend who visited him in prison. Thereafter he was 12 years a papist." Drummond's Notes, published by Shakspeare Society, p. 19.

broad line of separation between the disciples of the Jesuits and the majority of Catholics, who lived under the more quiet guidance of the ordinary priests. Jonson was clearly endeavouring to get at some secrets which would remove from the great body of the Catholics the odium which attached to the supposed movers of this conspiracy. "For myself," he says, "if I had been a priest, I would have put on wings to such an occasion, and have thought it no adventure, where I might have done (besides his majesty and my country) all Christianity so good service." The plot was offensive to him, as it was to many others of the Romish Church, upon religious and political grounds. It was opposed to every feeling of justice and humanity. When Jonson says, "I think they are all so enweaved in it, as it will make five hundred gentlemen less of the religion within this week, if they carry their understanding about them," we hold him to mean that those Catholics who exercised their understanding would turn from a religion whose priest-led fanatics were ready to commit such an abominable crime.* We take the poet's case to be an illustration of a very general tone of feeling amongst the moderate Papists; who, whatever might be their grievances, did not see their way to redress in casting aside all love of country, and all regard for religion, by being neutral and indifferent at a time when such a fearful mystery was suddenly brought to light.

The trial of Robert and Thomas Winter, Guido Fawkes, John Grant, Ambrose Rookwood, Robert Keyes, and Thomas Bates, took place in Westminster-hall, on the 27th of January, 1606, before a Special Commission. They all pleaded "not guilty," although each of them had been brought to acknowledge the chief facts set forth in the indictment. Fawkes was asked by the Lord Chief Justice how he could deny the indictment, having been actually taken in the cellar with the powder. The report of the trial makes him say, that he had done so, because there were certain conferences mentioned in the indictment which he knew not of. Eudæmon Jones, who published an Apology for Garnet the Jesuit, declares that what Fawkes said went much further: that he stated that "none of them meant to deny that which they had not only voluntarily confessed before, but which was quite notorious throughout the realm. But this indictment," he added, "contains many other matters, which we neither can or ought to countenance by our assent or silence. It is true that all of us were actors in this plot, but it is false that the holy fathers had any part in it. We never conferred with them about the matter." † In the indictment, Henry Garnet, clerk, of the profession of Jesuits, otherwise called Henry Walley; Oswald Tesmond, otherwise called Oswald Greenway and Oswald Fermour, of the aforesaid profession; and John Gerrard, otherwise called John Brooke, also of the same profession, are included as principals with the other conspirators. A proclamation was issued for their apprehension on the 15th of January. Tesmond, more commonly mentioned as Greenway, and Gerrard, escaped beyond sea.

* The letter from Jonson is noticed in Mrs. Green's "Calendar of State Papers," and in a review of that book, in the "Athenæum," of August 15th, 1857, the document is given in full.

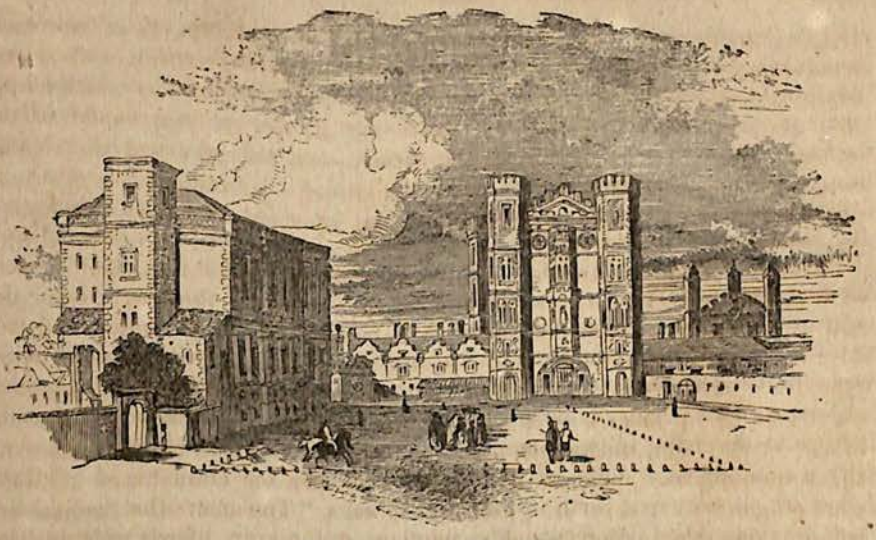
† See Jardine's "Criminal Trials," vol. ii. p. 120. Mr. Jardine was the first to publish any satisfactory report of this trial, and of that of Garnet, by giving the original evidence as far as it could be ascertained. We regret that in his excellent "Narrative of the Gunpowder Plot," these reports are not given.

It is unnecessary for us to dwell upon the trial of Fawkes and the others. They were necessarily condemned, and sentenced to the penalties of treason. Sir Everard Digby was tried and found guilty at Northampton. They were all executed on the Thursday and Friday following the 27th of January. There appears very sufficient evidence that some of the prisoners believed to the last that their project was not a sinful one. Sir Everard Digby wrote to his wife, "If I had thought there had been the least sin in it, I would not have been of it for all the world, and no other cause drew me to hazard my fortune and life, but zeal for God's religion." Such was the fanaticism of Digby, a man of no great force of character, but amiable, and just in his domestic relations. When we look at the unswerving fidelity of these men to each other; their undoubted confidence of success; their utter blindness to the awful consequences of their scheme,—we can scarcely doubt that they were all working together under a strong delusion, gradually taking a firm hold upon their minds through some external influence of the most powerful nature. Grant is reported to have said on the day of his execution, "I rely entirely upon my merits in bearing a part of that noble action, as an abundant satisfaction and expiation for all sins committed by me during the rest of my life." But Digby, who at first thought there was not the least sin in that action, adds in the letter to his wife, "But when I heard that Catholics and priests thought it should be a great sin that should be the cause of my end, it called my conscience in doubt of my very best actions and intentions." The great body of Roman Catholics, we may well believe, were free from such a horrible delusion. The trial of Henry Garnet, the superior of the Jesuits in England, which we shall now have briefly to notice, does not quite settle the question of the complicity of "the holy fathers;" but it leaves very little doubt of the principles upon which they acted.

Henry Garnet, an Englishman, educated at Winchester, became a member of the Society of Jesus, in 1575. In 1586 he was appointed to the mission of the Society in England; and in 1588 he became Superior of the Jesuits here. An accomplished scholar, of mild demeanour and gentle nature, he exercised great influence amongst the most devoted adherents to the ancient faith. In September, 1605, a remarkable pilgrimage, under the conduct of Garnet, was undertaken by a party of Roman Catholics to St. Winifred's Well, in Flintshire. Anne Vaux, a daughter of lord Vaux, was amongst the most devoted followers of the fascinating Jesuit; and she, with the wife of sir Everard Digby, the wife of Ambrose Rookwood, and other ladies, walked barefoot on a part of the road to the holy fountain. Rookwood himself was amongst the pilgrims; and in their long progress from Digby's house in Buckinghamshire, they rested at the houses of John Grant and Robert Winter. The time of the pilgrimage, the persons associated in it, and its suggestion by Garnet, render it difficult to believe that the smooth Jesuit would not have found many an opportunity during this fortnight's adventure, to suggest the holiest precepts of the duty of hazarding life and fortune "for God's cause." On the 29th of October, Garnet moved with lady Digby and her family, to sir Everard's house at Coughton, near the place of general rendezvous appointed for the 5th of November. Here he received the letter from Digby and Catesby announcing the failure of the great business. In December he was conducted by Oldcorne, otherwise Hall, a Jesuit, to Hendlip

House, near Worcester. Here he remained concealed before and after the proclamation against him. On the 20th of January, 1606, sir Henry Bromley, a magistrate, arrived at Hendlip House, with a commission to search the mansion. That house was full of secret apartments, which had been constructed by Thomas Abington, a devoted recusant. There were staircases concealed in the walls; hiding places in chimneys; trap-doors; double wainscots. On the fourth day after the arrival of the magistrate, two men were forced from their concealment by hunger and cold. They were the servants of the two priests. On the eighth day an opening had been found to the cell where Garnet and Oldcorne were hidden. They had been fed through a reed with broths and warm drinks; the reed being inserted in an aperture in a chimney of a gentlewoman's chamber, that backed another chimney of their secret room. Garnet after being taken was kindly used. He was examined before the Privy Council on the 13th of February, and the examination was often repeated. But no blandishments and no threats could induce him to confess his participation in the plot. He was not subjected to torture, although his unfortunate companion, Oldcorne, and the two servants, appear to have been cruelly treated. One of these, Owen, died by his own hand in dread of a second infliction of the accursed instruments which lawyers and statesmen were not ashamed to employ in their blind zeal for the discovery of treason. Evidence of some kind against Garnet was at last obtained, by a pretended kindness of his keeper, who told him that by opening a concealed door in his cell he might confer with his fellow-prisoner, Oldcorne. Two persons were so placed that they could hear the greater part of whatever words were exchanged. There were several of these conferences between the two Jesuits; and their conversations were taken down, and submitted to the Council. The facts which they revealed certainly indicated that Garnet had a knowledge of the general scope of the plot; and that in these conferences he made no attempt to deny the truth of the accusation that he had such knowledge. When pressed upon these points he boldly asserted that he had never had any speech or conference with his fellow prisoner. Oldcorne had admitted the fact; and Garnet at length acknowledged it, justifying his previous untruth upon the principle that no man was bound to criminate himself until the charge against him was otherwise proved. He at length acknowledged that the design of blowing up the house of Parliament on the first day of the Session had been revealed to him by Greenway, who had received it in confession from Catesby and Wright. He maintained, however, that he had endeavoured to turn Catesby from his purpose. The trial of Garnet took place on the 28th of March. He defended himself with ability and courage; in which, though acknowledging "that he had done more than he could excuse by law in having concealed his privity to the design," he maintained "that he had acted upon a conscientious persuasion that he was bound to disclose nothing that he had heard in sacramental confession." He was found guilty, and received the usual sentence for treason. After his condemnation his examinations were renewed. He was condemned on the 28th of March, and was not executed till the 3rd of May. Oldcorne had been tried at Worcester, and was executed on the 7th of April. Dr. Lingard is of opinion that Garnet's defence had made a favourable impression on the mind of the king; and that his avowals on the subject of Equivocation, after his

trial, led to his execution. His general principles had been thus expressed in a paper written before his trial: "Concerning equivocation, this is my opinion; in moral affairs, and in the common intercourse of life, when the truth is asked amongst friends, it is not lawful to use equivocation, for that would cause great mischief in society—wherefore in such cases there is no place for equivocation. But in cases where it becomes necessary to an individual for his defence, or for avoiding any injustice or loss, or for obtaining any important advantage, without danger or mischief to any other person, there equivocation is lawful." In an examination after the trial he goes further, and holds that an oath might be lawfully used to confirm a simple equivocation: "This, I acknowledge to be, according to my opinion, and the opinion of the schoolmen: and our reason is, for that in cases of lawful equivocation, the speech by equivocation being saved from a lie, the same speech may be without perjury confirmed by oath, or by any other usual way, though it were by receiving the sacrament, if just necessity so require." Dr. Lingard, with a candour very different from some apologies for Garnet and his doctrines which were put forth in past times, says, "The man who maintained such opinions could not reasonably complain, if the king refused credit to his asseverations of innocence, and permitted the law to take its course." Garnet's opinions were not shared by the majority of the Roman Catholics even in his own day; any more than the same body in general approved of the murderous project in which Catesby and his associates were involved. During the struggles between the two Churches in the seventeenth century, the Gunpowder Treason was the standing argument for denying liberty of conscience to our Roman Catholic fellow-subjects. Its traditions lingered through the eighteenth century, to support the same oppression in a mitigated form. They now scarcely survive even in popular prejudice; for, combined with the spread of knowledge has grown up a spirit of charity and justice, in the prevalence of which the State, having ceased to persecute or to exclude for religious opinions, has nothing to fear from the fanatic or the casuist.



Banqueting-House, Whitehall.

CHAPTER XXII.

Parliament of 1606—Statutes against Papists—Game Laws—Manners of the Court—Lavishness of James upon his favourites—Feudal aid—Impositions upon merchandise—First Settlement in Virginia—Progress of the Colony—Settlement of the Pilgrim Fathers in Massachusets—Charter of the East India Company—First factory at Surat—The Mogul rulers of Hindostan—Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe—Dissolution of the Parliament. Murder of Henry IV. of France—Authorised translation of the Bible—Ireland—Plantation of Ulster—Creation of Baronets—The New River—Increase of London.

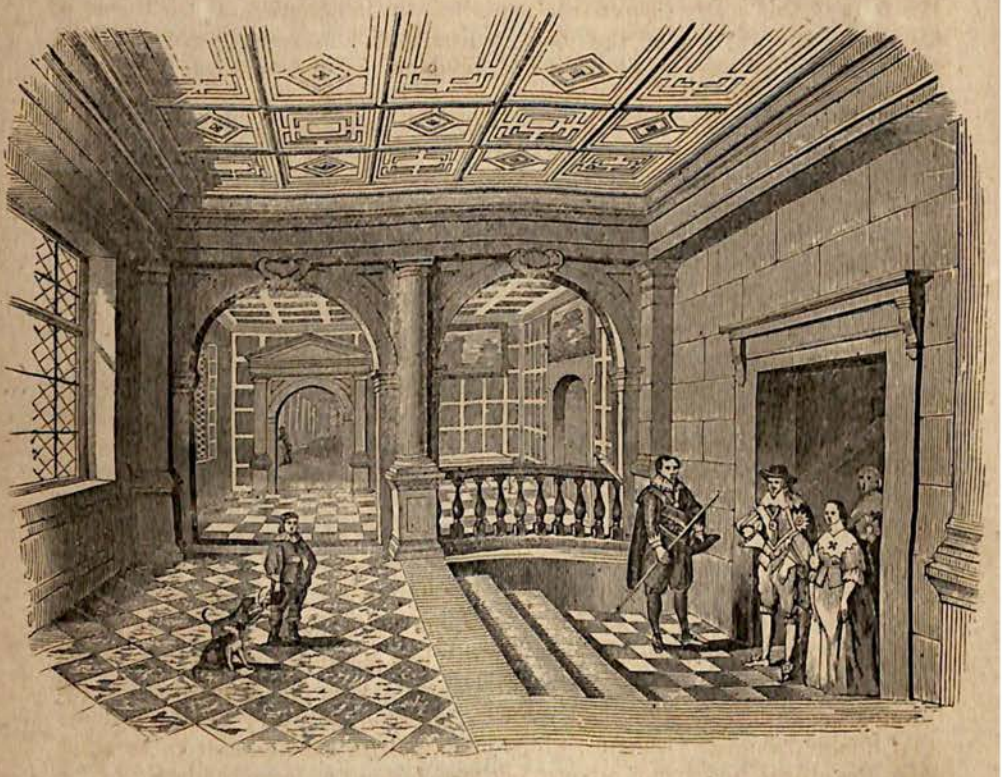
THE parliament which was to have met on the 5th of November, 1605, was necessarily prorogued to a later period. It assembled on the 21st of January, 1606. It was scarcely to be expected that the discovery of a conspiracy so atrocious as that of the Gunpowder project should have induced a parliament, becoming more and more puritan, to deal with the papists in a spirit of toleration. To the previous severities of the penal code were added various penalties which touched convicted recusants in their domestic and private relations. All Roman Catholics who had been convicted of recusancy, and all who had not received the sacrament twice in twelve months in a Protestant church, were also required to take an oath of allegiance. In this oath, the pretended power of the pope to absolve subjects from their obedience was to be expressly renounced; and the Roman Catholic was further to swear that he, from his heart, abhorred, detested, and abjured, as impious and heretical, "the damnable doctrine and position that princes excommunicated or deprived by the pope may be deposed or murdered by their subjects." Looking at the history of the country from the time of the Reformation, it can scarcely be maintained that such an oath was unreasonable. The secular priests in England recommended their brethren so to declare their allegiance. The papal court issued a breve to forbid such a renunciation of the deposing power.

Cardinal Bellarmine wrote a book to prove the unlawfulness of the oath. King James, never more happy than when engaged in a theological controversy, published An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance; "by which," says Mr. Hallam, "he incurred the contempt of foreign courts and of all judicious men." In spite of the threatenings of the pope and the sophistries of the cardinal, many of the Catholic clergy, and all the Catholic peers with one exception, accepted this test of their obedience to the civil government.

In this Session, an Act was passed "against unlawful hunting and stealing of deer and conies;" which states that, through the insufficiency of previous statutes, "many riots, manslaughters, mischiefs, and other inconveniences have been daily committed, and are like to be committed, if circumspect remedy be not hereunto provided." * There was to be fine and imprisonment for those who took or chased game in any grounds without the consent of the owner; and, what must have been a frequent cause of riots and manslaughters, qualified persons, having lands of the clear annual value of 100*l.*, were empowered to seize all guns and sporting implements from unqualified persons, the qualification being as high as 40*l.* a-year. Evils enough have resulted from a harsh administration of the game-laws in our own times; but such a distinction as this law of James made between the great proprietor and the substantial yeoman must have been as odious as it was impracticable. England had now got a sporting king, who told his ministers, when they implored him on their knees to attend to the public business, that his health was the health and welfare of all, and that he never would forego his exercise and relaxation. His brother-in-law, Christian IV., king of Denmark, came over to England in July 1606; and James, having received a liberal subsidy from the parliament, indulged in every species of disgusting excess, in which the royal example was so encouraging, that, writes Harrington, "the ladies abandon their sobriety, and are seen to roll about in intoxication." † He adds, "I will now, in good sooth, declare to you, who will not blab, that the gunpowder fright is got out of all our heads, and we are going on hereabouts, as if the devil was contriving every man should blow himself up, by wild riot, excess, and devastation of time and temperance." The next session an Act was passed "for repressing the odious vice of drunkenness;" which vice it describes as "the overthrow of many good arts and manual trades, the disabling of divers workmen, and the general impoverishing of many good subjects." ‡ The Statute was directed against the sins of the humble. James and his profligate court had to bear a severer penalty than the fine of five shillings to be levied on a convicted drunkard. They had to bear the open exhibition of their follies on the public stage; and the growing contempt of the great body of English gentlemen, such as Harrington, who writes: "I have passed much time in seeing the royal sports of hunting and hawking, where the manners were such as made me devise the beasts were pursuing the sober creation, and not man in quest of exercise or food." Such were the royal sports of Theobalds, where Salisbury was entertaining the two kings; and where king James, according to another authority, got so drunk with king Christian, that his Britannic majesty was obliged to be carried to bed.

* 3 Jac. I. c. 13. † "Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. i. p. 349. ‡ 4 Jac. I. c. 5.

Salisbury, in another year or two, had made a provident exchange with the king, of Theobalds for Hatfield; and Theobalds became the favourite residence of James, where he dissipated his hereditary revenues, aided by occasional



Hall at Theobalds. (From a Picture at Hinton St. George.)

taxation; keeping sometimes a decent state with his family, but more frequently listening to the ribaldry of unworthy favourites, beating his servants, and swearing and cursing habitually, in spite of the statute under which common people could not have that diversion without paying twelve pence to the relief of the poor.*

Although king James was intensely devoted to his favourite sports, exhibiting himself in Waltham forest, and in other Royal Chases, leading his dogs in a grass-green hunting suit, and blowing his hunting-horn with the lungs of a game-keeper,—although he was sometimes lying in bed the whole day, overgorged with the delicacies of the table, and filled with strong wine,—he found time for more intellectual pursuits; and amongst other strange literary performances wrote his famous "Counterblast to Tobacco." He hated the tobacco-smokers as intensely as he hated the Puritans; but nevertheless both the tobacco-consumers and the Puritans went on increasing. His dislike of the Indian weed was probably diminished as he found that it brought a con-

* 3 Jac. I. c. 21.

siderable accession to his revenue; for, in addition to his own inordinate expenses, the sums which he bestowed upon his minions would appear incredible if their amount did not rest upon the most trustworthy authority. His early favourites were needy Scotsmen who had followed the court to England. His folly in this costly favouritism provoked the indignation of the House of Commons, and was one of the main causes that his laudable anxiety for a perfect Union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland was constantly defeated. In 1607, James delivered a speech to the parliament for hastening the Union—sensible in many points—in which he made a sort of apology for these preferences:—"For my liberality, I have told you of it heretofore. My three first years were to them [the Scots] as a Christmas. I could not then be miserable. Should I have been oversparing to them, they might have thought Joseph had forgotten his brethren; or that the king had been drunk with his new kingdom." * But he also said, "There is none left for whom I mean extraordinary to strain myself." How well he kept his word may be inferred from the riches which were obtained and lavished by sir James Hay, who was afterwards created earl of Carlisle. He was called the Scottish Heliogabalus: and first won the king's favour by giving him "a most strange and costly feast." Clarendon, who was not likely to speak with exaggeration in such a case, has left this character of Hay:—"He was surely a man of the greatest expense in his own person of any in the age he lived; and introduced more of that expense in the excess of clothes and diet than any other man; and was indeed the original of all those inventions from which others did but transcribe copies. He had a great universal understanding, and could have taken as much delight in any other way, if he had thought any other as pleasant and worth his care. But he found business was attended with more rivals and vexations; and, he thought, with much less pleasure, and not more innocence. He left behind him the reputation of a very fine gentleman, and a most accomplished courtier; and, after having spent in a very jovial life above four hundred thousand pounds, which upon a strict computation he received from the crown, he left not a house nor acre of land to be remembered by." † Robert Carr, afterwards earl of Somerset, was another of the brothers of Joseph whom Joseph did not forget. Osborn tells a curious story of the ignorant lavishness of James. He had given Carr an order upon the Lord High Treasurer for twenty thousand pounds; but the Treasurer apprehended "that the king was as ignorant of the worth of what was demanded as of the desert of the person who had begged it;" and knew, "that a pound, upon the Scottish accompt, would not pay for the shoeing of a horse, by which his master might be farther led out of the way of thrift than in his nature he was willing to go." The wise Cecil, according to this story, placed the twenty thousand pounds in specie upon the floor of a room to which the king was coming. "Whose money is this?" said James. "It was your majesty's before you gave it away." The king threw himself upon the heap, and swore that Carr should have no more than a few hundred pounds.

The prodigality of the king was carried to such an extent that the government was precipitated into dangerous courses to find the means of its gratifi-

* Cobbett's "Parliamentary History," vol. i. p. 1104.
† "History of the Rebellion," book i.

cation. According to the practice of the Plantagenets, an aid was asked of the subject when the king's eldest son was knighted. James levied this tax when prince Henry was created prince of Wales in 1610. The prince was justly popular; but this tax was paid with great repinings. A custom which belonged to the feudal organisation of society was revolting to those who lived under a very different political and social condition. But a more strenuous resistance was made to the imposition of heavy duties on all merchandise, not by authority of parliament but under the great seal. In the House of Commons the illegality of such impositions was argued with a thorough constitutional knowledge. The king, with his wonted arrogance, commanded the Commons not to enter upon a question which so touched his prerogative. They presented a strong remonstrance, of which the nervous language proclaimed, with a warning voice, that the liberties of England were not to be thus invaded: "The policy and constitution of this your kingdom appropriates unto the kings of this realm, with the assent of the parliament, as well the sovereign power of making laws, as that of taxing, or imposing upon the subjects' goods or merchandises, as may not, without their consents, be altered or changed. This is the cause that the people of this kingdom, as they ever showed themselves faithful and loving to their kings, and ready to aid them in all their just occasions with voluntary contributions, so have they been ever careful to preserve their own liberties and rights when anything hath been done to prejudice or impeach the same. And therefore, when their princes, occasioned either by their wars or their over-great bounty, or by any other necessity, have without consent of parliament set impositions, either within the land, or upon commodities either exported or imported by the merchants, they have, in open parliament, complained of it, in that it was done without their consents; and thereupon never failed to obtain a speedy and full redress, without any claim made by the kings of any power or prerogative in that point." * The commerce of the country had become an important source of its wealth; and if the king could tax merchandise without the consent of parliament, the one great restraint upon despotic power would soon be swept away. At this period there were two events connected with commerce far more important to the England of the future than in their immediate consequences, which require

Henry, Prince of Wales. (From Drayton's Polyolbion.)

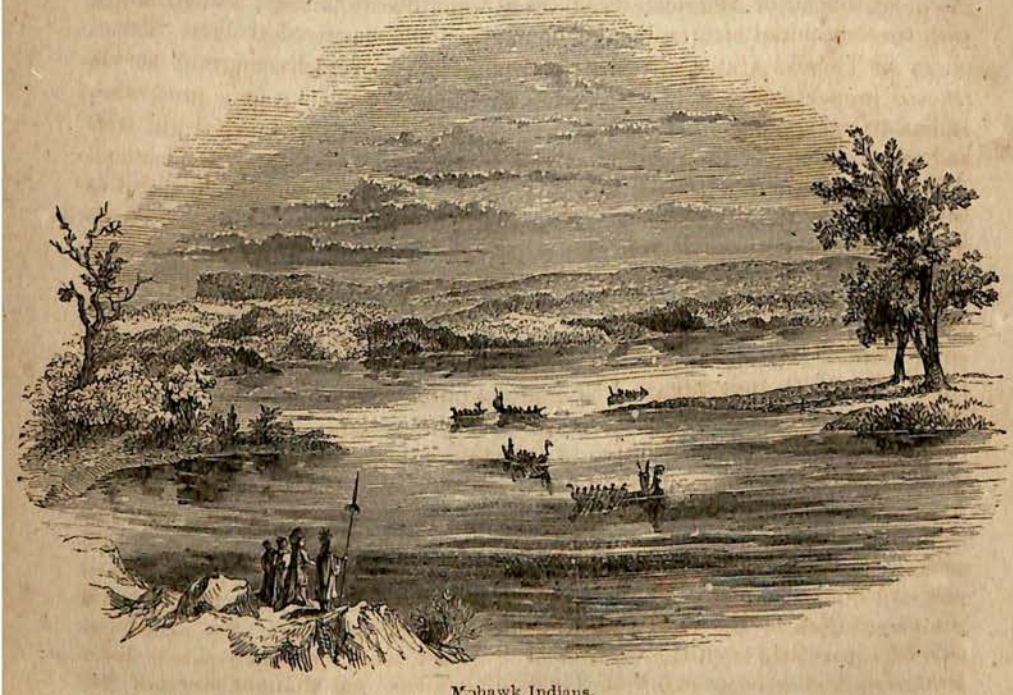
* Quoted by Mr. Hallam from the Somers' Tracts.

especial notice,—the colonisation of North America, and the Charter to the East India Company.

The attempts to colonise North America in the time of Elizabeth had been failures,—not from any want of energy or of forethought in the originators and conductors of these great schemes, but as a necessary consequence of the difficulties that must always beset the first settlers in an unknown region. The long voyage by the West Indies and through the Gulf of Florida in vessels of small burthen was then attended with real dangers, of which modern navigation has no conception. The adventurers were generally men unaccustomed to labour, and they went to lands where they believed that the fruits of the earth would merely require gathering, as in the golden age, to find that starvation could only be averted by the most incessant toil. Roanoak, the island which Grenville planted under the auspices of Raleigh, had been deserted in 1590; and whether the few colonists had perished, or had been received amongst the friendly Indian tribes, was always uncertain, although Raleigh had never lost hope of discovering them, whilst he could reward any mariners for the search. He had spent, it is said, forty thousand pounds in his noble efforts to plant an English colony on the northern coasts of the new world. He was a state-prisoner; he was defrauded of his property by his rapacious sovereign; he was filling his declining years with high contemplation instead of heroic action. But the example of his perseverance survived his misfortunes. The colonisation of North America was still the hope of generous statesmen and bold mariners. Voyage after voyage was undertaken. Bartholomew Gosnold, having been the first to cross the Atlantic by a direct course in 1602, discovered the promontory to which he gave no dignified name, Cape Cod; and he laid the foundation of the first New England colony on Elizabeth island. Martin Pring, in 1603, surveyed the coast of Maine. George Weymouth, in 1605, ascended the western branch of the Penobscot. The undying spirit of enterprise which Raleigh had first fostered received at length some encouragement from the government. In 1606, James granted the first Charters for colonising North America, to a London Company, and to a Plymouth Company. That same year, the London or South Virginia Company sent out three ships, with one hundred and five men who were to remain as settlers. The sagacity of Raleigh had pointed out the Chesapeake Bay as a favourable place of settlement. A storm drove these adventurers into that magnificent anchorage. The two headlands were named Cape Henry and Cape Charles; and having ascended a fine river which they named after their king, they planted their colony in a pleasant spot, and called it James Town.

Newport, the commander of the ships, and James Smith, a man whose name will be ever associated with the colonisation of America, ascended the James river, and saw the Indian chieftain, Powhatan. The savages were hostile to the strangers: "the emperor of the country," as Powhatan was styled, protected them. But gradually the colonists, unused to manual labour, perished of want and disease. Newport left for England. Some of the leaders had serious contentions. The evil destiny of Roanoak seemed to be coming on James Town. But Smith, who was endowed with many of the high qualities of the Elizabethan age, rallied the hopes of the dispirited, and calmed the jealousies of the quarrelsome. In the winter of 1607 the colonists

had secured a supply of food in the abundance of game, and had provided some shelter against the rain and cold. Smith set off upon an expedition to explore the interior. His companions were surprised and butchered by the Indians. He would have perished with them, had not the savages conceived that he was a superior being when he showed them a pocket compass, and told how the wondrous needle always pointed to one quarter. He asked that a letter should be conveyed to James Town; and when it was known that he could so endue a piece of paper with intelligence as to speak to his distant companions from his captivity, he was beheld with superstitious awe. Amongst the tribes was the daughter of Powhatan, named Pocahontas. This maiden saved the life of the Englishman, who had gained her confidence. She hung upon his neck when the tomahawk was raised to destroy him; and she induced her father to receive him in a strict friendship. When Smith returned to his colony, the hundred and five settlers were reduced to forty. Some of these attempted to desert in the pinnace which had been left when Newport sailed to England. The fortitude of Smith never failed. He restored order, and again went forth in the summer of 1608 for new discoveries. In an open boat, with two or three companions, he navigated three thousand miles of the American coasts and rivers. He constructed a map of the country, which is still in existence. He explored the Patapsco and the Potamac. He established a communication with native tribes. He saw the Mohawks,



Mohawk Indians.

"who dwelt upon a great water, and had many boats and many men." On his return a second body of emigrants came to join the Virginian colony.

The London Company required that the ship which brought them should return with gold, or laden with commodities. The settlers had accomplished no accumulations. It had been difficult to preserve their own existence. The Company, with the same ignorance of colonial organisation which prevailed for two centuries, had thought that the unskilled and the idle, who would starve at home, might prosper in another hemisphere. Smith wrote to the corporation that when they sent again, they should rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and even diggers up of the roots of trees, than a thousand such as had last come out. But still the energy of the man triumphed. He taught the gentlemen the use of the axe and the spade; and industry slowly achieved its rewards. A new Charter was granted in 1609. The rage for emigration extended. Other ships arrived, with men of broken fortunes and dissolute gallants. Smith still maintained his authority over the useless members of the community. But he was disabled by an accident, and he returned impoverished and enfeebled to England. When he left, there were four hundred and ninety persons in the colony. In six months they were reduced by their idleness and their excesses to sixty. The settlement was about to be abandoned when, in 1610, a new body of emigrants arrived under the leadership of lord Delaware, who had been appointed governor of Virginia. There was again a glimmering of prosperity; but ill-health compelled the return of the wise governor to England. In 1611 the Council at home exerted itself to prevent the great scheme of American colonisation from utterly failing; and six ships, with three hundred emigrants and abundant supplies, arrived at James Town, under sir Thomas Gates. A distribution of land to each emigrant as his private property gave a new stimulus to industry. The colony prospered. Indian tribes submitted to the settlers. Pocahontas, the beautiful girl who had saved the life of Smith, was married to John Rolfe, a young Englishman. After four years the Indian wife and mother sailed with her husband to England; and there she died. It was not in the natural course of God's Providence that there should be many such unions. The savage man gradually melted away as the civilised man occupied his forests, and in a few years the race of Powhatan was extinct. The Virginian colony went on to prosper. Its members found more certain riches than mines of gold in the cultivation of tobacco. Their prosperity was confirmed by their free institutions. In 1621 they obtained a representative constitution, in which the object of government was declared to be "the greatest comfort and benefit to the people, and the prevention of injustice, grievances, and oppression."

Such were the vicissitudes which attended the first settlement of the Anglo-Saxon race on the North American continent. There was another colony formed fourteen years later, whose planters went to their task in a solemn spirit, which recognised the finger of God pointing the way to a pleasant land where they might enjoy liberty of conscience, and be free from the persecution of the great and the ridicule of the licentious. The congregation of separatists from the Church of England, who, with their pastor John Robinson, had become exiles in Holland in 1608, had thought much of the settlements in North America. They desired to live under the English government, if they could be secure of toleration in the strange land which they desired to colonise. They could obtain no such promise from the

government; but they were resolved upon their enterprise. They had obtained a patent from the London Company, and they obtained funds, on very hard terms, from London merchants. They purchased the Speedwell, a vessel of forty tons: and hired the Mayflower, of a hundred and eighty tons. On the 22nd of July, 1620, having left some of the brethren at Leyden, they embarked at Delft-Haven. Robinson, their pastor, did not accompany them; but he knelt on the shore as the emigrants ascended the decks of the Mayflower, and gave them his blessings and his prayers. This event, so insignificant as it must have seemed at the time, so all-important in the real history of England, now forms the subject of a fresco in the House of Lords. The Pilgrim Fathers, as they are now affectionately called, reached, after a long and stormy voyage, the northern shores of Virginia in November. Their political constitution was a simple one. Forty-one men, whose families amounted to sixty more persons, formed themselves by deed into a civil body politic, for their better ordering and preservation; and agreed "to enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony." On the 11th of December, an exploring party landed in Massachusetts Bay, at a spot which they afterwards determined to call Plymouth. "A grateful posterity has marked the rock which first received their footsteps. The consequences of that day are constantly unfolding themselves as time advances. It was the origin of New England; it was the planting of the New England institutions." *

On the last day of the sixteenth century a Charter was granted by queen Elizabeth to a body of adventurers, styled "The Governor and Company of merchants of London trading to the East Indies." This charter was limited, in its exclusive liberty of trading, to the term of fifteen years; and was to be renewed if the privileges so granted were not found "prejudicial or hurtful to this our realm." A direct commercial intercourse with India had been previously carried on by the Turkey Company; but the maritime trade had been in the possession, first of the Portuguese, and afterwards of the Dutch. The English could not compete with these rivals, whilst the merchandise in which they trafficked was burthened with the heavier cost of an overland route. The trade of England with the East Indies was henceforth to be carried on by sea. During the reign of Elizabeth the success of the new company was very doubtful. Their privileges were invaded by James at the beginning of his reign. But in 1609 their Charter was renewed without limitation of time; several voyages were attended with large profits; and in 1612, the Englishman planted his foot in India, having obtained permission from the Great Mogul to establish a factory at Surat. But the prosperity of the Company was not generally held to be beneficial to the nation. Camden doubted "whether it be for the real advantage of the kingdom to have such a mass of money exported, and so many men lost yearly in the voyage." The loss of mariners by sickness and the perils of the sea was held to be the main cause of the decay of England's navigation. To the complaint of the heavy money payments for Indian produce it was answered that the country

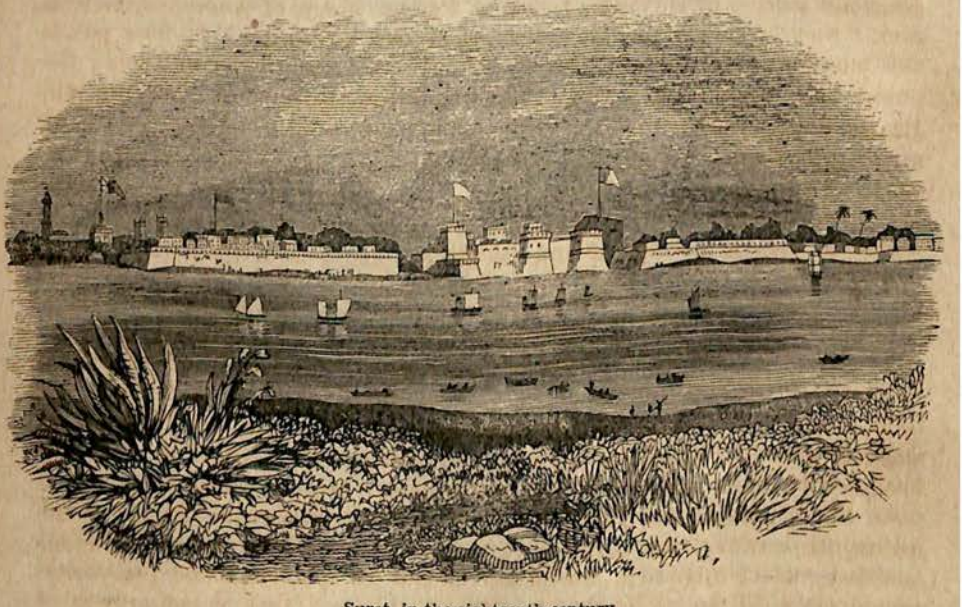
* Bancroft, "History of the United States," vol. i. p. 313, ed. 1839. In this brief outline of the first colonisation of North America, we have followed Mr. Bancroft's lucid narrative.

saved in the cost of spices alone, 70,000*l.* a year; and that we exported cloths to the annual value of 14,000*l.* The intercourse with India had its romantic aspects. The power, the magnificence, the unbounded wealth of the Mogul conquerors of Hindostan had long been familiar to the English mind. Thomas Coryat, whom Fuller described, in the household of prince Henry, as "the courtiers' anvil to try their wits upon," began, in 1608, to satisfy "a very burning desire in him to survey and contemplate some of the choicest parts of this goodly fabric of the world." Having walked over many countries of Europe, and hung up in his parish church as a memorial the one pair of shoes in which he had trudged nine hundred miles, he began a longer march in 1612. He walked from Jerusalem to Agra, the seat of the Great Mogul, having occupied fifteen months in this trip. Being welcomed by the English merchants, he there rode proudly on an elephant, and was represented in his grandeur in his posthumous book. Having obtained an audience of

Coryat on his elephant. (From a woodcut in his "Crudities.")

Jehangir, who had succeeded the great Akbar in his mighty sovereignty the pedestrian, having a competent knowledge of the Persian and other oriental languages, thus addressed the emperor: "Lord Protector of the world, all hail to you. I am a poor traveller and world-seer, which am come hither from a far country, namely England, which ancient historians thought to have been situated in the farthest bounds of the West, and which is the queen of all the islands in the world. The cause of my coming hither is for four respects. First, to see the blessed face of your majesty, whose wonderful fame hath resounded over all Europe and the Mahometan countries. When I heard of the fame of your majesty, I hastened hither with speed, and travelled very cheerfully to see your glorious court. Secondly, to see your majesty's elephants, which kind of beasts I have not seen in any other country. Thirdly, to see your famous river Ganges, which is the captain of

all the rivers of the world. The fourth is this, to entreat your majesty that you would vouchsafe to grant me your gracious pass, that I may travel into the country of Tartaria, to visit the blessed sepulchre of the Lord of the Corners; * whose fame by reason of his wars and victories is published over the whole world: perhaps he is not altogether so famous in his own country of Tartaria as in England." We give this part of the oration of the eccentric traveller to indicate the vague impression which then prevailed in England of the grandeur of the Mogul rulers of India. † "The Lord of the Corners" had become popularly known by Marlowe's famous tragedy of "Tamburlaine the Great." The successors of the shepherd-king had achieved a more permanent conquest of Hindostan than the remorseless warrior, who, having destroyed Delhi, and carried the terror of his name to the Ganges, was content to recross the Indus in the same year in which he had set out upon his march over the Ghur mountains from Samarkand. In another century, his descendant, Baber, having lost his own inherited dominion, founded a new empire in India. The fourth of that dynasty sat upon the Mogul throne when James granted his charter to the East India Company. In 1615 an English ambassador, sir Thomas Roe, was sent to the court of Agra; and there he was resident till 1619, a favourite with the emperor Jehangir, moving about with the jovial ruler, partaking his pleasures, and marvelling at the



Surat, in the eighteenth century.

wealth that presented itself in so many tangible shapes, in the palaces where the disciples of Mohammed ruled as gods over the crouching tribes who lived under the Brahminical law. The ambassador of James came back, to tell the story

* The Persian title of Tamerlane—Lord of the Corners of the world.

† Coryat's "Commendations to his friends in England," dated from Agra, 1616, in "The Works of John Taylor, the Water-Poet," 1630, p. 81.

which others had less authoritatively told, of the riches that industry might win in that region of gold and pearls, of silk and ivory. Any project for conquering that region would then have appeared as wild as the scheme of Tamerlane, to cut a channel to unite the Mediterranean and the Red Sea,

"That men might quickly sail to India." *

Sir Thomas Roe had looked upon Jehangir, riding upon an elephant in the streets of Agra, with a train of "twenty royal elephants for his own ascending, so rich that in precious stones and furniture they braved the sun;" and had marvelled, when "his greatest elephants were brought before him, some of which, being lord elephants, had their chains, bells, and furniture of gold and silver," how "they all bowed down before the king." He had beheld how the emperor's wives, "on their elephants, were carried like parakitoes half a mile behind him;" and he had seen the closed palanquins of the female slaves, borne on men's shoulders, amidst crowds of mutes and eunuchs. He had been at the great huntings, where sport assumed the pomp of war—very different from the hunting-exercise of James at Royston and Theobalds. He had gazed at the vast cavalcades of armed horsemen, the long files of camels and mules, the thousands of servants, the "numbers numberless" of camp-followers, when the emperor went forth on a progress from one of the imperial cities. More than these barbaric splendours, he had looked upon the old gorgeous palaces of the earlier race of Pathan kings, of whose works it is said, "they built like giants, and finished like goldsmiths." † The palace and mosque of Akbar, near Agra; the mosques and tombs of Delhi; the public buildings in every city where the characteristics of Saracenic and Hindoo architecture were often combined; the tasteful groups of domes and minarets; the open colonnades, the lofty gateways, the terraces,—these were works of art rising up amidst the rich eastern vegetation, which would cause Whitehall and Nonsuch, St. Paul's and the abbey of Westminster, the old wooden houses of Cheapside and the brick mansions of the Strand, to be remembered as comparatively mean and tasteless. But the contrast must have been almost painful to those who beheld the power and wealth of England represented by a paltry factory at Surat, for the quiet possession even of which her sailors had to fight with the Portuguese. The wildest dream could not have pictured the palaces of the Moguls turned into English arsenals, and their polished marbles and flowered arabesques hidden beneath the whitewash characteristic of English taste. ‡ By no prophetic power could it have been imagined by one who, at the beginning of the seventeenth century had looked upon the glories of the Tartaric emperors, that, before the middle of the eighteenth century, the sovereignty which was to be carried forward under one magnificent ruler to an unequalled height of splendour and prosperity, should then fall to pieces by its own weight, and that many princes of the divided empire should become tributaries to "a Company of Christian merchants of a remote island of the Northern sea." § Even if a partial conquest of the Mogul tyrant and the Hindu slave had been thought possible by

* "Tamburlaine," part. ii. act v. s. 3.
† Fergusson, "Handbook of Architecture," vol. i. p. 444.
‡ See Mr. Fergusson, book ix. c. 4.
§ Gibbon, chap. lxv.

those who had seen how the Spaniard had subdued and exterminated the descendants of the Incas, what enthusiast could have believed that, by the middle of the nineteenth century, the race of the humble settlers of Surat would have obtained a far wider dominion than the greatest of these Moguls ;—that not only in their proudest seats, amidst the ruined palaces and the deserted mosques of Shah Jehan and Aurungzebe, the native races would have been disciplined in the military arts of Europe, but that they would become the instruments of bringing under one foreign dominion the Afghans and the Sikhs, the Rajpoots and the Mahrattas, who had shaken the foundations of the ancient empire. Who that then had seen how the victim of tyranny had his life trampled out when the despot nodded to his elephant ;—how the rulers sat under golden canopies and were clothed with jewelled silks, because they had an unlimited command over the property of all the industrious,—could have anticipated that a stern justice and a confiding toleration would extinguish the old dominion of robbery and fraud, throughout a region twelve times more extensive than that which the lawgivers inhabited, and six times more populous ? If such a dream could have shown how the energy of our race might triumph over disunited barbarism, would not the dreamer wake

Delhi.

to ask, will such a triumph be permanent,—will not the Moslem some day re-appear in the sanguinary pride of his oppression, and the Hindoo in the blind treachery of his superstition, to proclaim the dangers of an overweening confidence in the might of civilisation ?

The strong remonstrance of the House of Commons, in 1610, against impositions upon merchandise, was not a solitary act of public spirit. They had stood up, session after session, to protest against the theories of the king that he was absolute; and to make him comprehend that there was a power superior to his arbitrary will. He had issued proclamations which assumed the character of laws; and they told him it was "the indubitable right of the people of this kingdom, not to be made subject to any punishment that shall extend to their lives, lands, bodies, or goods, other than such as are ordained by the common laws of this land, or the statutes made by their common consent in parliament." Whenever the king wanted a subsidy, the Commons immediately preferred a petition for redress of grievances. Cecil had a scheme for making the Crown to a great extent independent of parliament, by proposing that a fixed annual revenue of 200,000*l.* should be granted, on condition that the king should give up the right of purveyance, and the various profits derived from wardships and other branches of ancient prerogative. The session of 1610 was chiefly employed in negotiations for this object, which was termed "the great contract with his majesty;" but nothing had been settled when parliament was prorogued in July. The courtiers thought that the adroitness of Cecil had prevailed over the doubts and suspicions of the Commons. "The little beagle," writes one, "hath run about, and brought the rest of the great hounds to a perfect tune." * When parliament met again in October, the Commons were out of humour. Not a grievance had been redressed, although a temporary subsidy had been granted in the expectation that some of the evils of which they had complained would have been removed or mitigated. In November, James had become tired of the word grievance. He would dissolve parliament. He had been patient, but "he cannot have asinine patience." He was for punishing those members who had uttered offensive speeches, some of which he thought amounted nearly to treason.† The parliament was dissolved on the 9th of February, 1611, after having sat nearly seven years.

In the first session of 1610, the Treasurer communicated to the Lords the intelligence of the murder of Henry IV. of France. Cecil said that this king was an assured friend to their sovereign and to this realm; and an especial defence and wall between the reformed religion and its opponents in Christendom. The English minister also told the parliament that Henry, at his death, had a great army in readiness; but Cecil did not divulge what was the intent for which this army was levied. James was not likely to have joined in any martial project against the Spanish power; or even to have seconded Henry's "grand scheme," as it was called, for a great European confederacy that would have put an end to warfare. If money had been wanting for accomplishing that, or any other elevated project, James would have stood aloof. England had now no foreign policy, but that of an almost ignominious neutrality. The cause of Protestantism in Europe, which was at the same time the cause of civil liberty, had lost its great leader when Elizabeth died. The son of Mary Stuart had no opinions but those which resulted from his cowardice or his selfishness. When the Reforming ministers lectured him in Scotland, he favoured the Papists. Whilst the terrors of the Gunpowder-

* "Calendar of State Papers." Letter of Sir Roger Aston, p. 625. † *Ibid.*, p. 646.

plot were uppermost in his mind, he was as staunch a Protestant as the sternest Puritan in his parliament. He naturally leaned upon that party in the Church of England which supported his doctrine of absolute power. In his contempt for the opinions of his subjects he thrust episcopacy upon the kirk of Scotland. For the rights of conscience he had not the slightest regard. He exhorted the States of Holland to persecute Vorstius, an Arminian professor at Leyden. In 1612 he signed a writ for the burning in Smithfield of Bartholomew Legate, an Arian, whose errors he had vainly attempted to remove by argument. This writ was not a mere formal instrument, but expressed that, the Church having delivered the offender to the secular power, as a blasphemous heretic, the king, "as a zealot of justice, and a defender of the Catholic faith, and willing to maintain and defend the Holy Church and the rights and liberties of the same," holds that the said Bartholomew Legate "ought to be burned with fire." One other atrocity of the same kind was committed—the last of such barbarities which England witnessed. To the "religious" king James is our present translation of the Bible dedicated. That translation was an excellent work, and it was right to dedicate it to the sovereign who had encouraged the undertaking. But it was in the spirit of that dangerous adulation which hid realities from James, as they were hidden from his successor, that he was told in this dedication that his conduct in going forward "with the confidence and resolution of a man in maintaining the truth of Christ, and propagating it far and near, is that which hath so bound and firmly knit the hearts of all your majesty's loyal and religious people unto you, that your very name is precious amongst them; their eye doth behold you with comfort, and they bless you in their hearts as that sanctified person, who, under God, is the immediate author of their true happiness." It might be supposed, the king being herein called "the mover and author of this work," that the Bible had not been previously known in England. The translation of 1611 was founded upon the Bishops' Bible of 1568; and that was founded upon Cranmer's Bible; which was founded upon the translations of the Old and New Testament of the earlier reformers—the Tyndal who was burnt, and the Wycliffe whose ashes were cast into the Avon. In such a work it was the part of true wisdom to deviate as little as possible from the text with which the people had become familiar, and which their forefathers had devoured when it was dangerous to possess the sacred volume. It does not appear to us an objection to this translation that, "in consequence of the principle of adherence to the original versions which had been kept up ever since the time of Henry VIII., it is not the language of the reign of James I." * Nor is it wholly to be deplored that it abounds "with obsolete phraseology, and with single words long since abandoned, or retained only in familiar use." † It will be a national misfortune if, to get rid of some archaisms in this translation which have ceased to be difficult, the noble simplicity of our Anglo-Saxon tongue—"the tongue which Shakspere spake"—should yield to the refined Gallicisms of a later period; and if the "obsolete phraseology" of the days of Hooker should be driven out by German idioms and American vulgarities. In this translation, as in every species of contemporary literature,

* Hallam, "Literature of Europe," vol. III., p. 134. † *Ibid.*

there was no attempt to write down to the understandings of the people. The great preachers at Paul's Cross, in common with the great dramatic poets, employed the most elevated language and the richest imagery, in union with the most homely phrases. If some of their sentences were involved, some of their words unfamiliar, their arguments perplexing in their subtlety, their metaphors beyond the range of ordinary comprehension, the whole tendency of what they uttered was to elevate the minds of their readers. Their doctrine might be abstruse, their illustrations pedantic, but their tone was not cold and passionless. The rudest listener caught something of their

Paul's Cross, temp. James I.

excitement; the instructed listener did not retire into his own thoughts, wearied by platitudes and babyisms. The preachers, whether they followed the high-church archbishop Bancroft, or the puritan archbishop Abbot, were in earnest. They had great truths to proclaim to all men alike, and they tasked their abilities and their learning to utter them as if they really felt their grandeur and solemnity.

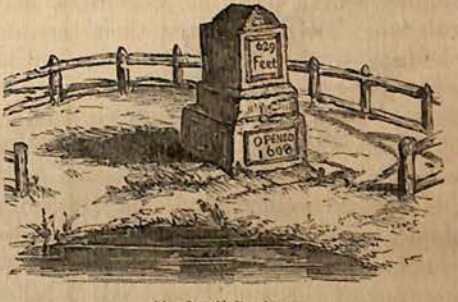
Whatever were the differences of opinion in the English Church, and however great the increase of non-conformists, the time for any serious attempt to re-establish Roman-Catholicism in England had evidently passed

away. It was the same in Scotland. But in Ireland the great bulk of the people still clung to the Roman Catholic worship. At the beginning of the reign of James the people of some cities boldly ejected the Protestant ministers from their churches; and they gave other demonstrations of a general resistance to the statutes of supremacy and uniformity which had been passed in the Irish parliament. They were met by a stricter execution of the laws against recusants and priests, as far as juries could be found to enforce them. In the meantime much had been done to bring the whole of the kingdom under the dominion of one system of law. The king's writ now ran in every part. Old customs which interfered with the administration of justice were abolished. The possession of lands by the chieftains was regulated according to English tenures; and the tenants were relieved from many of the exactions of their lords. The one evil which interfered with the tranquil progress of civilisation was the exclusion from civil privileges and offices which the majority had to endure, on account of their faith, at the hands of the minority. The great Irish chieftains, Tyrone and Tyrconnel, had submitted to the government of James, and had been graciously received at the English court. But the alterations in the tenure of lands had interfered with what they considered their territorial rights; and the denial of all toleration to the Roman Catholics had led them to conclude that resistance to the government might once more be attempted. In 1607 they suddenly departed from Ireland, with their families. They had embarked in treasonable schemes which they had no power to carry through. Tyrone became a pensioner of Spain and of the pope, and died in 1616 at Rome. The two earls having been attainted of treason and outlawed, their lands, to the extent of five hundred thousand acres, were forfeited to the crown. It is to the honour of the government of James that this opportunity was judiciously employed in accomplishing what is called "the plantation of Ulster." Extraordinary inducements were held out to English capitalists to settle in the north of Ireland; the corporation of London received large grants of lands in the county of Derry, upon their engagement to spend £20,000 upon the colony, and to build two towns. Hence the cities of Londonderry and Coleraine. The lord deputy, sir Arthur Chichester, carried through this project with great energy and prudence. The mistake of granting vast tracts to individuals, as in the time of Elizabeth, was not repeated. The allotments were in portions of 2000 acres, 1500 acres, and 1000 acres, the grantees agreeing to build according to their several proportions. The forfeited lands were divided amongst a hundred and four English and Scots, fifty-six servitors, and two hundred and eighty-six natives. Thus was Ulster to become, but not without its periods of fierce contention and of terrible massacre, the most prosperous and enlightened province of Ireland. Its half a million of acres had offered a precarious existence to a scattered race of half-civilised and marauding natives. It became the seat of agricultural and commercial industry—a model to the rest of Ireland for removing those social evils which were destined for two centuries to press far more heavily upon her than political jealousies or religious disunions.

The plantation of Ulster was a scheme which is attributed to the king and to his able counsellor, Bacon. It soon became mixed up with a manœuvre to put some ready money into the royal treasury, which the sturdy parliament

had refused to fill except upon conditions. Sir Antony Shirley, according to the representation of his son to the king, had the merit of inventing a wholesale mode of obtaining supplies by the sale of honours: "My father," he says, "being a man of excellent and working wit, did find out the device of making baronets, which brought to your majesty's coffers well nigh £100,000." A new title of honour, intermediate between a baron and a knight, was to be bestowed upon two hundred gentlemen possessing lands to the yearly value of £1000; and they were each to pay into the treasury for the patent the sum of £1095, being the estimated cost of thirty soldiers to defend the settlers in Ulster for three years. The project took to a certain extent. In ten years ninety-three patents of baronetcy were sold; but the price paid for them was employed in other purposes than the military protection of the new colony.

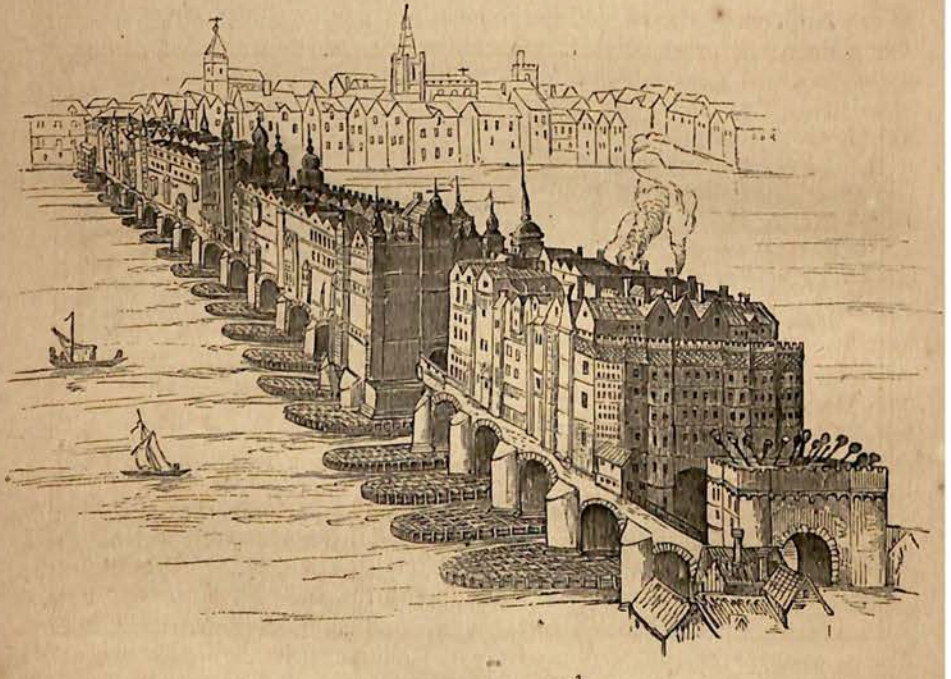
King James, to award him no more than justice, was favourably disposed to any large enterprise of public improvement; always provided that it offered him a chance of personal gain. We are indebted to him, in some degree, for a benefit which London enjoys to this day—the supply of pure water by the New River. In the third year of the king's reign was passed "An Act for the bringing in of a fresh stream of running water to the North part of the City of London." It was to be brought from the springs of Chadwell and Amwell, in Hertfordshire; and the Corporation of London were empowered to execute the work. The Corporation in that age,—and the character has not absolutely departed from the body,—was not very energetic in setting about costly enterprises for the public good. They did not undertake this work themselves; and when a spirited citizen and goldsmith at his own risk engaged in the undertaking,—a mighty work in those days and indeed at any time,—the Corporation refused him any pecuniary aid. James, when Hugh Middleton had spent all his private fortune, covenanted with him to bear half the share of the expense. The work was completed in 1613. Before the opening of the New River, London was supplied with water from the public conduits; and by the water-works at London Bridge, erected in 1582, by Peter Morris, a Dutchman. London in the reign of James was rapidly increasing. Other supplies were needed. The city had become nearly joined to Westminster; which an intelligent writer chiefly attributes to the union with Scotland under the king: "For the Scots, multiplying themselves here mightily, nestled themselves about the court; so that the Strand, from mud walls and thatched houses, came to that perfection of buildings, as now we see." * Yet this metropolis of the seventeenth century was very different from the metropolis of the nineteenth. It was a city whose most crowded thoroughfares were in the neighbourhood of pleasant fields. The same writer says, "Go and walk



Chadwell Springs.

* Howell, "Londinopolis," 1657, p. 346.

in her fields, you shall see some shooting at long marks, some at butts; some bowling upon dainty pleasant greens." The citizens had only to step out of Moorgate into Finsbury fields, to pursue their archery. The rural occupiers of the "town of St. Giles' in the Fields" were sometimes visited by the urban dwellers of Holborn and the Strand, who went thither to take the air; but the road which led to that village into Holborn, and by Drury Lane, through the growing traffic had become "foul and dangerous to all that pass that way."* The growth of London had been attempted to be repressed by statutory enactments under Elizabeth. James thought to accomplish the same end by proclamations. He said that the new buildings were "but a shelter for those who, when they had spent their estates in coaches, lacqueys, and fine clothes,



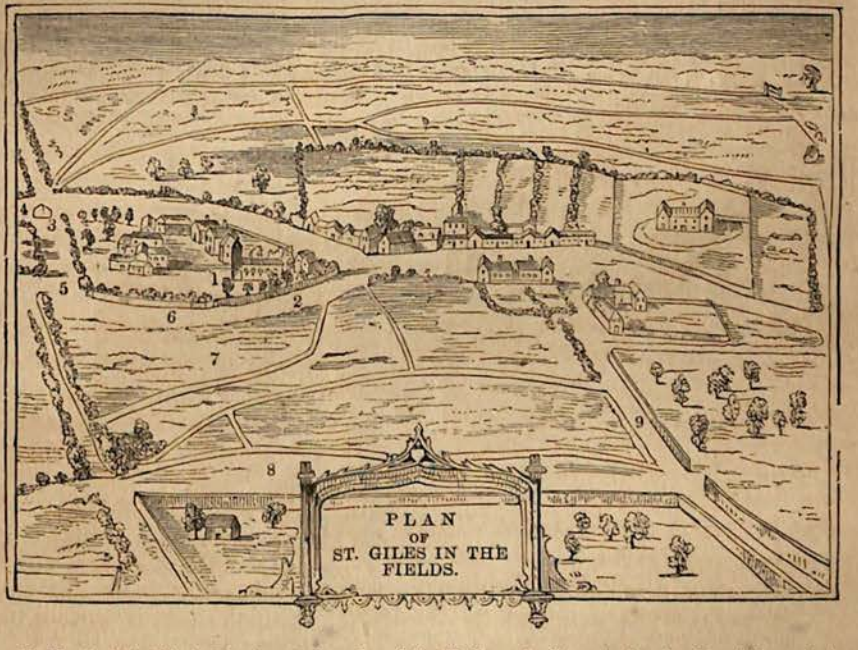
London Bridge, about 1616.

like Frenchmen, lived miserably in their houses, like Italians." He commanded all noblemen and gentlemen who had mansions in the country, to return to them, and there abide, till the end of the summer season. He commanded them to go home to celebrate the feast of Christmas and to keep hospitality. The great people little heeded these proclamations; and the House of Commons told him they were illegal. London, from the happy circumstances of her position, was sure to increase with the increase of commerce. The presence of the courts of law at Westminster, the circumstance of the capital being the seat of government, favoured this increase. But one great

* Statute, Jac. 3, c. 18.

natural cause was far more important to its prosperity than these incidental advantages. James, having been refused a benevolence by the City, sent for the Corporation; and vowed that he would remove his own court and the courts of Westminster Hall—he would send the Records in the Tower to a more loyal place—he would bring ruin upon the disobedient Londoners. The Lord Mayor replied, "Your majesty hath power to do what you please, and your City of London will obey accordingly; but she humbly desires that when your majesty shall remove your courts you would please to leave the Thames behind you." *

* "Londinopolis," p. 19.



1. The first St. Giles's Church.—2. Remains of the Walls anciently enclosing the Hospital precincts.—3. Site of the Gallows, and afterwards of the Pound.—4. Way to Uxbridge, now Oxford Street.—5. Elde Strate, since called Hog Lane.—6. Le Lane, now Monmouth Street.—7. Site of the Seven Dials, formerly called Cock and Pye Fields.—8. Elm Close, since called Long Acre.—9. Drury Lane.

Hatfield House.

CHAPTER XXIII.

Arabella Stuart—Death of Salisbury—Robert Carr, king's favourite—Death of Prince Henry—Marriage of the Princess Elizabeth—The addled Parliament—George Villiers, the new favourite—Murder of Overbury—Trials for the murder—Somerset and his countess convicted—Conduct of the King—Sir Edward Coke dismissed—Proclamation for Sports. Note on the Secret Communications between the King and Sir George More.

One of the overt acts of treason with which sir Walter Raleigh was charged upon his trial, was that he had conferred with lord Cobham for the support of Arabella Stuart's claim to the crown of England.* The lady herself was present at this trial. It is not at all clear that this design had been seriously entertained; and certainly Arabella herself had given no sanction to it. She was the cousin of king James; being the only child of Charles, earl of Lennox, the grandson of Margaret Tudor. Her parents died young; and she was brought up by her maternal grandmother, the

* *Ante*, p. 311.

countess of Shrewsbury. If James had died childless, Arabella Stuart would have been the lineal heir to the crown. During the reign of Elizabeth she was occasionally at court; and the queen pointed her out to the wife of the French ambassador, when she was about twelve years old, as a girl of talent, who would one day be a great lady. After the accession of James she appears to have been in much favour. In 1604 she received the grant of an annual pension for life of 1000*l.* * In 1609 she had the profits of a monopoly, in the privilege of nominating the sellers of wines and spirits in Ireland. † In that year she appears to have given offence by listening to some overtures for marriage. In 1610 it was discovered that William Seymour, the second son of lord Beauchamp, was endeavouring to gain the lady Arabella as his wife. They were brought before the Council, and protested that they never intended marrying without the king's consent. In a few months they were privately married. The husband was sent to the Tower; the wife was placed in official custody. On the 3rd of June, 1611, she escaped from Highgate, disguised as a man; having drawn "a pair of great French fashioned hose over her petticoats, putting on a man's doublet, a manlike perruque with long locks over her hair, a black hat, black cloak, russet boots with red tips, and a rapier by her side." Seymour meanwhile had escaped from the Tower, also in disguise. Arabella rode to Blackwall; and then crossed to Lee. A French bark, hired for the occasion, was there lying at anchor, and when she went on board, the captain stood out to sea, without waiting for Seymour, who was expected to join his wife. They never saw each other again. Arabella was captured in the French bark by an English pinnace that had been sent in chase of the fugitives; and she was carried to the Tower. Seymour escaped to Ostend. The jealousy of king James would never permit him to show any mercy to his unhappy cousin. She died in the fourth year of her imprisonment, worn out with a grief which ended in mental derangement. Of the cruelty of the king to his kinswoman there can be no doubt. The illegality of her imprisonment is equally clear. It could not be justified by the very distant possibility that any issue of a marriage between two persons who each were of the blood royal might be dangerous to the succession.‡ Arabella was treated by James with far greater harshness than was used to Catherine Grey by Elizabeth; nor was there the apology in James's case, as in that of the queen, that the title of the reigning sovereign was open to dispute. Arabella was the victim of a causeless injustice, "through the oppression of a kinsman whose advocates are always vaunting his good nature." §

In May, 1612, died Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury. "He was a good statesman, and no ill member of the Commonwealth," says sir Simonds D'Ewes; but he died amidst "a general hate, almost of all sorts." || Bacon has described him as "a more fit man to keep things from growing worse, but no very fit man to reduce things to be much better." When he was gone, things did grow much worse. He had left an empty treasury, which he had vainly attempted to fill by his scheme for a permanent revenue. The constant manifestation of an arbitrary temper on the part of the king, "willing to

* "Calendar of State Papers," p. 173. † *Ibid.*, p. 555.
‡ Seymour was grandson of the earl of Hertford who married Catherine Grey. See *ante*, p. 163.
§ Hallam, vol. i. p. 351. || "Autobiography," vol. i. p. 50.

wound, but yet afraid to strike," made the Commons cling with great tenacity to their undoubted power of refusing supplies. Robert Carr succeeded Cecil, not as prime minister; but he was all-powerful as prime favourite. Before the death of Cecil, the king's minions had not ostensibly influenced public affairs. James gormandised with Heliogabalus Hay; and when Carr, a raw Scotch lad, had broken his leg in the tilting-yard, the king watched over his recovery, placed him about his person, pinched his cheek, taught him Latin,* bestowed on him forfeited lands, created him baron Branspath and then viscount Rochester, and made him a knight of the garter. But neither Hay nor Carr appear to have meddled with the functions of a Treasurer or Secretary of State while Cecil lived. For four years after that minister's death Carr ruled supreme, till another favourite came to eject him. The history of this period is disgusting to trace in contemporary memoirs and documents, and much of it is unfit to be related in a modern narrative. Justly does Mr. Carlyle say, "Somerset Ker, king's favourite, son of the Laird of Fernieherst, he and his extremely unedifying affairs—except as they might transiently affect the nostrils of some Cromwell of importance—do not much belong to the History of England. Carrion ought at length to be buried."† Yet they cannot be wholly passed over. The "extremely unedifying affairs" of the court of James had a great deal to do with the momentous events of the next reign. The disgust of the sober and religious part of the community drove vast numbers into the opposite extreme of religious asceticism. In proportion as the Puritans were hated by the courtiers, denounced in the

Jonson.

Inigo Jones.

high-church pulpits, ridiculed upon the stage, they grew in the real strength of their earnest principles; and they gained an enormous accession of strength in town and country, of those who, "out of mere morality and civil honesty, discountenanced the abominations of those days." Their religion "was fenced with the liberty of the people, and so linked together, that it was impossible to make them slaves till they were brought to be idolaters of royalty and glorious lust, and as impossible to make them adore these gods while they continued loyal to the government of Jesus Christ."‡ So writes

* "Nugæ Antiquæ," vol. i. p. 390. † "Cromwell's Letters," Introduction, p. 32.
‡ "Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson," vol. i. p. 121, ed. 1822.

Lucy Hutchinson, one in whom the beauty of holiness is presented under its noblest aspects of manly courage and feminine tenderness.

In 1606, on Twelfth Night, a masque was performed at court, of which Jonson wrote the verses, and Inigo Jones superintended the decorations and machinery. This "Masque of Hymen" was to celebrate the marriage of the earl of Essex, a boy of fourteen years, with lady Frances Howard, a girl of thirteen. In 1613, there was another masque in honour of the marriage of this lady with Robert Carr, then created earl of Somerset. The young Essex had gone abroad after his marriage; and his child-bride had lived amongst the seductions of the court—"incomparably the most disgraceful scene of profligacy which this country has ever witnessed." * The odious circumstances which attended the divorce of lady Essex, that she might be bestowed upon her paramour, Somerset, brought equal disgrace, in the eyes of the people, upon the king who urged the divorce in the most unkingly manner, and upon the Ecclesiastical Court which decreed it. The king, in pandering to an adulterous connexion, dared to tell archbishop Abbot, who opposed the disgraceful proceeding, "the best thankfulness that you, that are so far my creature, can use towards me, is to reverence and follow my judgment, and not to contradict it." † This profligate man was now freed from the observation of his two elder children, whose lives and opinions were not in exact agreement with his own. Prince Henry was in his nineteenth year, when, on the 6th of November, 1612, he died, after a short illness. The prince, although there was no public difference between them, had probably as little respect for the king as the king had affection for the prince. Between Henry and Somerset there was decided enmity. The popularity of the prince, who was an especial hope of the strict religious section of the nation, was offensive to the king; so that when the son's court was frequented by a very different class of men from those who thronged round the court of the king, James was heard to exclaim, "will he bury me alive?" Henry was attached to Raleigh, whom he often visited in prison; and he loved to hear, as he might have heard from him, stories of the martial princes of our Plantagenet race, and of the later period when the support of the Protestantism of Europe was the great policy of England. He has been reported to have said, with regard to the imprisoned Raleigh, that only such a king as his father would keep such a bird in such a cage. When Henry died, there was an outcry that he had been poisoned. D'Ewes says, "It is not improbable but that he might overheat and distemper himself in some of those sports and recreations he used in his company; but the strength of his constitution, and the vigour of his youth, might have overcome that, had he not tasted of some grapes as he played at tennis, supposed to have been poisoned." ‡ Some circumstances

Abbot.

* Hallam, i. p. 342.
† Amos, "The great Oyer of Poisoning," p. 6.
‡ "Autobiography," vol. i. p. 47.

which were disclosed a few years later favoured this suspicion. But whatever might be the cause of prince Henry's death, his father exhibited some strange feelings which strongly contrast with the national grief, when "the lamentation made for him was so general as even women and children partook of it" * There had been a negotiation for marrying Henry to a princess of France; and within three days of his death Rochester directed our ambassador, who had the decency not then to propound the matter, to make overtures for the marriage of the same princess to the king's remaining son, Charles. Henry was buried at Westminster on the 7th of December. There was no time lost in grief; for on the 14th of February following the princess Elizabeth was married at Whitehall to Frederick, the elector palatine. The king again demanded a feudal aid on this occasion, as he had demanded one when his eldest son was created prince of Wales. It defrayed only a portion of the enormous expenses of the marriage festivities. The union was a happy one in the mutual affection of the prince and princess. It was doomed to be unfortunate in the loss which the elector sustained of his hereditary dominions, when he consented to be chosen king of Bohemia. The demeanour of a light-hearted girl of sixteen at her bridal ceremony was held to be prophetic of evil:—"While the archbishop of Canterbury was solemnizing the marriage, some eruscations and lightnings of joy appeared in her countenance, that expressed more than an ordinary smile, being almost elated to a laughter, which could not clear the air of her fate, but was rather a forerunner of more sad and dire events." † From the twelfth child of the princess Elizabeth the House of Brunswick inherits the crown of this kingdom.

Hume has said, with some truth, "except during sessions of parliament, the history of this reign may more properly be called the history of the court than that of the nation." But the exception is a very considerable one. During sessions of parliament we clearly trace how the nation was growing into a power truly formidable to the arbitrary disposition of the king and the selfish indulgences of the court. We see in these sessions of parliament of what materials the English nation was composed. When we open the parliamentary debates of this period, we find abundant evidence that such of the gentlemen of England as remained uncorrupted by court favours, and had not "learnt the court fashion," ‡ were not only a spirited race but were highly intelligent. They were perfectly acquainted with the laws of their country and the history of its constitution. They had not only solid arguments, but carefully sought precedents, to shape their resistance to impositions and benevolences, to monopolies and purveyance, to proclamations which claimed to have the force of statutes, but which were only legal if they prescribed obedience to some established principle of constitutional government. They were practically familiar with the laws of property, and with the administration of justice in their several localities. A writer whose learning and industry, if his life had been longer spared, would have no doubt added many more able contributions to our history, says of the country gentlemen, "undoubtedly, in the earlier half of the seventeenth century a great amount of solid and polite learning distinguished them; and

* "Autobiography," vol. i. p. 46. † Wilson, "Life of James I." ‡ Mrs. Hutchinson.

to this must be attributed the energetic resistance which the king and his corrupt courtiers met with in their insane crusade against the liberties of England." * The parliament which, after an interval of four years, met on the 6th of April, 1614, was called, not for any purpose of general legislation, but in the expectation that by proper management it might relieve the king's necessities. Bacon, then attorney-general, sir Henry Neville, and some others, undertook to bring the Commons into a gracious frame of mind, by inducing the king to relax some of his claims of prerogative, which were called grievances, and thus to obtain a liberal supply. The scheme could not be concealed; and hence these politicians obtained the name of "undertakers." The king in his opening speech protested that it was as false as it would have been unworthy of himself, that he should employ "private undertakers" who "would do great matters." Bacon laughed at the notion that private men should undertake for all the Commons of England. In 1621 James openly acknowledged what he had before denied. Mr. Hallam points to this circumstance as showing "the rise of a systematic parliamentary influence, which was one day to become the mainspring of government." Hume says, "so ignorant were the Commons, that they knew not this incident to be the first infallible symptom of any regular or established liberty." The Commons knew better than the historian, that, whatever might have been attempted under despotic princes, there was an ancient system of "regular or established liberty," which did not require any symptoms for its manifestation. They did not acknowledge what the historian has constantly inferred, that the notion of liberty was a sudden growth of the seventeenth century; "that the constitution of England was, at that time, an inconsistent fabric, whose jarring and discordant parts would soon destroy each other." † They opposed the parliamentary influence because they dreaded corruption as much as they hated tyranny. The scheme of the undertakers was entirely unsuccessful. James uttered smooth words and made specious promises; but the Commons, with one voice, passed a vote against the king's right of imposing customs at the outports, without the consent of parliament. A supply was demanded, under a threat that if it were not given the parliament should be dissolved. The house passed to the question of impositions. There were various bills in progress. After a session of two months of stormy debate, the parliament was dissolved, without a single bill being passed. It was named "the addled parliament." No other parliament was called till 1621. For eleven years the Statute book is a blank. The king was not satisfied with the perilous measure of attempting to govern without a parliament, but he committed to the Tower five of the members of the House of Commons who had been most strenuous in their opposition. He had to supply his necessities by fines in the star-chamber, and by exercises of the prerogative which were galling and oppressive. His first great resource was a Benevolence. Mr. Oliver St. John declined to contribute, and wrote a letter setting forth his reasons for refusal. He was brought into the star-chamber, and was fined in the sum of £5000. The courtiers would think this a mild punishment for one who had presumed to doubt the right to put his hands into the pockets of his subjects of a king who

* J. M. Kemble, Introduction to Twysden on "the Government of England," Camden Society, p. xix.

† "History of England," chap. xlvii.

had just told his disobedient parliament, "my integrity is like the whiteness of my robe, my purity like the metal of gold in my crown, my firmness and clearness like the precious stones I wear, and my affections natural like the redness of my heart." * Such was the gabble of this ridiculous pedant upon solemn occasions. When he sat at table, with a crowd of listeners, he discoursed largely of his divine right to implicit obedience, and of the superiority of his prerogative over the laws and customs of England. There is "a specimen of his usual liberty of talk," as Hume terms a story which Mr. Hallam deems "too trite for repetition," but which we venture to repeat. Waller, the poet, when young, stood among the spectators who were allowed to see the king dine. James, with his loud sputtering voice, asked the opinions of bishop Neile and bishop Andrews, whether he might not take his subjects' money, when he needed it, without all the fuss of parliament? Neile replied, 'God forbid you should not, for you are the breath of our nostrils.' Andrews hesitated; but the king insisting upon an answer, he said, 'Why, then, I think your majesty may lawfully take my brother Neile's money, for he offers it.'

By the death of the earl of Northampton, within a week of the dissolution of parliament, the king and his courtiers had an opportunity for a scramble to recruit their finances. The office of Lord Privy Seal having become vacant, the occasion was embraced to effect what we should now call a partial change of ministry. But this change was accomplished in a way that would be rather startling in modern times. Some of the high offices were sold. Sir Fulk Greville paid £4000 for the Chancellorship of the Exchequer. Inferior places went to the highest bidder. When Somerset sold the office of cupbearer to George Villiers, one of the sons of a Leicestershire knight, he appears to have forgotten that another might supplant him in the favour of a king who dwelt on "good looks and handsome accoutrements." † The cupbearer was a dangerous rival. "His first introduction into favour," says Clarendon, "was purely from the handsomeness of his person." The history of the country, to the end of this reign, is in great part the personal history of George Villiers,—the adventurer, who had in his capacity of the king's cupbearer been "admitted to that conversation and discourse with which that prince always abounded at his meals." In a few weeks, continues Clarendon, he mounted higher; "and, being knighted, without any other qualification, he was at the same time made gentleman of the bedchamber and knight of the order of the garter; and in a short time (very short for such a prodigious ascent) he was made a baron, a viscount, an earl, a marquis, and became lord high admiral of England, lord warden of the cinque-ports, master of the horse, and entirely disposed of all the graces of the king, in conferring all the honours and all the offices of three kingdoms without a rival." ‡

The marriage of the earl of Somerset with the divorced lady Essex, on St. Stephen's day, 1613, had been preceded by the death in the Tower of Somerset's friend, sir Thomas Overbury. The incense that was offered to the royal favourite on the occasion of his marriage is almost as revolting as the marriage itself. Bacon spent £2000 upon "The Masque of Flowers," in which grave lawyers spoke the flattering words which were put into the

* "Parliamentary History," vol. i. p. 1150.
† "Nugæ Antiquæ," p. 392.
‡ "History of the Rebellion," book i.

mouths of hyacinths and jonquils. Donne wrote an eclogue, in which he describes the eyes of the bride as sowing the court with stars. The Corporation of London gave the earl and countess a magnificent banquet at Guildhall; and when the lady, to go to the festival, borrowed the four superb horses in which sir Ralph Winwood, the Secretary of State, took pride, he begged her to accept them, as so great a lady should not use anything borrowed. In less than two years the same sir Ralph Winwood was labouring to discover the suspected murderers of sir Thomas Overbury. According to one account, an apothecary's boy, falling sick at Flushing, confessed that he had administered a poison to Overbury, who was then a prisoner in the Tower. According to another account, the discovery was as follows:—"It came first to light by a strange accident of sir Ralph Winwood, knt., one of the Secretaries of State, his dining with sir Jervis Elvis, lieutenant of the said Tower, at a great man's table, not far from Whitehall. For that great man, commending the same sir Jervis to sir Ralph Winwood as a person in respect of his many good qualities very worthy of his acquaintance, sir Ralph answered him, that he should willingly embrace his acquaintance, but that he could first wish he had cleared himself of a foul suspicion the world generally conceived of him, touching the death of sir Thomas Overbury. As soon as sir Jervis heard that, being very ambitious of the Secretary's friendship, he took occasion to enter into private conference with him, and therein to excuse himself to have been enforced to connive at the said murder, with much abhorring of it. He confessed the whole circumstance of the execution of it in general, and the instruments to have been set on work by Robert, Earl of Somerset, and his wife." *

The confession of Elvis, or Helwys, as thus related by D'Ewes, is not very probable. But suspicion being roused, and that suspicion pointing to the once favourite of the king—of whom, according to Clarendon, his majesty "begun to be weary,"—all the state machinery was put in action to bring the murder home to the instigators and the perpetrators. Coke, the lord chief justice, is stated by Bacon to have taken three hundred examinations. The king, according to the narrative of Roger Coke, the grandson of the great judge, was at Royston, and Somerset with him, when Winwood came to tell him what had been discovered. James, immediately sent a messenger to Coke to apprehend the earl. Coke prepared a warrant, and despatched it to Royston: "The messenger went back post to Royston, and arrived there about ten in the morning. The king had a loathsome way of lolling his arms about his favourites' necks, and kissing them; and in this posture the messenger found the king with Somerset, saying, 'When shall I see thee again?' Somerset then designing for London, when he was arrested by sir Edward's warrant. Somerset exclaimed, that never such an affront was offered to a peer of England in presence of the King. 'Nay, man,' said the king, 'if Coke sends for me, I must go;' and when he was gone, 'Now the Deel go with thee,' said the king, 'for I will never see thy face any more.'" In the afternoon, according to the same account, the chief justice arrived, and then the king commanded him to search into the bottom of the conspiracy, and to spare no man, however great; concluding with an awful appeal to God to

* D'Ewes, "Autobiography," vol. i. p. 68.

curse Coke if he spared any of them, and invoking the same curse upon himself if he pardoned any.

On the 19th of October, on the 9th of November, and on the 16th of November, 1615, Richard Weston, James Franklin, Anne Turner, and sir Jervis Elvis, were arraigned and condemned at Guildhall, and were executed. The countess of Somerset was committed to the Tower, where she gave birth to a daughter; and her husband was also committed. On the 24th of May, 1616, the countess was arraigned before the peers. She pleaded guilty, and was sentenced to death. The motive which induced her to be accessary to this crime was set forth by the chief justice in a report to the king. The examinations, he said, disclosed that lady Frances, countess of Essex, had employed sorcery for the double purpose of estranging the affections of her husband and winning those of Rochester; that Overbury, who had exhorted

Earl and Countess of Somerset. (From a print of the period.)

Somerset not to think of a divorce for the wife of Essex, to be followed by his own marriage, was, through the management of the deceased earl of Northampton, committed to the Tower; that Wade, the lieutenant of the Tower, was removed to make room for Elvis; that Weston was recommended as warder of the prisoner; that the countess, by the aid of Mrs. Turner, procured poisons from Franklin; and that by Weston they were administered, with the connivance of Elvis.

The earl of Somerset was put upon his trial on the day after his countess had confessed her guilt. It is one of the disgraces of Bacon that, in managing this trial, he had tampered with the due course of justice, so as to preconcert with the king that Somerset should be convicted, but, as he says under his own hand, "It shall be my care so to moderate the manner of charging him, as it might make him not odious beyond the extent of mercy." * Somerset was convicted; and was sentenced to die. In a few days his wife received a free pardon, which was afterwards extended to himself. He obtained a large pension; and only lost his great offices. The mysterious circumstances which led to such a flagrant defiance of public opinion may be explained by a remarkable account given by sir A. Weldon. His little book, "The Court and Character of King James," was long held to be a libel upon the Stuart family; but in the words of the most temperate of historians, his statement with regard to Somerset has "received the most entire confirmation by some letters from More, lieutenant of the Tower, published in Archæologia, vol. xviii." Somerset's trial was undoubtedly so managed by Bacon "as to prevent him making any imprudent disclosure, or the judges from getting any insight into that which it was not meant to reveal." † The following is the narrative of Weldon, of which he says, "this is the very relation from More's own mouth":—

"And now for the last act, enters Somerset himself on the stage, who, being told, as the manner is, by the lieutenant, that he must provide to go next day to his trial, did absolutely refuse it, and said they should carry him in his bed; that the king had assured him he should not come to any trial, neither durst the king to bring him to trial; this was in a high strain, and in a language not well understood by George More (lieutenant in Elwaies his room), that made More quiver and shake, and however he was accounted a wise man, yet was he near at his wits' end.

"Yet away goes More to Greenwich, as late as it was (being twelve at night), bounceth at the back stairs, as if mad, to whom came Jo. Leveston, one of the grooms, out of his bed, enquires the reason of that distemper at so late a season; More tells him he must speak with the king; Leveston replies, he is quiet (which in the Scottish dialect is fast asleep); More says, you must awake him; More was called in; the chamber left to the king and More, he tells the king those passages, and desired to be directed by the king, for he was gone beyond his own reason to hear such bold and undutiful expressions, from a faulty subject, against a just sovereign. The king falls into a passion of tears, On my soul, More, I wot not what to do; thou art a wise man, help me in this great strait, and thou shalt find thou dost it for a thankful master; with other sad expressions. More leaves the king in that passion, but assures him he will prove the utmost of his wit, to serve his majesty, and was really rewarded with a suit worth to him £1500 (although Annandale, his great friend, did cheat him of one half), so was there falsehood in friendship.

"Sir George More returns to Somerset about three next morning, of that day he was to come to trial; enters Somerset's chamber, tells him he had been with the king, found him a most affectionate master unto him, and

* Amos, "Great Oyer," p. 459. † "Constitutional History," vol. i. p. 353, note.

full of grace in his intentions towards him, but (said he) to satisfy justice, you must appear, although return instantly again, without any further proceeding, only you shall know your enemies and their malice, though they shall have no power over you. With this trick of wit, he allayed his fury, and got him quietly, about eight in the morning to the Hall, yet feared his former bold language might revert again, and being brought by this trick into the toil, might have more enraged him to fly out into some strange discovery, that he had two servants placed on each side of him, with a cloak on their arms, giving them a peremptory order, if that Somerset did any way fly out on the king, they should instantly hood-wink him with that cloak, take him violently from the Bar, and carry him away; for which, he would secure them from any danger, and they should not want also a bountiful reward. But the earl finding himself over-reached, recollected a better temper, and went on calmly in his trial, where he held the company until seven at night. But who had seen the king's restless motion all that day, sending to every boat he see landing at the bridge, cursing all that came without tidings, would have easily judged all was not right, and there had been some grounds for his fears of Somerset's boldness; but at the last one bringing him word he was condemned, and the passages, all was quiet." *

The mysteries which were involved in the death of Overbury, whose murder can scarcely be attributed solely to the revenge of lady Somerset; the fearful secrets which Somerset might have revealed had he not been assured of the king's pardon, and of the rewards which he afterwards received—are conjectured to be of a nature that had better be buried with the "carrion" to which they belong. That Somerset was guilty of being accessary to the murder of Overbury is very little to be doubted. That the murder was for the concealment of some terrible secret can as little be questioned. How far James was implicated in these dark affairs may be better judged from a careful perusal of the great body of evidence collected by Mr. Amos, than by any brief mention in this, or any other historical abstract.

The conduct of sir Edward Coke upon these Somerset trials was probably not such as won the favour of the king, especially if an expression which he is said to have used during the proceedings be authentically stated. It was: "God knows what became of that sweet babe prince Henry, but I know somewhat." This has been disputed; but it appears in a sentence from a report of Bacon to the king, that Coke was not so discreet as the courtiers could have wished. "My lord Coke," he says, "hath filled this part with many frivolous things." The chief justice was not so inclined to sustain the prerogative as some of his brother judges. At an earlier period of his career, he had given umbrage to the king, in saying that "his highness was defended by his laws:" James told him "he spake foolishly;" that "he was not defended by his laws, but by God;" and Coke went upon his knees, and begged pardon. In 1610, Coke had been consulted by the council, whether the king, by his proclamations, might limit the increase of buildings in London, and forbid the making of starch from wheat. Parliament was then sitting, and the Commons were then expected to remonstrate against this exercise of the prerogative. The chief justice and three judges decided that the king by his

* "The Court of King James," 1650, p. 115. See Note, p. 371.

proclamations could not create any offence which was not one before; that the king, by his proclamations, may admonish his subjects that they keep the laws, and do not offend against them. The same sound doctrine was held even in the reign of Mary, when the judges laid down, that no proclamation can make a law, but only confirm and ratify an ancient one.* In 1615, Coke opposed his legal knowledge to the preliminary proceedings in a detestable act of tyranny. Edmund Peachum, a clergyman in Somersetshire, had his study broken open; and a manuscript sermon being there found, in which there was strong censure of the extravagancies of the king and the oppressions of his officers, the preacher was put to the rack, and interrogated "before torture, in torture, between torture, and after torture." He was suspected of treason; but this horrible severity could wring no confession from him. It was doubted whether the sermon itself could be received as an overt act of treason. Bacon was directed by the king to confer with the judges of the King's Bench separately; to which Coke objected, as "not according to the custom of this realm." The other judges were tampered with. Coke at length gave an opinion, which evaded the question, and did not confirm the king's arguments and that of the other unscrupulous judges, that the sermon itself was treasonable. The unhappy man was, however, tried and condemned; but he died in gaol. The chief justice again offended by contending that the equitable jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery ought not to be exercised after a judgment obtained at law. But his greatest offence was in demurring to the authority of a letter which Bacon had written at the king's desire, to direct that the Court of King's Bench should not proceed to judgment in a case which concerned the validity of the grant of a benefice to a bishop, in connexion with his bishopric. Coke said that such a letter should be written to the judges of all the courts; and that being done, he induced them to take the honourable course of certifying to the king that they were bound by their oaths not to regard any such letters, which were contrary to law. The king went into one of his usual fits of rage when his prerogative was questioned, and called the twelve judges before him to answer for their disobedience. They all tamely yielded, with the exception of Coke. He was very shortly after first suspended from his office, and then dismissed.

Coke.

It is not difficult to imagine, whilst such scandalous revelations and suspicions were rife as those of the Overbury case; whilst the majority of the judges were slavish; whilst the Court of High Commission was proceeding in its arbitrary course in matters of religion—a Court which, according to an unheeded remonstrance of the Commons, took upon itself to fine and imprison,

* Hallam, vol. i. p. 337.

and passed sentences without appeal; whilst the Star Chamber was trampling upon every personal right,—that the nation was growing universally disgusted with the government under which it lived. The people had no constitutional organ to proclaim their grievances. Parliaments had been laid aside. The great religious body termed Puritans were offended, in 1618, by a proclamation that all lawful recreations, such as dancing, archery, leaping, May-games, might be used on Sundays after divine service. They associated this injudicious measure—which had a tendency to make the disputes between the two parties in the Church more rancorous—with the king's visit to Scotland to enforce episcopacy upon a reluctant people. After that visit a better provision was made for the parochial clergy, by the passing of an Act in the Scottish Parliament, which compelled the impropriators of tithes to allow a stipend to the resident minister. But the ecclesiastical policy of James in Scotland was not successful; and in 1620 the preachers were inveighing against episcopal rule, and that general discontent was growing which, in a few years, broke out in bitter hostility. In neither of the kingdoms could the people be deemed happy, or the government paternal.

Medal Likeness of James 1.

NOTE ON THE SECRET COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN THE KING AND SIR GEORGE MORE.

The letters to which Mr. Hallam refers as giving the most entire confirmation to the passage in Weldon's Memoirs, are in the hand-writing of king James; and were published in 1835, the originals being then in the possession of James More Molyneux, Esq. of Losely. They had been carefully preserved in sir G. More's family; and were enclosed in an envelope, on which was an inscription in hand-writing of the early part of the seventeenth century. It thus commences: "These four letters were all in King James his own hand-writing, sent to Sir George More, Lieut. of the Tower (being put into that place by his own appointment, without the privity of any man), concerning My Lord Somerset, who being in the Tower and hearing that he should come to his arraignment, began to speak big words touching on the King's reputation and honour. The King therefore desired, as much as he could, to make him confess the poisoning of Sir Thomas Overbury and so not to come to his arraign, but to cast himself on his mercy. But being a Courtier and beaten to these courses, would not; fully imagining, that the King durst not or would not bring him to his trial."

1616. *May 9th.*

"Good Sir George,

"As the only confidence I had in your honesty made me, without the knowledge of any, put you in that place of trust, which you now possess, so must I now use your trust and secrecy in a thing greatly concerning my honour and service. You know Somerset's day of trial is at hand, and you know also what fair means I have used to move him by confessing the truth, to honour God and me, and leave some place for my mercy to work upon. I have now at last sent the bearer hereof, an honest Gentleman, and who once followed him, with such directions unto him, as, if there be a sponke of grace left in him, I hope they shall work a good effect. My only desire is, that you would make his convoy unto him in such secrecy, as none living may know of it, and that, after his speaking with him in private, he may be returned back again as secretly. So, reposing myself upon your faithful and secret handling of this business, I bid you heartily farewell.

"James R."

1616. *May 13th.*

"Good Sir George,

"Although I fear that the last message I sent to your unfortunate Prisoner shall not take the effect that I wish it should, yet, I cannot leave off to use all means possible to move him to do that which is both most honorable for me, and his own best. You shall therefore give him assurance in my name, that if he will yet before his trial confess clearly unto the Commissioners his guiltiness of this fact, I will not only perform what I promised by my last Messenger, both towards him and his wife, but I will enlarge it, according to the phrase of the civil law, quod

gratiæ sunt ampliandæ. I mean not that he shall confess if he be innocent, but you know evil likely that is, and of yourself you may dispute with him what should mean his confidence now to endure a trial, when as he remembers, that this last winter he confessed to the Chief Justice that his cause was so evil likely, as he knew no jury could acquit him. Assure him that I protest upon my honor, my end in this is for his and his wife's good; you will do well, likewise, of yourself to cast out unto him, that you fear his wife shall plead weakly for his innocency, and that you find the Commissioners have, you know not how, some secret assurance that in the end she will confess of him: but this must only be as from yourself; and therefore you must not let him know that I have written unto you, but only that I sent you private word to deliver him this message. Let none living know of this, and if it take good effect, move him to send in haste for the Commissioners to give them satisfaction, but if he remain obstinate, I desire not that you should trouble me with an answer, for it is to no end, and no news is better than evil news; and so farewell, and God bless your labours.

"JAMES R."

Without date.

"GOOD SIR GEORGE,

"I am extremely sorry, that your unfortunate prisoner turns all the great care I have of him, not only against himself, but against me also, as far as he can. I cannot blame you, that you cannot conjecture what this may be, for God knows it is only a trick of his idle brain, hoping thereby to shift his trial; but it is easy to be seen that he would threaten me with laying an aspersion upon me of being in some sort accessory to his crime. I can do no more (since God so abstracts his grace from him), than repeat the substance of that letter which the Lord Hay sent you yesternight, which is this: if he would write or send me any message concerning this poisoning it needs not be private; if it be of any other business, that which I cannot now with honour receive privately, I may do it after his trial, and serve the turn as well; for except either his trial or confession proceede, I cannot hear a private message from him, without laying an aspersion upon myself of being accessory to his crime, and I pray you to urge him by reason, that I refuse him no favour which I can grant him, without taking upon me the suspicion of being guilty of that crime whereof he is accused; and so farewell.

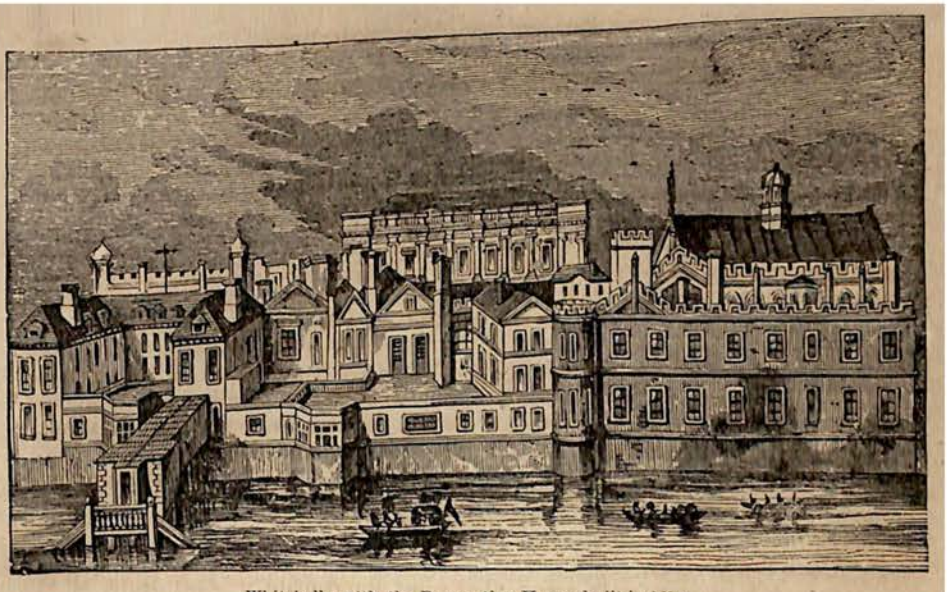
"JAMES R."

Without date.

"GOOD SIR GEORGE,

"For answer to your strange news, I am first to tell you, that I expect the Lord Hay and Sir Robert Carr have been with you before this time, which if they have not yet been, do you send for them in haste, that they may first hear him, before you say any thing unto him, and when that is done, if he shall still refuse to go, you must do your office, except he be either apparently sick or distracted of his wits, in any of which cases, you may acquaint the Chancellor with it, that he may adjourn the day till Monday next, between and which time, if his sickness or madness be counterfeited, it will manifestly appear. In the mean time, I doubt not but you have acquainted the Chancellor with this strange fit of his, and if upon these occasions you bring him a little later than the hour appointed, the Chancellor may in the mean time protract the time best he may, whom I pray you to acquaint likewise with this my answer, as well as with the accident. If he have said any thing of moment to the Lord Hay, I expect to hear of it with all speed; if otherways, let me not be troubled with it till the trial be past. Farewell.

"JAMES R."



Whitehall; with the Banqueting House, built in 1619.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Release of Raleigh—Raleigh's expedition to Guiana—Raleigh returns to England—His execution under his former sentence—Affairs of the Palatinate—The Elector defeated at Prague—Parliament—Monopolists—Lord Bacon impeached—Conduct of Parliament in Floyd's case—The King and the Parliament at issue—Parliament dissolved—Prince Charles and Villiers in Spain—The proposed marriage of Charles with the Infanta broken off—Rejoicings in England—Parliament—War declared against Spain—Death of King James.

Sir Walter Raleigh had been a prisoner in the Tower somewhat more than twelve years. To a man of such activity of mind even imprisonment would not be unhappiness. His wife was permitted to dwell with him. He had access to the Lieutenant's garden; and, says sir William Wade, one of the Lieutenants, "he hath converted a little hen-house to a still-house, where he doth spend his time all the day in distillations." Mrs. Hutchinson, whose father, sir Allen Apsley, was also Lieutenant of the Tower, gives a more intelligible account of these distillations, in relating the virtues of her mother: "Sir Walter Raleigh and Mr. Ruthin being prisoners in the Tower, and addicting themselves to chemistry, she suffered them to make their rare experiments at her cost; partly to comfort and divert the poor prisoners, and partly to gain the knowledge of their experiments, and the medicines to help such poor people as were not able to seek to physicians." * Raleigh was the inventor of a famous cordial which went by his name. In an evil hour the tranquil studies and useful diversions of Raleigh were exchanged for schemes which were to renew the energies of his youth. The dream of a gold mine in Guiana never ceased to haunt his imagination. Indians had interviews with him in the Tower; for he had kept up a correspondence, through his agents,

* "Memoirs of Col. Hutchinson," p. 22.

with the natives of the country which he had partially explored in 1595. At length he obtained permission to employ the liberty which was promised to be granted to him, through the mediation of Villiers, in again attempting to work the gold mine in whose existence he firmly believed. He was released from his prison on the 20th of March, 1616. He was now in the sixty-fifth year of his age. But he was one of those who bated no jot of heart or hope, and he sent an expression of his gratitude to Villiers in a letter which smacks of the old enthusiasm: "You have, by your mediation, put me again into the world. I can but acknowledge it; for to pay any part of your favour by any service of mine, as yet, is not in my power. If it succeed well, a good part of the honour shall be yours; and if I do not also make it profitable unto you, I shall show myself exceeding ungrateful." Raleigh risked in this scheme all he possessed in the world. When lady Raleigh went on her knees to James, to beg that her family might not be robbed of the estate at Sherborne, which had been secured to them before her husband's attainder, he exclaimed, "I maun have the land—I maun have it for Carr." Eight thousand pounds were afterwards obtained as the "competent satisfaction" for an estate worth five thousand pounds a year. This sum, with the produce of a small estate which his wife sold, was all invested in the Guiana project. James stipulated for a share of the profits of the enterprise. But the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, who had at that time obtained great influence over the king, at first remonstrated, and declared that the expedition was for piratical purposes. Raleigh maintained that his sole object was to settle a country which belonged to England by right of discovery, and to work its gold mines; and Gondomar affected to be satisfied. Raleigh got together a squadron of fourteen vessels, and he set sail on the 28th of March, 1617, having received a commission by which he was constituted general and commander of the expedition, and governor of the country. It was imprudent in Raleigh to have gone upon a doubtful adventure without having received a previous pardon, which was to be obtained for money. But it is said that Bacon, who, in 1617, had accomplished the prime object of his ambition, the custody of the great seal, said to Raleigh, "The knee-timber of your voyage is money. Spare your purse in this particular; for upon my life you have a sufficient pardon for all that is past already, the king having under his broad seal made you admiral of your fleet, and given you power of the martial law over your officers and soldiers." The outward voyage was unpropitious. There was sickness in the ships, of which many of the voyagers died. They landed in Guiana on the 12th of November; and on the 14th Raleigh wrote in a hopeful spirit to his wife: "To tell you that I might be king of the Indians were a vanity. But my name hath still lived among them here. They feed me with fresh meat and all that the country yields. All offer to obey me." In a short time he began to have glimpses of the treacherous nature of the sovereign in whose name he had gone forth to "make new nations." James had obtained from him the most minute details of his plans; and the king had communicated them to Gondomar, who had sent them to his court at Madrid. The king's commander had been promised a free passage through the country. He found it fortified against him. He was himself weak from sickness, and was obliged to be carried in a litter. He sent his faithful follower, Captain Keymis, to sail up the Orinoco

with a part of the squadron in the direction of the mine. The instructions which Raleigh had given were not obeyed. If Keymis found the mine of great richness—royal, as the term was—he was to repel any attack of the Spaniards. But if not royal, he was to return with a basket or two of the ore, to satisfy James that there was a foundation of reality in the attempt to find gold. Keymis landed in the night near the Spanish town of Santa Thome, near the mine. The Spaniards attacked his encampment; and a battle ensued. After much slaughter, the English drove back their assailants to the town; and the Spaniards coming out in fresh force, the son of Raleigh was killed. The governor of the town, a kinsman of Gondomar, also fell. The English burnt Santa Thome, in which they found refining houses, and two ingots of gold. But the passes to the mine were defended by too strong a force to enable Keymis to accomplish the great object of the expedition. When he returned with his diminished crew, the reproaches of his commander led the unfortunate man to commit suicide. The great spirit of Raleigh was crushed. He saw nothing before him but reproach and danger. In a letter to his wife he says, "I protest before the majesty of God, that as sir Francis Drake and sir John Hawkins died heart-broken when they failed of their enterprise, I could willingly do the like, did I not contend against sorrow for your sake, in hope to provide somewhat for you to comfort and relieve you. If I live to return, resolve yourself that it is the care for you that hath strengthened my heart. It is true that Keymis might have gone directly to the mine, and meant it. But after my son's death, he made them believe that he knew not the way, and excused himself upon the want of water in the river; and counterfeiting many impediments left it unfound. When he came back, I told him that he had undone me, and that my credit was lost for ever. He answered that when my son was lost, and that he left me so weak that he thought not to find me alive, he had no reason to enrich a company of rascals, who, after my son's death, made no account of him." Raleigh conducted his fleet, with mutinous crews, to Newfoundland, and then sailed homeward. On the 18th of March, after his return, Howell wrote, "The world wonders extremely that so great a wise man as sir Walter Raleigh would return, to cast himself upon so inevitable a rock as I fear he will." * Two friends, the earls of Pembroke and Arundel, had pledged their honour for his return, and he would not be a cause of trouble to them. This Arundel acknowledged when Raleigh, on the scaffold, reminded him of the promise that he had made to the earl that he would return. Gondomar was now supreme at the English court, negotiating a marriage between prince Charles and the Infanta of Spain. The destiny of Raleigh was in the hands of the malignant Spaniard and the revengeful king. Raleigh was arrested at Plymouth; and after some stratagems to escape to France, and to obtain delay, having feigned madness, he was conducted to his old prison of the Tower. He was examined before commissioners, upon the charge that he fraudulently pretended that he went to discover a mine, when his real object was to make a piratical attack upon the Spanish settlements. He denied these charges with constancy and boldness; but admitted his attempt to escape, and his pretence of mental derangement, which he

* "Letters," p. 8.

excused by the desire which every man feels to escape death. In his imprisonment he was no longer under the care of the kind sir Allen Apsley. That lieutenant of the Tower was removed from the charge of Raleigh, to make way for sir Thomas Wilson, who wrote constant reports of his conversations with his prisoner. These are in the State Paper Office. "On the perusal of these papers, it is difficult to say whether the preponderating feeling is sympathy for the captive, or disgust and indignation for his unfeeling and treacherous keeper."* It was the king himself who was urging on his creature to worm himself into the confidence of Raleigh for the purpose of betraying him. But all the arts of the betrayer were unavailing. Nothing could be obtained which could furnish a new ground of accusation. The letters which passed between Raleigh and his wife were intercepted, and were read by the king. It was determined at length that the prisoner should be executed under his former sentence, by a writ of privy seal directed to the judges. But they held that their warrant for execution could not be issued, after so long a time had elapsed since the judgment, without bringing up the prisoner to plead. Raleigh, suffering under an ague, was brought on the 24th and again on the 28th of October to the King's Bench at Westminster, and there being asked why execution should not pass against him, he urged that he was discharged of the original judgment by the king's commission for his voyage, which gave him new life and vigour. Execution was granted. Raleigh asked for a little delay, to settle his affairs and his mind. He was brought out of his prison the next morning to die upon the scaffold, in the Old Palace Yard at Westminster. The night before his death, he wrote these lines on a blank leaf of his Bible:—

"E'en such is time; who takes in trust
Our youth, our joys, and all we have,
And pays us but with age and dust;
Who, in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wander'd all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days.
But from this earth, this grave, this dust,
The Lord will raise me up, I trust."

The last end of this heroic man was worthy of his great genius. He received the Sacrament; he declared his forgiveness of all persons; he manifested the utmost cheerfulness; he gave thanks to the Almighty who had imparted to him the strength of mind never to fear death, and to meet it with courage in the assurance of His love. He breakfasted, and smoked his usual pipe of tobacco. When he came to the scaffold he was very faint; and commenced his speech to the assembled crowd, by saying that during the last two days he had been visited by two ague fits. "If therefore you perceive any weakness in me, I beseech you ascribe it to my sickness rather than to myself." His speech was of a manly tone, defending himself from slanders which had been raised against him. He implored the bystanders to join with him in prayer to that great God whom he had grievously offended; "being a man full of all vanity, and one who hath lived a sinful life in such callings as have been most inducing to it; for I have been a soldier, a sailor, and a courtier, all of them courses of wickedness and vice." He was asked by the dean of Westminster

* Jardine, "Criminal Trials," vol. i.

in what religion he meant to die, and he replied, in the faith professed by the Church of England, hoping to be saved by the blood and merits of our Saviour. It was a bitter morning; and the sheriff proposed that he should descend from the scaffold and warm himself: "No, good Mr. Sheriff, let us despatch, for within this quarter of an hour my ague will come upon me, and if I be not dead before that, my enemies will say I quake for fear." He took the axe in his hand, kissed the blade, and said to the sheriff, "'Tis a sharp medicine, but a sound cure for all diseases." So died the last of Elizabeth's heroes.

The execution of Raleigh called forth indignation, "not loud but deep," in the English mind. The people felt that he was sacrificed to Spain, against which power, its jesuits and its inquisitions, he had waged no inglorious warfare. He was sacrificed by a king from whom the bold Protestant spirit was departed, and who remained supine whilst the two great principles which divided Europe were again preparing for a struggle. Thus thought the majority of the nation, at a time of extraordinary excitement in connection with foreign events. The daughter of James had been married six years to the Elector Palatine. He was a prince of a serious character; by nature proud and reserved; earnest in the discharge of his duties as a ruler; not devoid of ambition to become a leader for a great public object. The Calvinists of Bohemia had been in insurrection upon a question of the possession of some lands of the church which were held by Catholics; and the quarrel was under arbitration at the instance of the emperor Mathias when he died. Mathias was also king of Bohemia; and the archduke Ferdinand was chosen emperor. He had been recognised as successor to the throne of Bohemia; but he was a determined zealot of Catholicism; and the Bohemians, who held that their crown was elective, offered it to Frederic, who had been one of the arbitrators to settle the difference which had led to their insurrection. The Elector Palatine, after some hesitation, accepted the dangerous promotion, and was crowned at Prague, in November, 1619. The resolve was the signal for a general array of hostile forces throughout Europe. The great battle of Protestantism and Catholicism appeared once more likely to be fought out. Had Elizabeth been alive she would have thrown all her force into the conflict. James at first refused to give any assistance to his son-in-law. The Protestants of England were roused to an enthusiasm which had been repressed for years. They saw the armies of Austria and Spain gathering to snatch the crown from the elective king of Bohemia, and to invade the Palatinate. They saw many of the Protestant princes forming an union for his defence. Volunteers were ready to go forth from England full of zeal for the support of the Elector. James was professing an ardent desire to Protestant deputies to assist his son-in-law; and at the same time vowing to the Spanish ambassador that the alliance with his Catholic master, which was to be cemented by the marriage of prince Charles to the Infanta, was the great desire of his heart. At length the Catholic powers entered the Palatinate; and the cry to arm was so loud amongst the English and the Scotch, that James reluctantly marshalled a force of four thousand volunteers, not to support his son-in-law upon the throne of Bohemia, but to assist in defending his hereditary dominions. The scanty assistance came too late. Frederic was defeated by the Austrians at Prague, on the 7th of November, 1620, which

decisive battle entirely destroyed his slight tenure of power in Bohemia. He was very shortly after driven from the Palatinate, which was handed over to the tender mercies of the conquerors. The supporters of the Elector in Bohemia, a country which had been the refuge of persecuted reformers, were trodden down by the iron heel of Austria. The Puritan party in England considered this misfortune as "the greatest blow which the Church of God had received, since the first Reformation by Martin Luther in 1517." * The union of the Protestant princes was broken up. "The Catholic principle passed with wonderful rapidity from a moment of the utmost danger, to an omnipotent sway over the south of Germany and the Austrian provinces." †

Cavalier, 1620. (From a Specimen at Goodrich, engraved in Skelton's Armour.)

It was during the excitement of this conflict, and in the month following the victory of the Austrians at Prague, that James adopted one of those arbitrary measures which weak governments resort to in their imbecile desire to control public opinion. On the 27th of December, says D'Ewes, "I saw and perused a proclamation set out by his majesty, inhibiting or forbidding any of his subjects to discourse of state-matters, either foreign or domestic; which all men conceived to have been procured by the count of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador." The Autobiographer holds this proclamation to be "unseasonable and harsh," because the triumphs of Romanism "required men's mutual condoling, which might prove a means to stir them up to a more zealous and earnest intercession with God by prayer." This was an innocent delusion of the young Puritan; for that Englishmen should cease to interchange their thoughts at the bidding of an insolent government was as impossible as to prevent them thinking. Their thoughts broke out in signs not to be mistaken. The Spanish ambassador, who dwelt in the bishop of Ely's house in Holborn, was obliged to have a guard of soldiers to protect him; and "when he passed at any time through London in his horse-litter, many were the curses and execrations the people bestowed upon him." The old dread of the supremacy of Popery was coming back. Round the Spanish ambassadors a vast following of English and Irish papists had been accustomed to collect. "Their house was the resort of their brethren in the faith, and, as a Venetian said, they were regarded almost in the light of legates of the apostolic see." ‡ It was in this excited temper of the nation that the king at length called a parliament, which met on the 30th of January, 1621. In his progress from Whitehall to Westminster, "he spake

* D'Ewes, "Autobiography," vol. i. p. 162.

† Ranke, "History of the Popes," vol. ii. p. 465.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 498.

often and lovingly to the people, standing thick and three-fold on all sides to behold him, 'God bless ye! God bless ye!' contrary to his former hasty and passionate custom, which often in his sudden distemper would bid a plague on such as flocked to see him." * A little before this time he had in a proclamation directed that those who crowded upon him, in joining the royal hunt without permission, should be sent to gaol, calling their curiosity "the bold and barbarous insolency of multitudes of vulgar people." † He is now in a gracious humour. He has something to ask of the Parliament: "I have reigned eighteen years, in which time you have had peace, and I have received far less supply than hath been given to any king since the Conquest. The last queen, of famous memory, had, one year with another, above a hundred thousand pounds per annum in subsidies." James does not attempt a comparison between the manner in which the queen of famous memory spent her subsidies in the defence of her country, and in the support of Protestantism in Europe; while he was lavishing thousands upon Hay and Somerset and Villiers, impoverishing the crown and degrading the nation. Clarendon, speaking of the reigning favourite of 1621, and his host of dependants, says that the demesnes and revenues of the crown were sacrificed to the enriching of a private family; "and the expenses of the court so vast and unlimited, that they had a sad prospect of that poverty and necessity which afterwards befell the crown, almost to the ruin of it." ‡

The parliament of 1621 was in no complacent mood. James said to them, "I have often piped unto you but you have not danced." They gave him a small subsidy in return for unusually gracious speeches; and then went boldly about the redress of grievances. They revived the use of the terrible word "impeachment," which had gone out of men's mouths for nearly two centuries. Monopolists were the first attacked with this constitutional weapon. One of the greatest of them, sir Giles Mompesson, finding that the government which had granted him his patents for gold and silver thread, and for licensing inns and alehouses, would not stand up in his defence, fled beyond sea. In his licensing of alehouses, a justice of the peace, sir Francis Michell, had been the instrument of Mompesson's oppressions. His patent for gold thread was used for the purposes of fraud. "They found out a new alchymistical way to make gold and silver lace with copper and other sophistical materials." § The dramatists of the time brought the monopolists into notice upon the public stage:

> "Here's another;
> Observe but what a cozening look he has!
> Hold up thy head, man; if, for drawing gallants
> Into mortgages for commodities, or cheating heirs
> With your new counterfeit gold thread, and gumm'd velvets,
> He does not transcend all that went before him,
> Call in his patent." ‖

The sir Giles Overreach of Massinger's "New Way to Pay Old Debts" was sir Giles Mompesson, and the justice Greedy of the same popular play was justice Michell. The real Overreach and the real Greedy were degraded from knighthood, were fined, and were banished. Higher delinquents began

* D'Ewes, vol. i. p. 170.
† "Verney Papers," p. 117.
‡ "History of the Rebellion," book i.
§ Wilson.
‖ Massinger, "The Bondman," Act II., sc. 3.

to tremble. Yelverton, the attorney-general, was connected with the prevailing corruption, and when detected denounced Villiers as his enemy. The judge of the Prerogative Court was impeached for venality; and the bishop of Landaff for being accessory to a matter of bribery. It was an age of universal abuses. Local magistrates were influenced by the pettiest gifts, and were called "basket-justices,"—a name which in the next century was applied to the stipendiary justices of Bow-street. Upon the highest branch of this rotten tree sat Francis Bacon, viscount St. Alban's, the great lord Chancellor. His contemporaries were impressed with his versatile abilities and his majestic eloquence; but they were disgusted by his profusion, and they had little confidence in his honesty. The greatness of his intellect was to be appreciated in other ages; and his faults were then to be slightly regarded while the eyes of all men were to be dazzled by the splendour of his genius. His contemporaries, with one accord, resolved that no excuse should interfere with his degradation, for what he himself called his frailty in partaking of "the abuses of the times." He was charged by the Commons, before the Lords, with twenty-two acts of bribery and corruption. He attempted no defence. He saw that the court would not shield him, even if it had the power. He made a distinct confession in writing of the charges brought against him; and when a deputation from the peers asked if that confession was his own voluntary act, he replied, "It is my act, my hand, my heart. Oh, my lords, spare a broken reed." The sentence of the parliament was that the viscount St. Alban's, late Lord Chancellor, be fined £40,000; be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure; made incapable to bear office in the commonwealth, never to sit in parliament; nor to come within the verge of the court. The king remitted the fine, and released the fallen man after an imprisonment of a few days. It is vain to attribute Bacon's fall to the malevolence of Coke or the intrigues of Villiers. The House of Commons saw that the time had come for striking at the root of some of the most flagrant of official corruptions; and Bacon, though perhaps not more guilty than many others, was struck down as a signal example to lesser offenders. The latest editor of Bacon's Philosophical Works, pointing out that the Chancellor admitted the taking of presents, as he himself had taken them, to be indefensible, adds that he always denied he had been an unjust judge; or, to use his own words, "had ever had bribe or reward in his eye or thought when he pronounced any sentence or order." With regard to the degree of moral criminality, these questions are proposed: "1. What was the understanding, open or secret, upon which the present was given or taken? 2. To what extent the practice was prevalent at the time? 3. How far it was tolerated? 4. How it stood with regard to other abuses prevailing at the same time." * If these points could be satisfactorily ascertained the most merciful conclusion at which we could arrive would be the opinion of Bacon himself, as recorded by Dr. Rawley: "I was the justest judge that was in England these fifty years; but it was the justest censure in parliament that was there these two hundred years."

If the stern severity of the House of Commons, in which the peers went

* "Works of Francis Bacon," collected and edited by James Spedding, vol. i. Note to Life by Rawley. 1857.

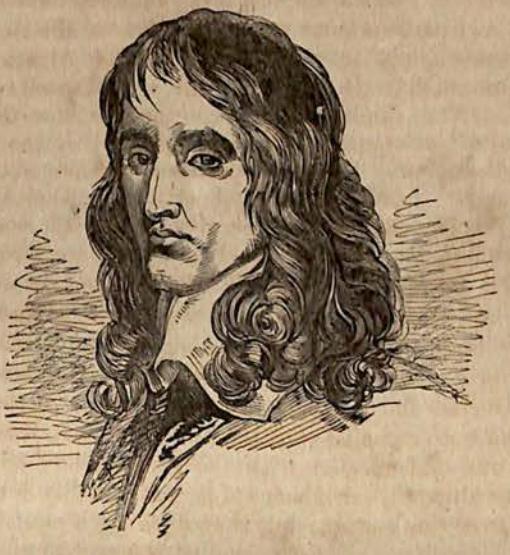
along with them, towards every order of delinquents, from the griping usurer to the prodigal chancellor, demands our respect, we must regard with equal abhorrence the same popular assembly when carried away by a passionate fanaticism into an act of vindictive cruelty. The House was in a fever about the Palatinate; and when it became known that a Roman Catholic barrister, Edward Floyd, had expressed his joy that "goodman Palsgrave and goodwife Palsgrave" had been driven from Prague, there was no punishment too terrible to be inflicted upon the delinquent—whipping, the pillory, boring of his tongue, nailing of his ears, were small justice for such an offence. The House went beyond its powers in passing a heavy sentence upon Floyd, without hearing him. He appealed to the king, denying the accusation against him; and the Commons were asked by the Council how they took upon them to judge offences which did not interfere with their privileges. The House paused; and Floyd was arraigned before the Lords, who confirmed the sentence, with additional severities. Whipping, which was a part of this sentence, was remitted on the motion of prince Charles. The unhappy man underwent the other unjust punishment,—to pay a fine of 5000*l.*, and to be imprisoned for life. "There is surely no instance," says Mr. Hallam, "in the annals of our own, and hardly of any civilised country, where a trifling offence, if it were one, has been visited with such outrageous cruelty." Let us not forget, as we proceed in tracing the history of this nation, that the passions of a parliament have been as marked, if not as frequent, a source of injustice as the despotic tendencies of a king; and let us feel that a due balance of the powers of the respective estates cannot be so happily preserved that prerogative and privilege may be kept equally innoxious, except under the guidance of an enlightened public opinion.

The king and the parliament had been proceeding in apparent harmony, when they were adjourned over the summer. The court had manifested no zeal about the question of the Palatinate; but the Commons made a solemn protestation, which was entered in the Journals, that they would spend their lives and fortunes in the defence of their religion, and of the cause of the Elector. Their pledge "was sounded forth with the voices of them all, withal lifting up their hats in their hands as high as they could hold them, as a visible testimony of their unanimous consent, in such sort that the like had scarce ever been seen in parliament." The Houses met again, after an interval of five months, on the 20th of November. It was announced that troops had been sent for the defence of the Palatinate under sir Horace Vere. The Commons voted a small subsidy, which was totally inadequate to any vigorous exertions. The clamour for warlike operations was not seconded by any liberality which could rouse James to exertion. The Parliament had no confidence in a king who shuddered at a drawn sword. His natural temperament and his policy were in complete accord; and it was perhaps well for the country that they were so. Had his son Henry been on the throne, who proposed the Black Prince and Henry the Fifth as his models, England might have put herself at the head of a great religious war; but she would have wasted that strength which enabled her, in another quarter of a century, to wage a greater battle at home for civil and religious liberty, without losing her power of commanding the respect of every government in Europe.

England had in this year an opportunity to draw the sword in a necessary quarrel — the suppression of the outrages of the Barbary pirates. Spain had agreed to co-operate in an attack upon Algiers; but she sent a very insufficient force to join the English flag. James went about this salutary work in his timid and parsimonious way. He directed the commander of his fleet, sir James Mansell, not to risk his ships. The Algerines, having had only a few boats burnt, defended their harbour, and Mansell came home with nothing achieved. The English merchantmen were now the prey of the African pirates, and the country bitterly complained of the national losses and the national dishonour. When the parliament re-assembled, it was in no conciliating humour. Lords Essex and Oxford had returned from the Palatinate, and proclaimed that the country of the Elector and the Protestant cause were lost for want of timely aid. As we have seen, the two Houses were afraid to trust the expenditure of money in uncapable hands. They could not understand how James was affecting a desire to contend against the power of Spain and Austria, when he was negotiating, in secret as he believed, for the marriage of his son to the daughter of the Most Catholic king. During the recess, a leading member of the Commons, sir Edwin Sandys, had been committed to the Tower; but it was protested that the commitment was unconnected with the privileges of the House. His bold manner of speaking in parliament was undoubtedly his offence. The Commons passed over this matter; but they drew up a petition, prepared by Coke, against the growth of Popery, urging that prince Charles should marry one of his own religion, and that the king should turn his attention towards that power which had first carried on the war in the Palatinate. That power was Spain. James had heard of this motion; and he anticipated the receipt of the petition by sending a violent letter to the Speaker, commanding the House not to meddle with any matter which concerned his government, or the mysteries of state. He informed them also that he meant not to spare any man's insolent behaviour in parliament. The Commons returned a temperate answer, in which the king was told that their liberty of speech was their ancient and undoubted right. James replied that their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of his ancestors and himself. Some excuses were made for the expressions of the king, which were called a slip of the pen. The Commons deliberately recorded their opinions, in a memorable protestation, on the 18th of December, 1621, in which they solemnly affirmed, that the liberties and jurisdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; that the affairs of the king and the state, of the defence of the realm, and of the Church of England, the making of laws, the redress of grievances, are proper subjects of debate in parliament; that in handling such business every member of the House hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech and that every member hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation, except by the censure of the House itself. There were great men concerned in this protestation,—Coke, Pym, Selden. Eminent peers, for almost the first time in the history of the country, took part with

Autograph of James I.

the Commons against the Crown. The king dissolved the parliament, and imprisoned the earl of Oxford, and the leading members of the Commons. The struggle which was to be fought out in the battle-field, twenty years



Selden.

afterwards, was already commenced in a most unmistakeable manner. It was a contest for first principles. England was to be a Constitutional Monarchy or a Despotism. The parliament being dissolved, James again resorted to a Benevolence—a voluntary contribution of the people, as the courtiers pretended. Its voluntary character may be understood from a little incident: "A merchant of London, who had been a cheesemonger, but now rich, was sent for by the Council, and required to give the king 200*l.*, or to go into the Palatinate and serve the army with cheese, being a man of eighty years of age." *

The king, who publicly declared that "he would govern according to the good of the commonweal but not according to the common-will," † went on with his Spanish negotiation in utter defiance of the public feeling. His son-in-law was now a refugee at the Hague, with his queen,—a favourite of the English,—and their family. Their misfortunes, as well as the defeat of the principle which they represented, excited the warmest sympathy. In no point of policy was there any concord between the government and the people. In February, 1623, London was startled with the extraordinary news that the prince of Wales and Villiers, now marquis of Buckingham, had gone off privately for Madrid. The negotiation for the marriage with the Spanish princess had been nearly concluded by the earl of Bristol, a special ambassador to the court of the young king Philip IV., the brother of the Infanta. A dispensation from the pope was only waited for; and James had

* "Letter of Mr. Mead," February, 1622. Ellis, Second Series, vol. iii. p. 240.
† *Ibid.*

himself written to his Holiness to urge the favour. He promised all sorts of toleration; and to give an earnest of his disposition, suddenly released from prison a large number of Popish recusants, to the great anger of the Puritans. The motives for the strange proceeding of the prince and the favourite remain a mystery. Clarendon holds that Villiers originated the scheme to gain favour with the prince, who had been long jealous of him. The king was at first greatly opposed to the adventure, which was not without its danger. Smith seems to be a favourite name for disguised princes. Charles was John Smith, and the marquis Thomas Smith. They were accompanied by sir Richard Graham. They got to Dover, after some awkward enquiries, and there were joined by sir Francis Cottington and Mr. Endymion Porter. They reached Paris, and in their disguise had a peep at the Court, and saw the princess Henrietta Maria, the lady whose good or evil destiny to be the future queen of England overruled that of the Spanish princess. On the 7th of March the "sweet boys and dear ventrous knights, worthy to be put in a new romanso," as James termed them, arrived at Madrid. Howell, one of the most amusing of letter-writers, was then in the Spanish capital, and he describes how "to the wonderment of all the world, the prince and the marquis of Buckingham arrived at this court." He tells how they alighted at my lord of Bristol's house; how Mr. Thomas Smith came in at first with a portmantle, whilst Mr. John Smith staid on the other side of the street in the dark; how Bristol brought in the prince to his bed-chamber; how the marquis the next day had a private audience of the king of Spain; how the king came to visit the prince; how the royal family went out in a coach, the Infanta having a blue ribbon about her arm that the prince might distinguish her as he took the air on the Prado; and how when the lady saw her lover her colour rose very high. The prince and his companion were seven months absent from England. To attempt to follow out the course of the intrigues that took place during this period, would be far beyond our limits; nor do we conceive that, however amusing may be the relations of court festivities, the bull fights and the tournaments, the processions and the banquets, with which the heir of England's throne was received, they are necessary to be here detailed. That Charles was conducting himself with that duplicity which belonged to his nature is agreed on all hands. He was ready to promise, not only toleration for the Roman Catholics in England, but that he would never engage in any hostile measure against the Church of Rome; but on the contrary would endeavour to bring about an unity in one faith and one church.* In August James made oath to certain articles which had been agreed upon: that the Infanta, with her suite, was to be allowed the exercise of her religion; that the early education of her children should be intrusted to her; that even if they should remain Catholic their right of succession should not be interfered with. The king also promised not to trouble the Catholics in the private exercise of their religion; nor to impose any oath against their faith; and to endeavour to obtain from parliament a repeal of all penal laws against them. If the marriage had taken place, and these conditions had been observed, England would infallibly have been plunged into civil war. As it was, after a long course of deceit either to the court of Spain or to the people of England, or

* See Ranke, vol. ii. p. 500.

to both, Charles and Buckingham returned home. The ministers of Spain had interposed many vexatious delays whilst Charles was at Madrid, and had attempted to take advantage of his presence. He made engagements which he would not have ventured to fulfil; and he sanctioned misrepresentations for his vindication when he returned to England. Buckingham was jealous of the earl of Bristol; and he conceived a dislike of the Spanish court, to which his insolent manners and his gross licentiousness were displeasing. His personal resentments, and perhaps the tastes of the prince, destroyed the web of policy which James had been so long weaving. The king had been quite willing to surrender all the outworks which defended England against a new invasion of papal supremacy, in his desire for a marriage which would give his son a princess with a great dowry, and secure, as he fondly expected, the restoration of his son-in-law to his hereditary dominions. The people would have made no compromise with Spain, and they would have boldly sought to settle the affairs of the Palatinate by the sole argument which the Catholic powers would have regarded, success in arms. When the prince and Buckingham returned home, and the marriage treaty was broken off, there was universal rejoicing. The duke became immediately popular; and in his confidence in the altered tone of public feeling he persuaded the king to summon a parliament. It met on the 19th of February, 1624. The houses confided in Buckingham's artful representations of his conduct in the transactions with Spain; and he was hailed by Coke, in the Commons, as the saviour of his country. The king was all graciousness. It was resolved that a grant to the extent of 300,000*l.* should be made, for the specific purpose of recovering the Palatinate; and the war was thus necessarily a war against Spain, united as she was with the other branch of the house of Austria in holding the dominions of the Elector and in endeavouring to destroy Protestantism in Europe. In this Session of three months a great good was sought to be accomplished by the passing of a Statute which declared all monopolies to be contrary to law, and all such grants to be void.* The struggle to effect this object had been a long one. The promises of the Crown had been constantly broken; but now, by a solemn Act of Parliament, the exclusive privileges to use any trade and to sell any merchandise were declared to be contrary to the ancient and fundamental laws of the realm, and all grants and dispensations for such monopolies to be of none effect. How the Statute was respected will be seen in the next reign.

In this last parliament of James, there was unquestionably a better understanding between the Crown and the representatives of the people:—a practical concord that, under a new king, might have been improved into a co-operation for the general good, if the altered condition of society had been understood by both parties. The Commons had now acquired a full confidence in their own strength. They impeached Cranfield earl of Middlesex, lord treasurer of England, for bribery and other misdemeanours. He was convicted, after a trial before the Peers, conducted by managers on the part of the Commons; was fined 50,000*l.*; and was declared incapable of sitting in parliament. Buckingham's jealousy of the lord treasurer's power is held to have contributed to this result. The king warned his son and his favourite

* 21 Jac. I. c. 3.

that they might live to have their fill of parliamentary impeachments; but he could not resist the united force of public justice and private intrigue. From the time of the failure of the Spanish treaty, the monarch who claimed to be absolute felt that he was powerless. He had lost even the respect of his son; his insolent minion despised him. He was forced into war against his will; and the war brought him no honour, whilst it absorbed his revenues. An army of twelve thousand men was raised in England for the service of the Elector Palatine. Half the number were lost from sickness by being embarked in foul and crowded ships; and their commander, Count Mansfeldt, was not strong enough to undertake any offensive operations. England was not in any very glorious attitude. The people became discontented; and their discontents were not lightened when another negociation was set on foot for the marriage of prince Charles with a princess of France, in which country Catholicism was again becoming intolerant and persecuting.

In March, 1625, king James was taken ill at Theobalds. He died on the 27th of that month, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and in the twenty-third year of his reign.

James I. lying in State. (The hearse and decorations by Inigo Jones.)

HOOKER
SPENSER
LORD BACON
BEN JONSON

Great Seal of Charles I.

CHAPTER XXV.

Accession of Charles. I.—Marriage of the king with Henrietta Maria—The first Parliament of Charles—Grievances—Naval failures—The second Parliament—Contests of Peers and Commons with the Crown—Subsidies illegally levied—Imprisonments for refusals to pay—The Queen's foreign attendants dismissed—War with France—Its causes—La Rochelle—Expedition to the Isle of Rhé—The third Parliament—Petition of Right—Buckingham denounced in the Commons' House—Prorogation of Parliament—Siege of La Rochelle—Buckingham and Richelieu—Assassination of Buckingham—Felton, the assassin—Surrender of La Rochelle—Parliament—Religious differences—Parliament dissolved in anger—Members imprisoned—Peace with Spain and France.

CHARLES I. was proclaimed king on the day of his father's death. The possessor of the crown was changed. The administration of government was unaltered. Buckingham was still the first in power; with equal influence over the proud and dignified Charles of twenty-five, as over the vain and vulgar James of fifty-nine. We are told that "the face of the Court was much changed in the change of the king;" that the grossnesses of the court of James grew out of fashion.* The general change could have been little more than a forced homage to decency, whilst Buckingham was the presiding genius of the court of Charles; but from the first the king exhibited himself as "temperate, chaste, and serious." † A letter, written within a few weeks of his accession, says, "Our sovereign, whom God preserve, is zealous for God's truth; diligently frequents and attentively hearkens to prayers and sermons; will pay all his father's, mother's, and brother's debts, and that by disparking most of his remote parks and chases; will reform the court as of unnecessary charges, so of recusant papists." ‡ The personal demeanour of the king compelled a corresponding outward

* Mrs. Hutchinson. † *Ibid.*
‡ Letter of Mr. Mead. Ellis, First Series, vol. iii. p 187.

show in the courtiers. At the beginning of this reign the people must have had a reasonable expectation of being religiously and quietly governed.

The marriage of Charles with the princess Henrietta Maria of France was the result of the treaty made in the previous reign; and it was concluded by proxy even before James was laid in the tomb at Westminster. There were bonfires in London for the marriage on the 3rd of May. On the 7th Charles was the chief mourner at the funeral of his father. The young queen arrived at Dover on the 12th of June. She came at a gloomy time, for London was visited with pestilence. On the 18th the parliament was opened by the king. Although the bonfires had been lighted in London for the king's marriage, the union with a Roman Catholic princess was in itself offensive; and Charles had given indications of concessions to the papists which were distinctly opposed to the existing laws. Although he vailed his crown to the Lords and the Commons when he first spoke from the throne, he had roused the suspicions of the sturdy band who had resisted the despotic attempts of his father. He defied public opinion by granting special pardons to Romish priests, without the intervention of the law. There was a restrictive code, harsh and unjust no doubt, but not to be dispensed with by an exercise of the prerogative. Buckingham had led the parliament into the sanction of a war; but his popularity was fast passing away. Time had revealed the concessions which had been made to Rome in the negociations for the Spanish

Queen Henrietta Maria. (Vandyck.)

marriage; and the people were not all in raptures about "a most noble new

queen of England who in true beauty is beyond the long-wooed Infanta;" * for they had learnt that concessions as strong had been made that Charles might wed this "most absolute delicate lady" of France.† Henrietta's "radiant and sparkling black eye" enchanted those who gazed as she dined in public at Whitehall;‡ but there was many a country gentleman in the House of Commons who thought the daughters of England as fair and far less dangerous. Henrietta brought twenty-nine priests in her train; and mass was celebrated at the palace on Sundays and saints' days. She showed temper too; and one who was driven with the crowd out of the public dining room, because it was too hot, said, "I suppose none but a queen could cast such a scowl." § In the House of Commons were the old opponents of the absolute kingship of James, who were far from the mood which the lord-keeper, Coventry, thought befitting—he who in opening the next session talked of the "incomparable distance between the supreme height and majesty of a mighty monarch and the submissive awe and lowliness of loyal subjects." When they were told by the courtly sir Dudley Carleton that in all Christian kingdoms there were once parliaments, till the monarchs overthrew these turbulent assemblies, and stood upon their prerogatives, they the more resolved that the example should not be followed in England; and when he illogically compared the misery of the people in foreign countries with the happy state of the English who had store of flesh on their backs, they became more assured that the prosperity of the people mainly depended upon their own resolution to maintain their freedom. Hence, when a supply was asked, they came to the old question of unredressed grievances. They granted a very limited subsidy; and would only vote tonnage and poundage for one year. The plague was raging in London. "While we are now speaking," said a member, "the bell is tolling every minute." The parliament was adjourned to Oxford. A disgraceful transaction had taken place, which was well calculated to make the Commons very cautious of granting further supplies. Seven ships had been lent to the king of France, which had been engaged under pretence of serving against Austria. They were employed against the French protestants who were defending themselves at La Rochelle. When Frenchmen were taken on board, the English sailors deserted. The king grew importunate for more supplies; the Commons complained of the mismanagement of public affairs. An abrupt dissolution took place on the 12th of August.

To counteract the influence of parliament, and to show the injustice of its want of confidence in the government, some bold and showy enterprise was to be undertaken. A great fleet was to be fitted out against Spain. The cost of the expedition was to be provided for without asking supplies from a parsimonious and suspicious House of Commons. Writs were issued under the Privy Seal, demanding loans from private persons; and chiefly from those who had presumed to think that grants of money and redress of grievances should go together. If a loan was refused by a person of station and local authority he was struck out of the Commission of the Peace. By these and other arbitrary means a fleet of eighty sail was dispatched from the Downs in October, under vague instructions to intercept the Spanish treasure ships, and

* Howel, section iv., letter 34. † D'Ewes, vol. i. p. 272. ‡ *Ibid.*
§ Mordaunt to Mead · Ellis, First Series, vol. iii. p. 206.

to land an army on the coast of Spain. The command of this armament was given to a landsman, lord Wimbledon. The ten thousand English troops, who had been set on shore near Cadiz, accomplished no greater feat than plundering the "cellars of sweet wines, where many hundreds of them being surprised, and found dead drunk, the Spaniards came and tore off their ears, and plucked out their eyes."* The gallant commander now led his disorderly men back to their ships, to look after the rich fleet that was coming from the Indies. While he was thus master of those seas, the rich fleet got safe into Lisbon. A contagious disease broke out in one ship; and the sick men being distributed amongst all the other ships, some thousands died before an English port was again made. Parliament was not to be propitiated by Buckingham's great scheme for raising money by the same process that was so successful in the hands of the Drakes and Frobishers. During twenty years of weak and corrupt government the race of naval heroes had died out.

A new parliament met on the 6th of February, 1626. The proceeds of the forced loans were gone, and sums that had been raised by pawning the crown jewels to the Dutch had also disappeared. The constitutional mode of raising money must again be resorted to, however unwillingly. The parliament now assembled has been called a "great, warm, and ruffling parliament." † It saw that the government of England by a rash and presumptuous minion, whose continued influence was not obtained by his talents or his honesty, was incompatible with the honour and safety of the country. Committees were appointed in both houses; and they traced the disgrace of the national flag, and the corruptions of the time, to Buckingham. When supplies were demanded, the Commons again demanded redress of wrongs. The king assumed a tone that irritated the representatives of the people without alarming them: "I must let you know," said Charles in a message, "that I will not allow any of my servants to be questioned amongst you, much less such as are of eminent place, and near unto me." He threatened that if they did not hasten for his supply it would be worse for themselves. There were men in that house who were unmoved by this "representation of great fear." The Commons locked their doors; and after a long deliberation resolved upon the impeachment of Buckingham. The business was committed to eight managers. The most eloquent man in the house, sir John Eliot, discharged his duty of summing up the charges, with a boldness that must have been appalling. He complained of Buckingham's oppressions and his extortions; his engrossing of all offices for himself and his kindred; his pride and his covetousness; his boundless ambition. Finally, he compared the duke to Sejanus: and exclaimed to the assembled peers, "My lords, you see the man." Charles was transported with rage. If Buckingham was Sejanus, he, the king, must be Tiberius. Eliot was instantly arrested, as well as sir Dudley Digges, who had opened the charges. The house refused to proceed to any business whilst their privileges were thus violated. Digges made some submission and was speedily released. Eliot refused any compromise. After eight days' confinement in the Tower the king saw it was not a time for the continuance of this ominous contest; and Eliot again took his place in the house. Subsidies had been agreed to be voted; but while these quarrels were going on no

* Howel, vol. i. sect. 4, p. 184.

† Whitelocke's "Memorials."

formal Act had been passed for their levy. The king, with the impeachment hanging over the head of Buckingham, commanded the University of Cambridge to elect the obnoxious minister to its Chancellorship, then vacant. There was a spirited resistance to this ill-timed act of power; but the election of the duke was carried by a small majority. Buckingham had replied to the articles of impeachment; and had expressed his wish for a regular trial. The king interposed, and sent a peremptory message to the Commons, demanding a supply without condition. They drew up a Remonstrance; and being suddenly summoned to the House of Peers, they found commissioners of the Crown assembled to dissolve the parliament. The Remonstrance was useless; but the spirit which had called it forth became permanent—a principle which no violent measures could weaken or destroy. At this crisis the sovereign had not, as in previous times, a subservient House of Peers to support any outbreak of despotic power. He had caused the earl of Arundel to be arrested, during the sitting of parliament, for some private offence. The Lords asserted their privilege that no peer should be arrested, the parliament being sitting, except for treason or felony, or for refusing "to give surety for the peace." Arundel was discharged. The earl of Bristol was obnoxious to the court; for he was the person best acquainted with the proceedings regarding the Spanish marriage. He was not summoned to this parliament. The Peers insisted that the earl should receive his summons. He was ordered by a royal letter not to take his place. But he did take his place; and laid the secretary's letter before the House. Bristol was then suddenly charged at the bar of the Lords as a traitor. The Peers insisted that Bristol should be allowed to make his accusation against Buckingham before the charge against himself was heard. He brought forward his allegations against the duke for his conduct in Spain, and exhibited the falsehood of his representations upon his return to England. The earl was then accused by the attorney-general for his conduct as ambassador, the facts alleged against him being dependent on the king's own testimony. The Peers sent to the judges for their opinion, whether such testimony was to be admitted. The judges were commanded by the king not to return an answer. Bristol made a satisfactory reply to the charges against him. The king and his minister were alone damaged by these impolitic proceedings.

Thus, then, had Charles dismissed two parliaments within fifteen months of his accession to the throne. The Commons had declared their intention to grant five subsidies—"a proportion," says Clarendon, "scarce ever before heard of in parliament." But they were required to grant them without their complaints being listened to; and the king, by his passionate resolution to dissolve, was again left to unconstitutional devices. "That meeting," continues Clarendon, "being upon very unpopular and unplausible reasons dissolved, these five subsidies were exacted, throughout the whole kingdom, with the same rigour, as if, in truth, an Act had passed to that purpose. Divers gentlemen of prime quality, in several counties of England, were, for refusing to pay the same, committed to prison, with great rigour and extraordinary circumstances."* But it was not the "divers gentlemen of prime quality"

* "History of the Rebellion," vol. i. p. 9. Oxford edit. 1826.

only, who resisted these arbitrary exactions. "On Monday," says a contemporary, "the judges sat in Westminster Hall to persuade the people to pay subsidies, but there arose a great tumultuous shout amongst them, 'A parliament, a parliament, else no subsidies.' "* There were five thousand whose voices shook that roof with their protest against tyranny. The name of subsidy being found so likely to conjure up a spirit that could not readily be laid, commissioners were sent out to accomplish the same result by a general loan from every subject, according to the proportion at which he was rated in the last subsidy that had been granted by parliament. The pretensions of the crown were advocated from the pulpit, and the disobedient were threatened with more than temporal penalties. But the denunciations of the servile portion of the clergy were probably less efficacious than the examples of men of station and influence being committed to the Fleet and the Gatehouse, for their steady refusal of an illegal demand; of tradesmen and artificers being dragged from their homes for imprisonment or for forced service in the army or navy; of licentious soldiers, who had returned from the miserable expedition to Spain, being quartered in the houses of those who knew their rights and dared to maintain them. Some of the more distinguished of the gentlemen who had been committed to prison sued the King's Bench for a writ of habeas-corpus. The writ was granted; but the warden of the Fleet made a return that they were committed by a warrant of the privy council, by the special command of the king, but which warrant specified no cause of imprisonment. The argument upon this return was of the highest importance to establish "the fundamental immunity of English subjects from arbitrary detention."† It was not that the judges decided against the Crown, but that the discussion of the question eventually led to the establishment of the principle by the Statute of Charles II. The arguments of Selden and Noy for the liberty of the subject were heard in the court of King's Bench with shouting and clapping of hands; but they had a far higher influence. They sank into the hearts of the people, and sent them to ponder the words of Selden, "If Magna Charta were fully executed, as it ought to be, every man would enjoy his liberty better than he doth."

In the orders that were issued to the deputy-lieutenants and justices to enforce these exactions, the king affirmed that he was threatened with invasion. This was in July, 1626. The alarm of invasion was probably only a pretext "in order to shelter the king's illegal proceedings."‡ Another fleet was sent to sea, under the earl of Denbigh; and there was another series of neglects and disasters. But there was a growing cause of quarrel with France as well as with Spain, which would very speedily render the prospect of invasion not so improbable. In the early days of their union the king and queen did not live without serious disagreements. In November, 1625, Charles wrote to Buckingham, who was in Paris, desiring that the duke would communicate to the queen-mother the king's intention "to put away the Monsieurs"—the numerous priests and other attendants of Henrietta. There is another letter in which he complains that the queen does not treat him with due respect. At length Charles made up his mind to get rid of these enemies of his happiness, as disagreeable to his people as to himself.

* Mead's Letters. † Hallam. ‡ *Ibid.*

On the 7th of August, 1626, he writes to Buckingham, "I command you to send all the French away to-morrow out of the town. If you can, by fair means; but stick not long in disputing. Otherwise force them away, driving them away like so many wild beasts, until you have shipped them." * They refused to go; but when the captain of the guard with his yeomen and heralds appeared at Somerset House, where the French were established, they went on board the barges prepared for them, and afterwards travelled from Gravesend to Dover in forty coaches. In four days they were landed in France. The queen, according to the gossiping Howel, "broke the glass-windows and tore her hair." He adds, "I fear this will breed ill-blood 'twixt us and France;" and he was right. In October came over marshal Bassompierre, as a special ambassador, to remedy these misunderstandings. His account of his embassy is full of curious details of the English court. He saw Buckingham at his state palace of York House (Jorchaux, the Frenchman writes), which James had given to the favourite, having acquired it by exchange with the archbishopric of York. Here Buckingham had displayed his wonted extravagance. It was "more richly fitted up than any other I saw," says Bassompierre. When the ambassador went to see the king at Hampton Court, Buckingham was exceedingly anxious that the audience should be private. "He swore to me," writes Bassompierre, "that the only reason which obliged the king to this was, that he could not help putting himself into a passion, in treating the matters about which I had to speak to him, which would not be decent on the high dais, in sight of the chief persons of the kingdom, both men and women; that the queen, his wife, was close to him, who, incensed at the dismissal of her servants, might commit some extravagance, and cry in spite of everybody." Bassompierre at last consented to say nothing but ceremonial words at this public audience. He had afterwards a private interview, at which the king did "put himself into a great passion;" and he "witnessed, there, an instance of great boldness, not to say impudence, of the duke of Buckingham, which was, that when he saw us the most warmed, he ran up suddenly and threw himself between the king and me, saying, 'I am come to keep the peace between you two.'" In a letter to the king of France describing this interview, Bassompierre relates the spirited speech which he made to Charles when asked by him why he did not execute his commission to declare war: "I told him, that I did not hold the office of herald to declare war, but that of marshal of France to conduct it whenever your majesty should resolve upon it." In a very short time there was war with France. It has been usual to ascribe this outbreak of hostility, between two courts connected by marriage, solely to the presumption and licentiousness of Buckingham. "He had the ambition," says Clarendon, "to fix his eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent affection to, a lady of a very sublime quality, and to pursue it with most importunate addresses." This lady was Anne of Austria, the queen of Louis XIII. She was a neglected wife, and heard with too much levity the flatteries of the handsome duke. These familiarities took place when Buckingham went to France to bring over Henrietta. It was intimated to him that he had better decline such attempts if he would escape assassination; but he swore, adds Clarendon, "that he would

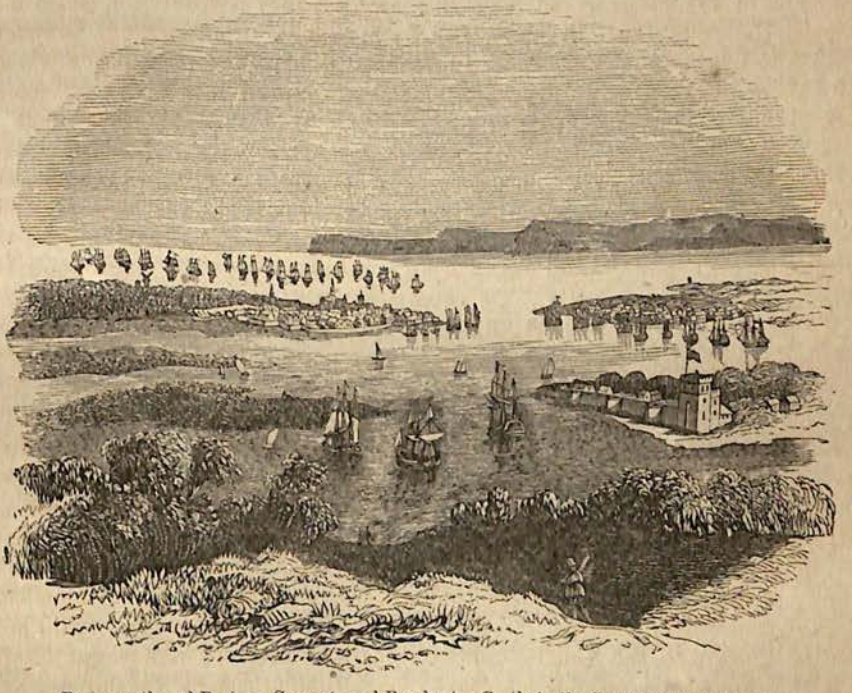
* Ellis, First Series, vol. iii. p. 244.

see and speak to that lady in spite of the strength and power of France." The historian of "the Rebellion" does not exhibit the court of England in a very favourable light when he ascribes the origin of a great war to the profligacy of so unworthy a person as George Villiers. But such an assumption is calculated to hide the real cause of this war—the broken faith of England to France upon the most important points of the marriage-treaty. In defiance of public opinion James and Charles had solemnly agreed that the French princess should have the education of her children till they were twelve years old. Henrietta wrote to the pope to protest that if her marriage were blessed with lineage she would "make no choice of any but Catholic persons to nurse and bring up the children that may be born of it." It is clear that the court of France expected from this secret treaty not only toleration for Roman Catholics, but an open encouragement, which the king, however bound by his promise, could not venture to grant. The explanation which the able historian of the popes offers of the origin of this war is far more satisfactory than the ordinary solution. Pope Urban VIII., says Ranke, represented to the French ambassador how offensive it was to France, that the English by no means adhered to the promises made at the marriage. Either Louis XIII. ought to compel the fulfilment of these engagements, or wrest the crown from a heretic prince who was a violator of his word. To the Spanish ambassador the pope said that Philip IV. was bound to succour his kinswoman, the queen of England, who was suffering oppression on account of her religion. On the 20th of April, 1627, a treaty was signed between the French minister, Richelieu, and the Spanish minister, Olivarez, by which it was agreed that the two powers should unite in an invasion of England. It was also agreed that in the event of conquest the pope should have Ireland, and govern it by a viceroy. "While the Catholic powers were devising this vast plan of an attack on England, it fell out that they were themselves surprised by an attack from England." * This solution of an historical problem, the cause of the French war, is far more consistent with probability than Charles's "alliance with the Huguenot party in consequence merely of Buckingham's unwarrantable hostility to France, founded on the most extraordinary motives." † The treaty between France and Spain had become known to the Venetian ambassador at Paris, and it was not likely that the knowledge would not have been communicated to the English government, with which the Venetians held friendly relations. It is creditable to the statesmanship of Buckingham that he resolved to anticipate the projected attack upon England by a strenuous aid to the French Protestants, who were asserting their religious freedom in the ancient stronghold of the reformers, La Rochelle. The policy of the war was calculated to redeem the odium into which Buckingham had fallen. The conduct of the war, under his own generalship, only brought on him a deeper public indignation.

On the 27th of June, 1627, whilst cardinal Richelieu was preparing to besiege La Rochelle, Buckingham set sail from Portsmouth with a fleet of a hundred ships, carrying six or seven thousand land forces. At the latter end of July he appeared before La Rochelle, and proffered his assistance in the defence of the town. The inhabitants, perhaps remembering that English

* See the curious relation in Ranke, vol. ii. book vii. chap. 3. † Hallam.

ships had been lent to France to be employed against them, had a natural distrust of the proffered friendship; and declined to open their gates to the duke. It was then determined to occupy the adjacent island of Rhé. Buckingham and his forces landed, having driven back the troops which opposed him. But he wanted the skill of a general, though his personal courage cannot reasonably be doubted. His plans were unformed. He remained inactive whilst the French threw reinforcements and provisions into their forts. He besieged the principal fort of St. Martin without success; and at the time when further aid from England was expected, raised the siege and retreated towards his ships. "The retreat," says Clarendon, "had



Portsmouth and Portsea, Gosport, and Porchester Castle in the Seventeenth Century.

been a rout without an enemy; and the French had their revenge by the disorder and confusion of the English themselves, in which great numbers of noble and ignoble were crowded to death or drowned." The people had their joke upon this disastrous expedition, for they called the isle of Rhé "the isle of Rue;" but there was something more enduring than popular sarcasm. There were mutinies, after Buckingham's return in the autumn, in the fleet and army. The people refused to suffer the soldiers to be billeted on them, and opposed an impress of fresh forces. Martial law was proclaimed, and many were executed; "which," says Clarendon, "raised an asperity in the minds of more than of the common people." The general discontent was increased by an inland army being retained during the winter. Sir Robert Cotton represented to the king that this was an unexampled course; that

Elizabeth, even in 1588, adopted no such measure; and that the people considered that this army was kept on foot to "subject their fortunes to the will of power rather than of law, and to make good some further breach upon their liberties at home, rather than defend them from any force abroad." There was a general disaffection throughout the country. "This distemper," says Clarendon, "was so universal, that the least spark still meeting with combustible matter enough to make a flame, all wise men looked upon it as the prediction of the destruction and dissolution that would follow. Nor was there a serenity in the countenance of any man, who had age and experience enough to consider things to come." In this temper of the people resort was once more had to a parliament, to supply the urgent necessities created by this ill-conducted war.

In summoning his third parliament the king evinced some faint indication of a desire for a better understanding with his people, by releasing those who had been imprisoned for refusing to contribute to the forced loan of the previous year. From seventy-seven persons thus released no submission was required; and no concession was offered to them for the wrong. Many of them were men of fortune; and the sense of the injustice which had been done to them was shown by their being returned to the parliament which met on the 17th of March. No House of Commons more powerful from the station, the wealth, and the talent of its members, was ever before assembled in England. In the letter of a contemporary it is said, "I heard a lord intimate they were able to buy the Upper House over, notwithstanding there be of lords temporal to the number of a hundred and eighteen; and what lord in England would be followed by so many freeholders as some of these are?" * The ardour of their debates, the energy of their resolves, were tempered by a patience and gravity which is the more remarkable considering the personal indignities which some of their body had received. Clarendon acknowledges that he does not know any formed act of either house that was not agreeable to the wisdom and justice of great courts; and that "whoever considers the acts of power and injustice of some of the ministers in the intervals of parliament, will not be much scandalised at the warmth and vivacity of those meetings." The king opened this parliament with words which the house of Stuart seemed to think essential to its dignity. He asked for a supply; if denied a speedy relief to his necessities he would resort to other means. "Take not this as threatening," he added; "I scorn to threaten any but my equals." The menace passed unnoticed. The Commons knew that commissioners had been appointed to levy impositions, if there was an inevitable necessity; and that a contract had been entered into for sending over troops and arms from Flanders, under pretence to defend the country from invasion. They resolved to grant a large supply,—five subsidies,—to be paid within a year. Put your excellent resolution in the form of a bill, said the courtiers. Wait a little, was the answer. We must have securities that his money shall be no longer exacted from the subject in the form of loans; that no person shall be imprisoned or molested for refusing such loans; that soldiers shall not be billeted on private persons; that commissions for martial law shall be revoked or annulled.

* Quoted from Sloane's MSS. in Mr. Forster's "Life of Sir John Eliot," p. 57, note.

Upon these demands was founded the "Petition of Right" which became one of the Statutes of the realm. It were long to tell how hard was the struggle before this memorable petition became a law. Coke, in a conference between the Lords and Commons, exclaimed, "it lies not under Mr. Attorney's cap to answer one of our arguments." Selden stated that he had written out with his own hand all the precedents which existed in the records, and that Mr. Attorney would not find one omitted. Wentworth (afterwards Strafford) said "We vindicate—what? new things? No; our ancient, legal, and vital liberties,—by re-enforcing the laws enacted by our ancestors; by setting such a seal upon them as no licentious spirit shall dare hereafter to enter upon them." The king was extremely unwilling to give up what he thought his right of arbitrary imprisonment; and he secretly submitted certain questions to the judges, the most material of which was whether, in assenting to the Commons' petition, he should not exclude himself from committing a subject without showing cause. The judges held out an indirect promise that this apprehended limitation should not be the effect of the Petition if it should become law. The lord-keeper had declared that the king held Magna Charta and the other Statutes which protected the liberty of the subject to be in force, and that they would find as much security in his royal word as in any law that they could make. The secretary, Cook, when he asked in the name of the king, whether the House would rest on the royal word, was answered thus by Pym: "We have his majesty's coronation oath to maintain the laws of England: what need we then to take his word?" After many attempts to shake the resolution of the Commons, the bill was passed; and the Houses were assembled to hear the royal assent. It was given in these words: "The king willeth that right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm, and that the Statutes be put in due execution, that the subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppression contrary to their just rights and liberties; to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as well obliged, as of his prerogative." Smooth words; but not such as would content the Commons, who had been accustomed to hear a much more explicit answer from the throne, when a Petition was to become a law. The Commons returned to their deliberations. "Sir John Eliot," writes a member of the house, Thomas Alured, "moved that as we intended to furnish his majesty with money, we should also supply him with counsel." His speech,—"wherein," says Rushworth, "he gave forth so full and lively a representation of grievances, both general and particular, as if they had never before been mentioned,"—was a masterpiece of argument and invective. The king's evasive words formed no topic of this harangue; but "there wanted not some who said that speech was made out of distrust of his majesty's answer to the petition."* On the day after Eliot had spoken, the Commons had a message from the king to dispatch their old business without entertaining new; and the day following another message, requiring them "not to cast or lay any aspersion upon any minister of his majesty." Then was presented a scene such as the tame patriotism of modern times may have difficulty in comprehending. Mr. Alured thus describes it in his letter:

* Rushworth. Eliot's speech is imperfectly given by that collector; and is reprinted, with connecting observations, in Mr. Forster's "Life of Eliot."

"Sir Robert Philips of Somersetshire spake, and mingled his words with weeping. Mr. Pym did the like. Sir Edward Coke, overcome with passion, seeing the desolation likely to ensue, was forced to sit down when he began to speak, by the abundance of tears." * The Speaker begged to retire; and the House went into committee. Then Coke rose, and with a solemnity befitting his advanced age, denounced the duke of Buckingham as the author and cause of all the miseries of the country. There was something in that passion of tears against which the habitual obstinacy of Charles could not contend. The Petition of Right was assented to by the king in the usual manner after the two Houses had requested him to give a satisfactory answer. It now stands in the Statute Book as "The Petition exhibited to his Majesty by the Lords Spiritual and Temporal and Commons in this present Parliament assembled, concerning divers rights and liberties of the subjects: with the King's Majesty's royal answer thereto in full parliament." That answer is, "*Soit droit fait come est desire.*" † The Commons passed their bill of subsidies; and there were bonfires and bell-ringing throughout the land, for there was hope that the old days of oppression were passed. But the Commons were unwilling to leave their work imperfectly finished; and they proceeded to prepare a bill to grant the king tonnage and poundage, but delayed passing it till they had delivered a remonstrance against the levy of dues upon merchandise without consent of parliament. The king stopped the remonstrance by a prorogation; and told the Commons that he drew this

Medal of Richelieu.

branch of his revenue by his prerogative, and would not submit to have his right questioned.

The war with France had assumed the aspect of a trial of strength between Buckingham and Richelieu. Without admitting the very questionable theory that they were rivals for the favour of Anne of Austria, there can be no doubt that on either side there was more than ordinary political hostility. The war has been called a duel between these two ministers. Never was duel fought with greater inequality. Buckingham's highest praise

* This interesting letter is to be found in Rushworth, and in "Acta Regia," p. 666.

† 3 Car. I. c. 1.

was that of having such "endowments as made him very capable of being a great favourite to a great king." This opinion which Clarendon formed of him indicates very different qualities than those which are required in a minister to a great nation. This proud, insolent, voluptuous young man, whose "inordinate appetite and passion," according to the same authority, were the main cause of the national calamities, was to be matched against the most calculating and at the same time the boldest statesman of that age. It was the battle of a pigmy and a giant. Whilst Buckingham was wasting his soldiers by his gross mismanagement in the isle of Rhé, Richelieu was taking a comprehensive view of the position and resources of La Rochelle, and forming a plan for its reduction eminently characteristic of his genius. After Buckingham's inglorious return, a second expedition had gone forth from Plymouth in the spring of 1628, under the duke's brother-in-law, the earl of Denbigh. Having looked at the French fleet in the harbour, he speedily came back to report what he had seen, after the exchange of a few harmless shots. On the 28th

La Rochelle.

of May, Charles wrote to the authorities of La Rochelle, urging them to hold out to the last, and using these solemn words of assurance to fifteen thousand people, who saw famine slowly but surely approaching,—"Be assured that I will never abandon you, and that I will employ all the force of my kingdom for your deliverance." A third fleet was equipped, after parliament had granted the subsidies; and in spite of a remonstrance of the Commons against the power of Buckingham and his abuse of that power, the duke was again to take the command. Had he sailed, the triumph of Richelieu over

the man who had aspired to be his rival would have been complete. La Rochelle was wholly blockaded on the land-side; but the port was open. An English fleet might come to the relief of the town, under better commanders than the rash Buckingham or the timid Denbigh. Richelieu had read in Quintus Curtius how Alexander the Great had subdued Tyre, by carrying out a mole to interrupt the entrance to the harbour. He caused a great mound to be made fourteen hundred yards across, with a small tide-way; and it was nearly completed, when a storm destroyed it. He was a man not to be discouraged by one failure, and he caused the work to be begun anew. The tacticians of the army laughed at the extravagant schemes of the priest whom the king had appointed their lieutenant-general. The cardinal persevered; the mole was formed; the fate of La Rochelle was certain. The English fleet might now come. It was getting in readiness to sail from Portsmouth. The great duke had arrived to take the command. That he would have fought to the death for the relief of the beleaguered Huguenots there can be no doubt. Not only was his pride engaged in the quarrel, but his future political existence depended upon the issue of this his last venture. He was not destined to fall before the superior genius of Richelieu. He perished by the tenpenny knife of an assassin.

At the beginning of June, Charles sent to his minister these orders: "Buckingham, I command you to draw my army together to Portsmouth, to the end I may send them speedily to Rochelle. I shall send after you directions how and where to billet them, until the time that you will be able to ship them." * The duke had been at Portsmouth and its neighbourhood for several weeks. On the 23rd of August he was sitting at breakfast in a lower room of the house which he occupied in the town; and his coach was waiting at the door to convey him to the king, who was staying at a mansion at Southwick. The breakfast-room and the ante-chamber were filled with a crowd of attendants and officers; and amongst them passed in, unobserved, a short dark man, who, having looked upon the company, went back to the dimly-lighted lobby through which the duke would pass to the street. Buckingham stopped to speak to sir Thomas Fryer; and the short man being behind stabbed the duke in his left side, leaving the knife in the body. The duke, exclaiming "the villain hath killed me," drew out the knife, and reeling against a chimney fell down dead. The villain was John Felton, a younger brother of a Suffolk family. He had served as lieutenant in the expedition to Rhé; had been disappointed of some promotion; was "of a deep melancholy, silent, and gloomy constitution;"† and, according to his own dying declaration, was moved to assassinate the duke as "an enemy to the public." "In a bye-cutler's shop on Tower-hill he bought a tenpenny knife, and the sheath thereof he sewed to the lining of his pocket, that he might at any moment draw forth the blade alone with one hand, for he had maimed the other."‡ Felton, full of his dark design, made his way to Portsmouth, partly on foot and partly on horseback; and he there struck down, in one instant, the man whom the shrewd Bassompierre regarded as he who governed absolutely in England. "Within the space of not many minutes before the fall of the body, and removal thereof into the first room, there was not a

* Harleian MS., in the king's hand. † Sir H. Wotton. ‡ *Ibid.*

living creature in either of the chambers."* Felton might have escaped, but in endeavouring to pass through the crowd in the ante-chamber he lost his hat. In that hat was found a paper with the following writing: "That man in my opinion is cowardly and base, and deserveth neither the name of a gentleman nor a soldier, that is unwilling to sacrifice his life for the honour of God and the good of his king and country. Let no man commend for doing it, but rather discommend themselves; for if God had not taken away their hearts for their sins, he had not gone so long unpunished. John Felton."† The assassin went quietly unpursued into the kitchen of the same house, whilst the people and the soldiers were wildly rushing about, and the gates of the town were closed. The search was in vain for the murderer; but when the multitude returned to the house, a hatless man, standing in the kitchen, exclaimed, "Here I am," and boldly confessed the deed. When it was pretended that the duke was not dead, he declared that he knew he was dispatched, for that it was the hand of heaven that gave the stroke, and if the duke's whole body had been covered with armour of proof he could not have avoided it."‡ Felton was removed to the Tower of London; was brought to trial on the 27th of November; was sentenced upon his voluntary confession; and was executed on the 29th, acknowledging that he had been guilty of a great crime. Whilst in the Tower "he was at one time there threatened by Sir Edward Sackville, earl of Dorset, that he should be forced upon the rack to confess who were privy with him and consenting to the duke's death. 'I have,' said he, 'already told the truth on that point, upon my salvation; and if I be further questioned by torture, I will accuse you, and you only, my lord of Dorset, to be of conspiracy with me." §

House at Portsmouth in which the Duke of Buckingham was assassinated.

The deportment of Charles, on receiving the news of his favorite minister's untimely death, was more composed than some writers have held to be compatible with a sincere grief. It is as frivolous as unjust to make any

* Sir H. Wotton.

† This document was found amongst the Evelyn papers at Wotton; and came into the possession of the late Mr. Upcott. ‡ Howel, p. 204. § D'Ewes, vol. i. p. 387.

such inference. The king did what is the best thing to be done under any calamity—he tasked his faculties in active exertion. He applied himself to complete the equipment of the fleet that Buckingham was to have led to La Rochelle. 'In twelve days, seventy vessels sailed from Portsmouth, and thirty more quickly followed. On the 15th of September the fleet was off the Isle of Rhé. The earl of Lindsey was the admiral. In the town of La Rochelle there was the most intense suffering from famine. The French army surrounded it. The great mole prevented any supply of necessaries from the sea. The English fleet coasted up and down without any fixed purpose. The spirit of national enterprise was gone. Lindsey looked upon the mole, and had no thought of breaking it down. He looked upon the French camp, and had no inclination to land his men for an attack. He sent a fire-ship or two into the port, and he discharged a few cannon. On the 18th of October La Rochelle was surrendered, in despair of receiving any help from the lukewarm or treacherous allies that had stimulated the Protestants to a desperate resistance to their persecutors. The horrors of this siege of fourteen months exceed most of the miseries recorded of beleaguered towns. Fifteen thousand persons died of hunger and disease. There was not a horse left alive in the town, for they had all been eaten. Cow-hides were a delicacy; and when these were gone, and the supply of dogs and cats was exhausted, leather was in request, so that the household of the duchess of Rohan gladly devoured the animal covering of her coach. Lindsey took his fleet back to Portsmouth; and probably even the courtiers might think that the Commons would have some justice on their side if they repeated the words of their Remonstrance of the last Session, that the conduct of the war had "extremely wasted that stock of honour that was left unto this kingdom, sometime terrible to all other nations, and now declining to contempt beneath the meanest."

On the 20th of January, 1629, the Parliament was assembled. During the recess of six months there had been causes of discontent and irritation, besides the calamities of La Rochelle. Tonnage and poundage had been collected, as the king had threatened to do, without consent of parliament; and goods had been seized when merchants resisted the demand. The king now adopted a less lofty tone. He had enforced these dues, but he was willing to receive them in future by the gift of his people. The judges had decided against the merchants who had refused payment; and the Commons were not content to let the matter rest without some marked condemnation of the past violation not only of the ancient Statutes, but of the recent Petition of Right. The House was soon again in a controversial attitude; and the questions of civil liberty then became embittered by religious differences. There were now two distinct parties in the Church, the Calvinistic and the Arminian—each taking different views of the doctrines of free will and necessity. The Arminian, or High-Church party, the more powerful with the king, was proportionately weak in parliament. The great body of the Commons were puritans—the holders of opinions that had been gradually strengthening from the time when king James insulted their professors. These opinions had become allied with the cause of constitutional freedom; for it was amongst the High-church party that the intemperate assertors of the divine right of kings were to be found. Laud,

translated from the bishopric of Bath and Wells, had become bishop of London in 1628; and was in effect the primate, for archbishop Abbot, whose principles were not in accordance with those of the court, had been suspended. Under Laud there had been ceremonial observances introduced into the performance of divine worship, which were offensive to those who dreaded a revival of popery in copes and candlesticks, prayers towards the east, and bowings to the altar. We know a little in the present day of the somewhat unchristian spirit engendered by differences about ceremonies; but we cannot adequately comprehend the strong feelings of the Englishmen of the seventeenth century upon these points, unless we bring to the proper understanding of their struggles a candid and tolerant admission that they were men in earnest. It is an odious blemish upon the narrative of Hume, our most popular historian, that whenever he encounters a strong instance of religious zeal in the puritans he exclaims "hypocrisy." It is an almost equal fault of other writers that they regard the desire, however ill-regulated, to invest the performance of religious rites with some of the decent order and even pomp of the earlier churches, as mere superstition and idol-worship. There was a man who made his first speech in the session of 1629, who it was once the fashion to regard as the arch-hypocrite of his times.—Hume calls him "fanatical hypocrite." He was described, as he appeared in the same house eleven years afterwards, as "a gentleman very ordinarily appareled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country-tailor,"*—but this plain gentleman, with "his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untunable," had, according to the same observer, an "eloquence full of fervour." It was Oliver Cromwell that attracted the attention of the "courtly young gentleman," as Sir Philip Warwick terms himself, in 1640: and in 1629 he was disturbing the complacency of other courtly gentlemen, by a speech thus briefly reported: "That he had heard by relation from one Dr. Beard that Dr. Alablaster had preached flat Popery at Paul's Cross; and that the bishop of Winchester had commanded him, as his diocesan, he should preach nothing to the contrary. Mainwaring, so justly censured in this House for his sermons, was by the same bishop's means preferred to a rich living. If these are the steps to church preferment, what are we to expect?" At present we need not further enter into these theological complaints of the Commons than to indicate their nature by this speech. It was a declaration of opinion by one who, though new to public life in 1629, was connected with some of the great parliamentary leaders by family ties and private friendships; and was sent to parliament from Huntingdon, the town in which he dwelt, with the reputation of sagacity and energy in his local relations. The complaints thus briefly reported to be uttered by Cromwell at this time are to be found at much greater length in the speeches of more conspicuous members. Brief, but ominous, was the session. There was a committee formed on religion; and charges against bishop Laud were to be presented to the king. Eliot prepared a form of three protestations,—that whoever should bring in innovations in religion, extend or introduce Popery or Arminianism; whoever should advise the levying or taking tonnage and poundage not granted by parliament; whoever should voluntarily pay the

* Warwick's Memoirs, 1701, p. 247.

same; should be reputed a capital enemy to the kingdom and commonwealth. On the 2nd of March Eliot brought forward these matters, in the shape of a remonstrance. The Speaker refused to read the paper; the clerk at the table refused to read it. Eliot then read it himself, and demanded that it should be put to the vote. The Speaker refused; for "he had been commanded otherwise by the king." He rose to quit the chair; but two members dragged him back, and there forcibly held him. Eliot threw his remonstrance on the floor; and placed his protestations in the hand of Denzil Hollis, who put them to the vote. They were carried by acclamation. The Commons then adjourned to the 10th of March. Three days after, Eliot, Selden, and other members, were summoned before the Privy Council; and four were committed to the Tower. They refused to answer out of parliament for what they had done as members. The subsequent proceedings against them belong to the unhappy period when England was under absolute government for eleven years. On the 10th of March Charles dissolved the parliament, denouncing some members of the Lower House as "vipers;" and he issued a proclamation which, says Clarendon, "was commonly understood to interdict all men to speak of another parliament."

Before entering upon the course which was now before him of governing without parliaments, the king and his advisers saw that it would be dangerous to have the responsibility of conducting a foreign war amidst national discontents. Peace was concluded with France and Spain in the course of the next year. One public effort was made for the cause of Protestant liberty in Europe by sending a small force to the aid of Gustavus Adolphus. But this aid was not given in an open and manly way, or for the assertion of a great principle. It was pretended that the force was raised in Scotland as a private undertaking of the marquis of Hamilton. It was ill equipped; insufficiently provided with provisions; and "mouldered away in a short time," without rendering any service to the Protestant cause in Germany.* In truth there was no real affection for the Protestant cause. The majority of the foreign Protestants were regarded by the government, now closely allied with the dominant party in the church, with dislike and distrust. The doctrines of Geneva had become more offensive than the doctrines of Rome. In England the religious principles of the puritans were identified with a sturdy assertion of civil rights, whilst the arbitrary tendencies of the king were encouraged by many of the higher clergy who held the tenets from which the puritans wholly dissented. To the great body of the people the innovations in religion, as they were termed, not unnaturally seemed an approach to Romanism. To the king and the prelates the resistance to these innovations seemed a dangerous opposition to the courtly doctrine that to disobey any of the commands of sovereigns was a heinous sin. The parliament impeached the preachers who maintained in their printed sermons that kings had an absolute power over the property of their subjects. Charles gave them preferments. The foreign Protestants were fighting, for the most part, for civil as well as religious liberty; and thus they found no real support among the rulers of England. Gustavus Adolphus went his own way to uphold the Reformation. Charles entered into a secret treaty with Spain for the subjugation of the Seven United Provinces; which, after better consideration, he declined to ratify.

* Whitelocke.

Charles I. and Armour-bearer.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Absolute government—Condition of England from 1629 to 1637—Contrasts of France and England—Imprisoned Members—Sir John Eliot—His death in prison—Wentworth—Lord President of the North—Lord Deputy of Ireland—His principles of government—Prynne's Histrio-Mastix—His punishment—Masques and Plays—Character of the Drama—Book of Sports—*Thorough*, in Church and State—Monopolies—Proclamations against building in London—Other arbitrary Proclamations—First project of Ship-Money—The writ of Ship-Money extended—The Judges sanction the writs—John Hampden—Solemn trial of the validity of the writ of Ship-Money—Hampden adjudged to pay—Prynne, Burton, and Bastwick—The despotism of Charles not effective of any public improvements—His alleged patronage of the Fine Arts.—*Note*, on the portraits of Charles.

Lord Clarendon, in a passage that has been more than once quoted to show how happy a people may be under an absolute government, says, that after the dissolution of Charles's third parliament, "there quickly followed so excellent a composure through the whole kingdom, that the like peace, and plenty, and universal tranquillity for ten years was never enjoyed by any

nation." The great historian, with something like impartiality, then proceeds to detail the exactions and abuses of these ten years. The imposition of duties which the parliament refused to grant; vast sums extorted from "all persons of reasonable condition upon the law of knighthood"—that is fines for refusing knighthood; monopolies which had been abolished renewed; new projects of the same sort, "many scandalous, all very grievous," set on foot; the old forest-laws revived, under which great fines were imposed; the writ of ship-money framed, "for an everlasting supply on all occasions;" the jurisdictions of the council-table and the star-chamber enlarged to a vast extent, "and being the same persons in several rooms, grew both courts of law to determine right, and courts of revenue to bring money into the treasury;" proclamations enjoining what was not enjoined by law, and prohibiting that which was not prohibited, "so that any disrespect to any acts of state or to the persons of statesmen, was in no time more penal;" and lastly, the abuse of justice at its fountain-head in the enforcement of arbitrary acts of power by the corruption of the judges. This is the catalogue of grievances presented by the eulogist of king Charles;—a strange commentary upon his representation of "the excellent composure through the whole kingdom" during these years of unmitigated despotism. There is, however, a far more unscrupulous defender of arbitrary power than Clarendon. It required something beyond common effrontery in Hume, after he had noticed the oppressive levies of money, the monopolies, the heavy fines and brutal punishments of the star-chamber, the iniquities of the courts of law, to write thus: "The grievances under which the English laboured, when considered in themselves without regard to the constitution, scarcely deserve the name; nor were they either burdensome on the people's properties, or any way shocking to the natural humanity of mankind."* Had this been true instead of being distinctly opposed to truth, it would have been perfectly impossible, for any amount of prosperity amongst the people — which prosperity really depended upon their own industrious energies—to have made "the so excellent a composure" a real symptom that they had agreed to renounce "those foundations of right by which men valued their security"†—to accept slavery in the place of freedom. Wisely has it been said, "in the long run freedom ever brings, to those who know how to keep it, ease, comfort, and often wealth; but there are times in which it disturbs for a season the possession of these blessings; there are other times when despotism alone can confer the ephemeral enjoyment of them. The men who prize freedom only for such things as these, are not men who ever long preserved it."‡ The men who lived in England in that fourth decade of the seventeenth century were not seduced from their allegiance to freedom by the vaunted "peace and plenty" of arbitrary power. Nor did their subsequent awful manifestation of their love of freedom suddenly arise out of their impatience of evil government. "They were native and to the manner born." They did not prize freedom solely because, having from very early times enjoyed a larger share of it than other nations, they had found in its enjoyment a larger share than other nations of material blessings. They clung to freedom—to borrow

* History, chap. liii. † Clarendon.

‡ De Tocqueville, "Society in France," p. 308.

the words of M. de Tocqueville—for "its native charms independent of its gifts—the pleasure of speaking, acting, and breathing without restraint, under no master but God and the Law."

In briefly presenting the few striking incidents that vary the monotonous prospect over the dead level of ten years, we shall endeavour to exhibit them in connection with some of the general aspects of society.

There has been a battle between the crown and the parliament, and the crown keeps the field. There is not the slightest indication of any other collective resistance. The camp of the people is broken up, and there will be no irregular warfare. The timid amongst the puritans are in despair. The day of the dissolution, with them, "was the most gloomy, sad, and dismal day for England that happened in five hundred years last past."* A great branch had indeed been lopped off the tree of liberty; but there stood the old gnarled trunk, and "the splitting wind" could not bend it or disturb its roots. "Be a king," said Henrietta Maria to Charles, "like the king of France." There were some barriers to be removed, besides that of a parliament, before that wish could be accomplished. France and England were essentially unlike in the whole construction of the machine of government. Let us point out some of these differences, without entering upon minute comparisons.

The absolute monarchy of France was upheld by a most numerous aristocracy; standing apart from the people, and despising the people in their pride of birth; exempt from taxation; possessing many exclusive privileges; abhorring any industrious occupation; intermarrying with their own caste alone. The limited monarchy of England had strengthened its power by the destruction of the military organisation of the feudal chiefs; but the aristocracy, being absorbed amongst the people, became identified with the interests of the people; formed family alliances with the rich middle classes; were united with them in various administrative functions; above all, were equally taxed with the very humblest yeomen and burghers. The illegal imposts of Charles were not exclusively levied upon the tradesman. They touched the nobleman and the squire; and some of the heaviest "lighted most upon persons of quality and honour, who thought themselves above ordinary oppressions."† The union of classes in England for great public objects is not a thing of yesterday. It was never more complete than in the period which we are now regarding. Richard Chambers, the London merchant, who refused to pay the duties illegally levied upon a bale of silk, and was imprisoned and fined £2000 for his insolence in comparing the injustice to the practices of the government of Turkey; and John Hampden, the Buckinghamshire squire, who roused the heart of England to a quicker pulsation, in his contest with the whole power of the crown upon a question of twenty shillings levied upon his lands at Stoke Mandeville,—these were each fighting the same battle, with the most perfect accord, and with equal sympathy amongst all ranks. "If the English had, from the period of the Middle Ages, altogether lost, like the French, political freedom and all those local franchises which cannot long exist without it, it is highly probable that each of the different classes of which the English aristocracy is composed would

* D'Ewes, vol. i. p. 402.

† Clarendon.

have seceded from the rest, as was the case in France, and more or less all over the continent, and that all those classes would have separated themselves from the people. But freedom compelled them always to remain within reach of each other, so as to combine their strength in time of need."*

The "local franchises" dependent upon "general political freedom" constituted another powerful barrier against the disposition of an English king to govern like a king of France. The English had been trained, from the very earliest times, to manage their own affairs. The principle of local Association was the familiar condition of an Englishman's existence. Parochial vestries, trade guilds, municipal corporations, were the life of the whole social body. Though parliaments had been suspended by Charles, these remained in their original vigour, and perhaps in a more intense activity. This existence of administrative bodies throughout the kingdom rendered it impossible for any amount of absolute power to effect more than a very partial suppression of liberty of speech and action. The proceedings of the guilds and corporations were conducted with the strict order of the highest deliberative assemblies. The entire machinery of representative administration called them together and regulated their debates. There is no parliament at Westminster from 1629 to 1640; but there is a parliament in Guildhall. There, is the elective principle in full force. There, the Lower House discusses every matter of its franchises with perfect freedom. There, is an Upper House, to which the Lower House presents its Bills, and with their mutual concurrence they pass into Acts. Could this vital representation of two or three hundred thousand inhabitants of London be in daily use, and the higher representation of all England be ultimately put down by the will of the king? To be as a king of France, Charles must have swept away every local franchise, and have governed by one wide-embracing centralisation. That was simply impossible in England.

But if there was one cause more than another why, at that period, a king of England could not govern like a king of France, it was the state of religious feeling amongst a rapidly increasing number of the most influential portion of the community. It was not the outwardly devout formalism, veiling indifference, which prevailed amongst Roman Catholic populations, who had rarely been stirred to serious thought upon the great doctrinal questions that had agitated Europe for more than a century. It was an active principle, that was constantly seeking to grapple with lukewarmness in the assertion of what it held to be true, as much as with the positive tenets which it pronounced to be false. The earlier professors of the doctrine and discipline called puritan had been discountenanced by Elizabeth. But they clung with unquestionable loyalty to her government, because the hatred of popery was as much the passion of the people as it was the policy of the crown. The puritans of the time of James suffered in their worldly interests and their rights of conscience. They were visited with penalties as non-conformists, and they were hunted as schismatics if they formed independent congregations. But they were as yet without the character of a political party. When Charles had been four years on the throne, the religious dissatisfaction with church-government became essentially political. The

* De Tocqueville, p. 178.

opinions which forty years before had been heard in remote pulpits, or had crept forth in secretly-printed tracts, were now loudly proclaimed in parliament, and boldly assailed the government of the church in the same votes and remonstrances that protested against the violations of civil liberty by the crown. By this union, which gave a new vitality to the struggle for constitutional freedom, was it rendered more and more impossible that a king of England, however transiently paramount, could govern like a king of France.

It is related that when Charles put off his robes on the day of the dissolution of parliament, he vowed that he would never again put them on. The purpled dignity of the king was to be henceforth displayed only beneath the canopy of the presence-chamber, where every face was to be dressed in smiles, and no bold men who talked of rights should dare to intrude. There was now one in that presence-chamber whose voice had been of the loudest amongst the Commons in opposing the misgovernment of Buckingham. The death of that favourite opened a career to sir Thomas Wentworth far more congenial to his nature than that of a patriot. He was essentially different in character from the minions who had governed James, and one of whom had bowed Charles to his will. Highly descended, abundantly wealthy, intellectually great, proud and despotic, he saw that the time was come when England would be ruled either by a king or by a parliament, and not by a well-balanced union of the monarchical and the democratic power. He chose the part most congenial to his nature, and became the ablest servant of the crown, the most dangerous enemy of public liberty. Pym and Wentworth had long "kept together in their chivalry." Wentworth displayed to his friend a glimpse of the sunny prospect that was opening to him. "You are going to be undone," said Pym: "But remember that though you leave us now, I will never leave you while your head is on your shoulders."* There were other companions of Wentworth in the great battle against prerogative, who were not in a condition to utter any such prophetic threat. The members of the Commons who were committed to the Tower on the 5th of March were still imprisoned. The judges had declared in the autumn that they were entitled to be bailed; but that they must give securities for their good behaviour. They refused to accept their liberty upon such terms. Three were then indicted in the King's Bench; Eliot for words uttered in the House, and Hollis and Valentine for a tumult in forcibly detaining the Speaker in the chair. They pleaded that the jurisdiction of the Court did not extend to offences said to be committed in Parliament. The great constitutional question of privilege was thus raised. Steadily refusing to put in any other plea, judgment was given against them, to the effect that they should be imprisoned during the king's pleasure; that Eliot should be fined two thousand pounds; and the others fined in a smaller amount. After eighteen months the two who were considered the lighter offenders were released. Eliot, one of the noblest of a noble band, was sacrificed to the vengeance of the crown. He was committed to the Tower on the 5th of March, 1629. He died there, of a lingering disease brought on by confinement, on the 27th of November, 1632. In his dangerous illness his friends

* Welwood's Memorials.

urged him to petition the king for his release. The county of Cornwall had in vain petitioned that their old member might be discharged. Eliot, in addressing Charles, simply stated his bodily ailment, and said—"I humbly beseech your majesty you will command your judges to set me at liberty, that for recovery of my health I may take some fresh air." The answer was that the petition was "not humble enough." * Eliot, like Raleigh, employed his prison hours in literary occupation. His treatise, "The Monarchie of Man," which remains unpublished, has been analysed by his best biographer; † and it presents in this form many passages which show that his ardour for constitutional liberty was built upon the noblest philosophy, and that while dealing with questions that were then called "The Politicks," in a free and unsubdued spirit, he sets forth the highest views of man's duty and happiness in his expositions of The Monarchy of Mind. Such was the martyr in that contest for the liberty of speech by the representatives of the people. He perished; but the judgment against him was solemnly reversed, after the Restoration, as an illegal judgment and against the freedom and privileges of Parliament.

The rise of Wentworth to power was rapid. Created a viscount, he was first placed in the great office of Lord President of the North. The authority of this functionary was almost absolute. In the reign of Henry VIII., a commission had been granted to the Council of York, for preserving the peace in the counties of York, Northumberland, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, during the insurrections caused by the dissolution of the monasteries. The Council had gradually fallen into disuse as a court of law, after the occasion had passed away for its jurisdiction. But under James, a new commission was issued, by which authority the commissioners were not to determine causes by juries and according to the laws of the land, but according to secret instructions. The judges of the Common Pleas had the honesty in James's time to resist this encroachment upon the liberty of the subject, by issuing prohibitions to the President and Council. But when Wentworth became President he declared he would lay any one by the heels who dared to sue out prohibitions in the Courts of Westminster. During his presidency, the inhabitants of this great portion of the kingdom—not indeed so populous as the South or so wealthy, but occupied by an energetic race, whose descendants, numbered by hundreds of thousands, are now amongst the foremost in grand industries and high intelligence—the people of this great division of the North, "were disfranchised of all their privileges by Magna Charta and the Petition of Right." These are the words of Mr. Hyde, afterwards lord Clarendon. The "discretion," he maintained, given under the various commissions of Charles, "hath been the quicksand which hath swallowed up their property, their liberty." When lord Wentworth removed from this theatre of arbitrary power to be Lord-Deputy of Ireland, he still held the appointment of President of the North. His particular doings in the vice-regal office may be more conveniently mentioned at a later point of his career. It may be sufficient to say that the Lord Deputy Wentworth and Archbishop Laud had a perfect concord as to the prin-

* Harleian MS., quoted in Mr. Forster's "Life of Eliot."
† *Ibid.* Appendix, pp. 125 to 177.

ciples upon which both England and Ireland were to be governed; as may be perceived from the following passage of a letter from Wentworth to Laud: "I know no reason, then, but you may as well rule the common lawyers in England, as I, poor beagle, do here; and yet that I do, and will do, in all that concerns my master's service, upon the peril of my head. I am confident that the king, being pleased to set himself in the business, is able by his wisdom and ministers, to carry any just and honourable action *thorough* all imaginable opposition." *Thorough* became the watchword of these two politicians. With *thorough* every thing was to be accomplished—"You may govern as you please." *

During the Lord-Deputy's long residence in Dublin, he had a very indefatigable correspondent in one Reverend Mr. Garrard, a sort of Court Newsman to the great minister, and an occasional reporter of many curious matters of general interest, beyond the scope of mere fashionable chroniclers. By way of finding a few texts upon which to enlarge a little, we may as well turn to this reverend gossip's authority, as to more serious records. We begin with an extract of no small significance. "Mr. Prynne's cause in the Star-chamber held the Lords three days, and the day of censure they rose not till three in the afternoon. He is fined five thousand pounds; adjudged perpetual imprisonment; to lose his ears, the one in the Palace-yard, the other in Cheapside; and his books to be burnt by the hands of the hangman."† It is extremely difficult to conceive in our days how the publication in 1633 of "Histrio-Mastix, the Player's Scourge," by "William Prynne, an Utter-barrister of Lincolns' Inn," should have involved the loss of his two ears and five thousand pounds. Learned and ardent men in those times had another mode of maintaining their opinions than by the power of "articles" and "leaders." We take up this book of 1006 closely-printed quarto pages, and our wonder is who would ever read its arguments against "Stage Plays, the very pomps of the devil which we renounce in baptism," drawn from "the concurring authorities of sundry texts of Scripture, of the whole primitive Church, of 55 Synods and Councils, of 71 Fathers and Christian writers, of above 150 foreign and domestic Protestant and Popish authors, of 40 Heathen philosophers," &c. &c. To burn the books by the hangman, under the nose of the author, "which had almost suffocated him," and thus to keep enthusiasts from losing their senses in the perusal, was indeed a public mercy in the government. Unquestionably no member of the Star-chamber ever read the book; but it is said that Laud and others read the Index, and finding therein a very strong phrase against "Women-Actors," so "impudent as to act, to speak publicly on a stage (perchance

Prynne.

* Strafford's Letters, vol. i. p. 173.

† *Ibid.*, p. 207.

in man's apparel, and cut hair, here proved sinful and abominable) in the presence of sundry men and women," they determined that this was a libel upon the queen.* This marvellous book had been seven years in preparation. Her majesty had enacted a part in a pastoral at Somerset House, and the day after appeared this ponderous volume. Laud and others, according to Whitelocke, "had been angered by some of Prynne's books against Arminianism," and the king allowed them to revenge themselves upon what he was told was a libel upon his lively consort. It is clear that the affair had, in a great degree, become a personal quarrel between the archbishop and the learned barrister; for in Laud's Diary we have an entry that Mr. Prynne sent him "a very libellous letter about his censure in the Star-chamber for his Histrio-Mastix." This memorandum is dated June 11, 1634. On the previous 7th of May, Prynne had lost one ear in Palace-yard, and on

Old Star Chamber, Westminster: pulled down after the Fire of the Parliament Houses.

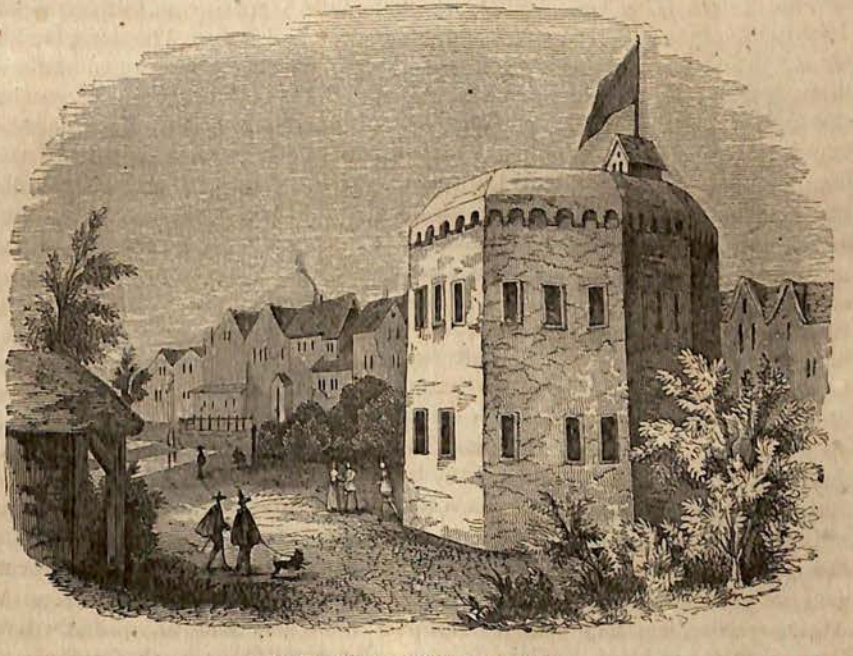
the 10th, another ear in Cheapside. That he wrote bitterly enough we may well believe. Laud showed the letter to the king, who gave it to Mr. Attorney Noy, who had changed his party. When Noy showed it to Mr. Prynne, the mutilated barrister was not so bewildered by his sufferings as not to have presence of mind to tear the letter in pieces, and throw it out of the window, as the archbishop records, under date of June 17, 1634.† This was not the last of Prynne's misfortunes, as we shall have to relate. Nor had he been the first who had provoked the vengeance of those who were rushing upon a mad career of church-government. On the 26th of November, 1630, Laud records that "part of his sentence was executed upon Leighton."

* Whitelocke.

† Diary of Laud, "A History of the Troubles, &c. of William Laud," 1695, p. 56.

Dr. Alexander Leighton, a Scotch divine, had written a book—"Zion's plea against Prelacy." He owned the writing of the book, when brought into the Star-chamber. It will perhaps be thought that even the "part of his sentence" was not altogether consistent with the mercy of Christianity. Leighton was whipped; put in the pillory; had one of his ears cut off; had one side of his nose slit; and was branded on one cheek. But the whole process was repeated, with the necessary variations of ear, nose, and cheek, a week afterwards.* Within five weeks the archbishop was consecrating the church of St. Catherine Cree, with processions, and bowings, and other ceremonies "as prescribed in the Roman pontificale." It was the matador throwing down the red rag to enrage the bull. And yet England was not apparently moved from its "so excellent a composure."

From the time of the offensive attack of William Prynne upon stage-plays, in whose condemnation he included "academical interludes," there was a more than usual performance of masques at Whitehall, and of popular dramas. The four Inns of Court, also, "to manifest the difference of their opinion from Mr. Prynne's new learning, and to confute his Histrio-Mastix against



The Paris Garden Theatre, Southwark.

interludes," † got up a masque written by Shirley, which cost them £20,000. In his "Epistle Dedicatory," Prynne says that there were above "forty thousand play-books printed within these two years;" that "they are more vendible than the choicest sermons;" "the multitude of our London play-

* Dr. Leighton was imprisoned, till released by the Parliament in 1640.

† Whitelocke.

haunters being so augmented now, all the ancient devils' chapels (for so the Fathers style all play-houses) being five in number, are not sufficient to contain their troops, whence we see a sixth new added." He especially notes of "the inns-of-court men," that "one of the first things they learn as soon as they are admitted, is to see stage-plays and take smoke at a play-house," and to this cause he ascribes that "they prove altogether lawless instead of lawyers, and to forget that little learning, grace, and virtue which they had before." It must indeed be admitted that, notwithstanding the learning of Jonson, the grace and vivacity of Beaumont and Fletcher, the dignity of Massinger, and the infinite variety of the pictures of real life which these and a host of inferior dramatists present, there is a taint more or less amongst them all, which has prevented many of these most remarkable productions of any age or country coming down with a sweet savour to posterity. It is not merely that we find in them loose and profane expressions, as we sometimes find in Shakspere, but that, wholly different from the general character of his works, there is such an interweaving of licentiousness with the entire dramatic structure of many of the pieces that were once the most popular, that, as has been especially said of Fletcher, "very few of them can be so altered as to become tolerable at present on the stage." * And yet Beaumont and Fletcher's plays were those most frequently acted before the king and his court. The most serious part of the community had evidently turned with disgust from all dramatic exhibitions; and though Charles was personally careful that all profane expressions should be removed from new plays, we may believe that if the play-books indiscriminately found admission to decent families, there were many besides the stricter Puritans who would think that Prynne was a sacrifice to the cause of public morals. There was a more marked distinction than had before existed, growing up to separate society into two great classes of the pious and the profane. This general division was as imperfect a test of real religion and sound morality as any such sweeping separations can be at any period. There were many amongst those who were first pointed at as Puritans, and afterwards as Roundheads, who had not that bigoted dislike of innocent amusements, that tasteless indifference to elegant literature and the arts, which were unjustly attributed to their religious earnestness. In the same way there was undoubtedly an equal proportion of those who tolerated what others held to be immoral, who were themselves of pure lives, and sincere in their devotional observances, though they did not call the Lord's day the Sabbath, and thought the re-publication of king James' Book of Sports was a wise measure to prevent the hard-worked peasantry being molested in their reasonable recreations. There was no act of the government which more distinctly than this publication indicated a temper which set at nought the opinions of a class too powerful, because too zealous, to be crushed. Ministers might be deprived for refusing to read this Book of Sports in their churches; the citizen who kept his apprentices at home after evening service, instead of leading them to the archery and leaping of Finsbury fields, might be disliked by the young men of his ward; the yeoman who was never seen on the village-green to sanction the commands of his king, might be suspected as a non-conformist. But the great party that

* Hallam, "Literature of Europe," vol. iii. p. 289.

was growing daily into a visible power only acquired solidity from this external pressure. Garrard tells his patron how the Book of Sports was received in some churches in London: "One Dr. Dawson read it, and presently after read the ten commandments; then said, 'Dearly beloved, you have heard now the commandments of God and man, obey which you please.'"* The very first Statute of the reign of Charles expressed the growing feeling upon this subject, when it forbade all people to go out of their own parishes for any sports or pastimes whatsoever "on the Lord's day;" and enacted that in their own parishes there should be no bear-baitings or bull-baitings, common plays, or other unlawful exercises. The Book of Sports defined certain amusements as lawful. The puritans regarded them as unlawful. It was a judicial blindness in the rulers to intermeddle in so delicate a question.

The more important parts of the despatches of Laud and Wentworth are in cypher; but there are occasional expressions in the published correspondence which sufficiently show for what object they were both striving. Laud, immediately after his translation to Canterbury, apologises for his want of power to accomplish what they both desired. "As for the Church, it is so bound up in the forms of the Common Law, that it is not possible for me, or for any man, to do that good which he would or is bound to do. * * * * And for the State, indeed, my lord, I am for *Thorough*, but I see that both thick and thin stays Somebody, where I conceive it should not." The common law was indeed some shield of the nation against the attempt which lord Falkland, who saw the errors of the Church, but was honestly averse to its destruction, thus described: "Some have evidently laboured to bring in an English though not a Roman popery; I mean not only the outside dress of it, but equally absolute,—a blind dependence of the people upon the clergy and of the clergy upon themselves."† This was the *Thorough* which Laud contemplated. The "Somebody" who opposed the Thorough for the State was no doubt the king. Charles had the sense to see that he could not do much more than he was doing, unless he had an army to compel an obedience far beyond what the star-chamber could enforce. But he did contrive to dash through "thick and thin," to the accomplishment of many illegal acts, without drawing the sword. The partnership in *Thorough* between the Church and the State was so complete, that it is sometimes difficult to separate the theological from the political principle of action; and precisely in the same manner the resistance to the united movement of power became a compound of civil and religious enthusiasm. Whether the partners in power were outwardly acting in their conjoined or several capacities, the result was pretty much the same.

During this anomalous period, when proclamations had the force of statutes, the general statements of historians give us little notion of the heartburnings which were produced by these displays of authority. When Clarendon tells us of "projects of all kinds, many ridiculous, many scandalous, all very grievous," the "reproach of which came to the king, the profit to other men," he points at the barefaced introduction of monopolies, in defiance or evasion of positive laws. Let us take one or two of these grievances, to see

* Strafford Letters, vol. i. p. 166.

† Speech, Feb. 9, 1641, in Nalson's "Historical Collections." It is quoted in Dr. Arnold's "Lectures on Modern History."

how they were borne. The whole trade of soap-boiling throughout the kingdom was to be extinguished or limited, that a Company of Soapmakers might be the sole manufacturers. These gentlemen, who were to produce better soap, and no doubt cheaper than all the rest of the world, had given the king £10,000 for the patent, and agreed to pay him £8 per ton upon all the soap produced. Clarendon admits that the government obtained £200,000 by this and similar devices, but he says that "scarce £1500 came to the king's use;" from which we infer that the king's officers pocketed the balance. Garrard tells us how the new soap was received in London. "There is much ado about the soap business. * * * * I hear a proclamation shall come forth to stop all mouths that speak against it." Commissioners of rank, with the lord-mayor and aldermen, were to report upon the soap. "They have had two general washing days at Guildhall; most of them have given their verdict for the new soap to be the better, yet continnal complaints rise up, that it burns linen, scalds the laundress's fingers, wastes infinitely in keeping, being full of lime and tallow." The king is indignant at the opposition; commands the lord-mayor to be reprimanded for his "pusillanimity, in this business, being afraid of a troop of women that clamourously petitioned him against the new soap." * Truly, the government is in a dignified attitude. One of the Lord Deputy's own schemes for keeping Ireland in dependence was to make the people "to take their salt from the king." He sets forth "the easiness of making his majesty sole merchant" of salt—an article of "so absolute necessity as it cannot possibly stay upon his hand, but must be had whether they will or no, and may at all times be raised in price." To show the easiness and profit he says, "Witness the Gabelle of salt in France." Witness, indeed. Those who have read of the extremity of suffering to which the unhappy peasantry of France were reduced by the Gabelle, may form some notion of the condition to which these islands were fast drifting under the rule of *Thorough*. There was scarcely an industrious occupation, from the sale of coals to the collection of rags, that was not made the subject of a monopoly.

But many other ingenious devices were resorted to for the supply of the wants of the crown beyond its large hereditary revenues. There had been proclamations by James and Charles against the increase of buildings in London. The chaplain of the Venetian ambassador, in 1617, thought that the proclamation of James was for the intent of extorting fines, rather than with the hope of preventing the extension of the capital when there was abundant space for its enlargement.† There could be no doubt of the intention of Charles, when in 1633 a Commission was harassing every owner of a new house from St. Martin's in the Fields to Blackwall, by levying enormous fines, or commanding the houses to be pulled down. Garrard is very minute in his relation of these proceedings. Refusal to the arbitrary command was dangerous. "Writs are gone forth from the Star-chamber to the sheriff to pull down the houses of Mr. Moor, and to levy £2000 fine for not having pulled them down by Easter." These were forty-two houses near St. Martin's Church; and they were "pulled down to the ground." The inter-

* Strafford Letters, vol. p. 176.

† See article in "Quarterly Review," October, 1857, on Mr. Rawdon Brown's "Diaries and Dispatches of the Venetian Embassy; unpublished."

ference with the supply of house room was not more arbitrary than the interference with the supply of food. "The taverns," writes Garrard, "begin to victual again; some have got leave. 'Tis said that the vintners within the city will give £6000 to the king to dress meat, as they did before." * Proclamations were issued minutely regulating the price of all provisions. There were examples enough of such folly in former times which are held to be necessarily unenlightened; but in the days when the intellect of England was in the fullest activity, the rating of all eatables appears the merest freak of individual idiotcy. "The proclamations," says Garrard, "have done little good. They will not bring them [the provisions] in; so that housekeeping in London is grown much more chargeable than it was before these proclamations were published." Some of the proclamations of Charles appear to have had no other object than that of a wanton interference with the convenience of the people. It was the age of Hackney-Coaches. Garrard says, that there were one thousand nine hundred in London and Westminster. At the beginning of 1635 he writes, "There is a proclamation coming forth to prohibit all hackney-coaches to pass up and down in London streets; out of town they may go at pleasure, as hereto-

Hackney Coach Stand in Palace Yard.

fore." It is true that the narrow streets were somewhat overcrowded with the coaches. The great enemy of these vehicles, John Taylor, the water-poet, who saw the demand for the Thames wherries grievously reduced, tells

* Strafford Letters, vol. i. p. 262.

us that "butchers cannot pass with their cattle for them; market-folks, which bring provision of victuals to the city, are stopped, stayed, and hindered." The streets were kept narrow by the absurd proclamations through which the natural extension of the town was impeded. It is clear enough that no interference of the government could put down the coaches; but the limitation of their use had the effect of encouraging the system which was introduced in 1634, by a speculating traveller, of "carrying people up and down in close chairs," called Sedans.

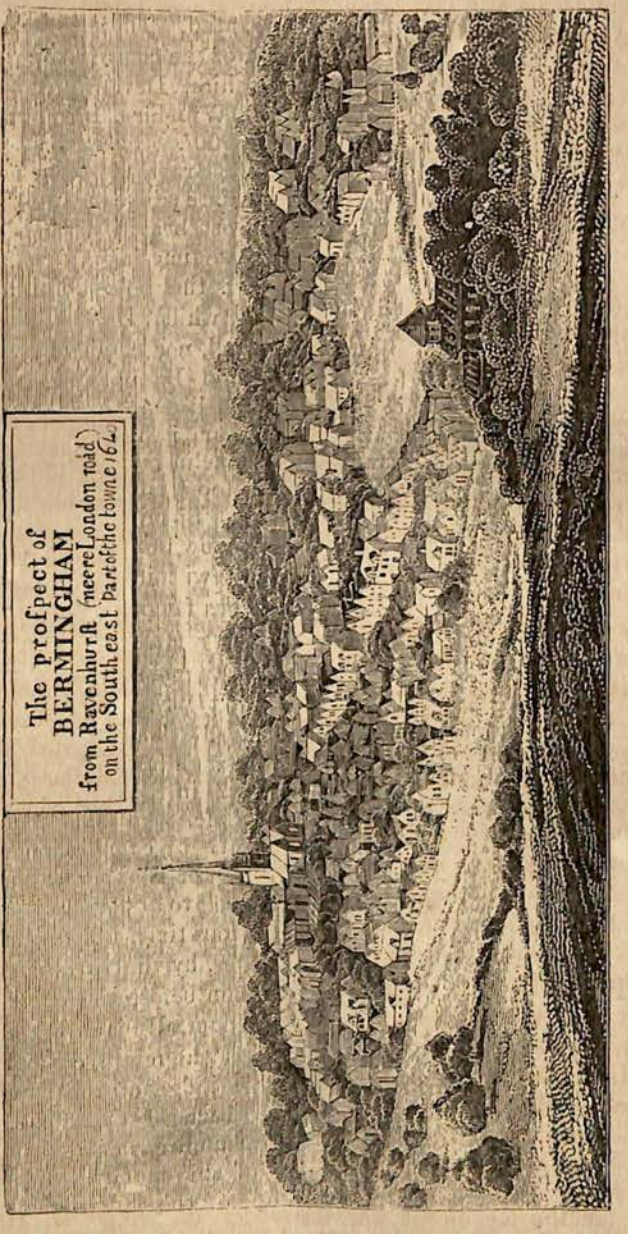
Sedan, 1638.

Whilst the Star-chamber was pulling down houses in London, those who pulled down cottages in the country, called depopulators, were equally fined. "Much noise is here of the depopulators that are come into the Star-chamber; it will bring in great sums of money." Such means of filling the Treasury were, however, small affairs. Six years of irresponsible government have made the administration bolder. In the spring of 1635 Garrard writes that it was resolved in full council, "to take double rates, just as much more as was taken before, of all goods imported into the kingdom." Double rates upon imports were nothing, however, compared to an universal tax. There is gone out a special writ to the Lord Keeper of the Great Seal, requiring him, for the safeguard of the sea and defence of the realm, to issue forth writs to the several counties, cities, and towns, therein mentioned, to provide ships, men, ammunition, provision, and wages. The Lord Mayor of London demurred to the writ; but, being threatened, the corporation yielded, "and instantly fell to seizing in all the wards." The courtly Mr. Garrard, who rejoiced in all the monopolies because they brought money to the king, is rather discomposed about a tax which at last touches himself. "I had rather give," he says, "and pay ten subsidies in parliament, than ten shillings this new-old way of dead Noy's." Dead Noy, the old Attorney-General, who plagued all mankind with his writs, has in this, the last of his performances, left a terrible bequest to the government that bought his desertion of the popular party, as it had bought Wentworth's, by the offer of great place. He had always a precedent ready for an injustice, and thus Garrard calls his writ of ship-money a "new-old way." Yet Noy's scheme was a very limited one compared with that which was afterwards adopted; on the suggestion, it is said, of Finch, chief justice of the Common Pleas—the courtly Speaker whom Eliot and Hollis held in the chair, when he refused to put a remonstrance to the vote. The original writs were only sent to London and to the sea-port towns; and there was some reason in the demand, for the English navy had fallen into such a miserable condition that Algerine pirates boldly seized upon merchant vessels in the Channel, and the whole commerce of England had become insecure. These first writs required that certain maritime places should furnish one or more ships, or their equipments, or

pay, as London had paid. In 1635 a fleet was sent to sea, for the protection of trade. In 1636 the real writs of ship-money were issued; under which the sheriffs were directed to make a general assessment in all counties and towns specified, according to the means of the inhabitants, to produce the proportions at which the several places were rated. The schedules appended to these writs enable us to form some notion of the comparative opulence of particular districts. Of the counties, Yorkshire, Devonshire, Essex, Kent, Lincolnshire, Norfolk, Somersetshire, Suffolk, Wiltshire, are assessed at the highest rate; 12,000*l.* for York, 8000*l.* or 6000*l.* others. Durham, Northumberland, and Monmouth are put at the lowest rate, 2000*l.* or 1500*l.* The inland agricultural counties are at an intermediate scale, about 4000*l.* Next to London, Bristol and Newcastle are the most heavily assessed. The difference of two centuries ago and the present time in local population can scarcely be more strikingly shown than by these schedules; in which Liverpool is only rated at twenty-five pounds, whilst Bristol is set at eight hundred pounds; Birmingham is not rated at all, nor Sheffield, nor Bradford, nor Sunderland, nor Manchester. Preston and Banbury are at the same humble scale of forty pounds each; Boston and Buckingham are equal; and amongst the more flourishing towns Nottingham is not held as wealthy as Reading. But we must not jump to the conclusion that such places as Manchester, Sheffield and Birmingham, were too small and unimportant to have a special levy apart from their counties. Birmingham in the time of Henry VIII. was described by Leland as "a town of smiths and cutlers," and Camden, in 1607, mentions it as "swarming with inhabitants and echoing with the noise of anvils." Sheffield was always famous for its cutlery, but Camden mentions it as "remarkable among other little towns hereabouts for blacksmiths." Manchester was undoubtedly of importance at a much earlier period than the 17th century. Leland calls it "the fairest, best builded, quickest, and most populous town of Lancashire." The statistics of the past are not more to be implicitly trusted than the statistics of the present.

When these writs were issued by the sheriffs in their respective districts there was a general consternation. The people, who had been formerly accustomed to the regular collection of subsidies by commissioners, doubted the legality of this new system. But the greater number submitted, with the full knowledge that individual resistance to oppression was more dangerous under king Charles than at any previous time. The whole country was under the pressure of tyranny. The judges, by the royal command, put forth an opinion, not arising out of any question before the courts, that the king might command, for the safety of the kingdom, all his subjects to provide such number of ships as he might think fit; that he might compel obedience to this command; and that he was the sole judge of the danger of the country, and the means of preventing it. Richard Chambers, who had bravely resisted the illegal levy upon his merchandise, was again imprisoned because he declined to pay his assessment of ship-money. When the case was taken into the courts at Westminster, one of the judges refused to hear counsel, and said there was a rule of law and a rule of government, and that many things which could not be done by the first rule might be done by the other. It is to such that Clarendon alludes when he says "the damage and mischief cannot be expressed, that the crown and state sustained by the

deserved reproach and infamy that attended the judges, by being made use of in this and like acts of power; there being no possibility to preserve the dignity, reverence, and estimation of the laws themselves, but by the integrity



View of Ancient Birmingham.

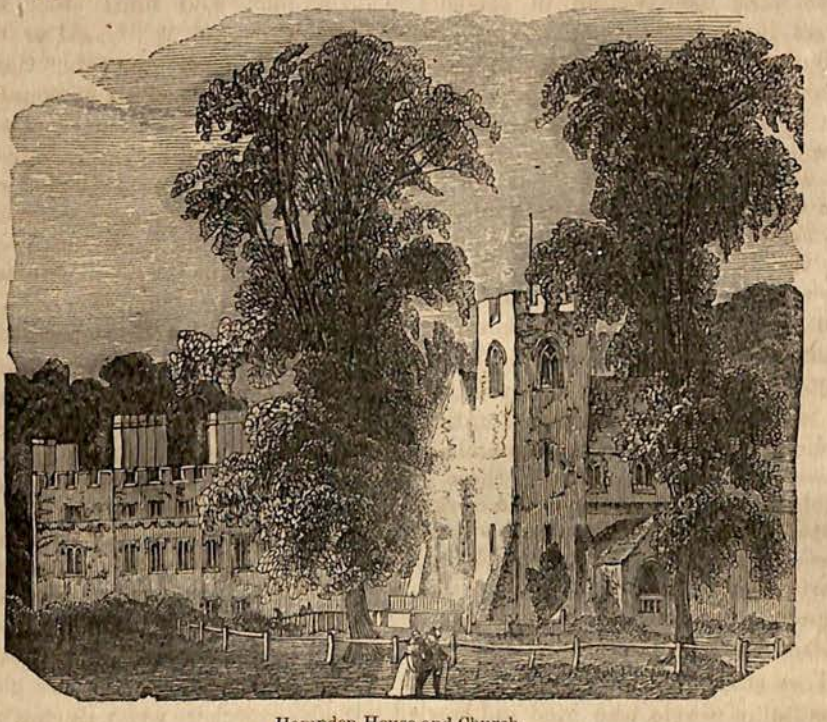
and innocency of the judges." But if Clarendon, writing in after years, saw the damage that the State sustained by such servility, Wentworth, at the date of the extra-judicial opinion upon ship-money, was in raptures. He declares it to be the greatest service the profession has done the Crown in his

time, and then gives this significant opinion: "But, unless his majesty hath the like power declared to raise a land army upon the same exigent of state, the Crown seems to me to stand but upon one leg at home, and to be considerable but by halves to foreign princes abroad." Hume, in noticing the conduct of Charles in dissolving his second parliament, observes, that if the king had possessed "any military force on which he could rely, it is not improbable that he would at once have taken off the mask, and governed without any regard to parliamentary privileges." Wentworth, now that the mask had been taken off, desired a land-army to effect many things that were not wholly to be accomplished by fine and imprisonment, administered by a merciless Star-chamber and a corrupt bench.

England lies in a dead-sleep; except that the high-sheriffs "bestir themselves apace in their several counties: moneys they bring in daily, and I do not hear of any numbers that are refusers, so that it will prove a good business." So writes hopeful Mr. Garrard, in December, 1635. On the 11th of January, 1636, there is a public assembly at which all the persons attending, the entire body of landowners and housekeepers of the parish, are "refusers." The very assessors and constables are refusers. Of what was said in the vestry of "Kimbell Magna," to make the two esquires in the list of defaulters, and the twenty-nine yeomen, so resolute not to pay the 21*l.* 15*s.* 6¼*d.* assessed upon that humble village amidst the Chiltern hills, there is no record. But the document which sets forth the sums assessed upon each, from 31*s.* 6*d.* to 6*d.*, is in existence, and it records the names of those bold men as "refusing to pay." At the head of that list is the name of "John Hampden, Esquire."* Great Kimble is not far distant from the manor-house where John Hampden dwelt, in the parish called by his name. There his forefathers had dwelt even in the Saxon days, and had continued for six or more centuries to be lords of Great and Little Hampden, Stoke Mandeville, and other Buckinghamshire manors. John Hampden, who refused to pay thirty-one shillings and sixpence to king Charles, abode under the same roof where his grandfather entertained queen Elizabeth, in 1585,—a mansion whose front is now modernised and vulgarised, but of which enough is left to interest many more than the mere local antiquary. In this pleasant woodland country, whose surrounding hills were covered with beech; close by an ancient well-preserved church standing in a parklike enclosure, dwelt John Hampden. When he sent to his dear friend Eliot, a prisoner in the Tower, a buck out of his "paddock," he writes that it "must be a small one, to hold proportion with the place and soil it was bred in." † Clearly not a very wealthy man was this esquire,—a man in worldly importance not to be named with Wentworth and his hereditary six thousand a year; a man of whom the Lord Deputy of Ireland, hearing of his very irregular proceedings at Kimble Magna and other parishes—and all for some trumpery thirty-one shillings and sixpence, or twenty shillings—said in his grand way, "In truth, I shall wish Mr. Hampden, and others to his likeness, were well whipped into their right senses." A more cumbrous instrument than the "rod" for the mendicant was necessary to bring Mr. Hampden to submit to "all that ever authority ordaine"—the test of a good subject in

* A fac-simile is given in Lord Nugent's "Memorials of Hampden," vol. i.
† Nugent's Memorials, vol. i. p. 171.

Wentworth's view. There were six weeks of solemn pleading in the Exchequer Chamber before all the judges—the greatest cause that ever was



Hampden House and Church.

tried in Westminster Hall—followed by many months of judicial deliberation before the king's right to enforce the tax of ship-money was adjudged to be lawful; "which judgment" says Clarendon, "proved of more advantage and credit to the gentleman condemned than to the king's service." Hampden was singled out to be proceeded against by the Crown upon his refusal to pay twenty shillings assessed upon his lands at Stoke Mandeville; and the formal pleadings upon the writ of Scire Facias had occupied five months before the question came to be argued. The speeches of the crown lawyers and of Hampden's counsel occupy one hundred and seventeen pages in Rushworth's folio volume. After these protracted arguments before the judges, these twelve sages of the law occupied three terms in delivering their opinions. They were not agreed in their judgment. Two of the number had from the first decided that judgment should be given for the defendant. Two others, in the next term, followed their example. One other held that the tax was lawful, but that no portion of it ought to go into the Privy-Purse. But on the 9th of June, 1637, the Chief Justices decided against Hampden; and the sentence was for the king, upon the opinion of the majority. Of Sir John Finch, one of the Chief Justices, Clarendon says, "He took up ship-money, where Mr. Noy left it; and, being a judge, carried it up to that pinnacle from whence he almost broke his own neck; having, in his journey thither, had too

much influence upon his brethren, to induce them to concur in a judgment they had all cause to repent." Hampden at once became "the most famous man in England"—"the pilot who must steer the vessel through the tempests and rocks that threatened it." * After the judgment the resistance to ship-money was much more general. Some refusers were punished; many were threatened; but in town and country the opposition became a very resolved manifestation of the temper of the people. It was not such "a good business" as Mr. Garrard had predicted.

Thorough for the State has not altogether succeeded. Archbishop Laud and the Star-chamber have meanwhile been seeing what they can accomplish by *Thorough* for the Church. Ship-money judgment for the Crown was given on the 12th of June, 1637. Two days after, William Prynne, who was brought up from his prison, but with his ears sewed on; Henry Burton, who had been Clerk of the Closet to Prince Charles, and was incumbent of a London parish; and Robert Bastwick, a physician of Colchester, were sentenced by the Star-chamber to be fined 5000*l.* each, to be degraded from their professions, to be placed in the pillory, to have their ears cut off and their cheeks and foreheads branded, and to be confined for life in distant prisons. Their offences were these. Prynne had published a book against Sabbath-breaking, in which the clergy who had read the Book of Sports were bitterly stigmatised; Burton had offended in a sermon, and in a tract had accused the bishop of Norwich of being guilty of Romish innovation; Bastwick had in a book, called "Elenchus Papismi," identified prelacy and popery. Garrard has a somewhat merry statement of an exhibition in Palace Yard, on the 30th of June, in fulfilment of the sentence of the 14th. "They stood two hours in the pillory, Burton by himself. . . . . The place was full of people, who cried and howled terribly, especially when Burton was cropt. Dr. Bastwick was very merry; his wife, Dr. Poe's daughter, got a stool, kissed him; his ears being cut off she called for them, and put them in a clean handkerchief, and carried them away with her. Bastwick told the people, the lords had collar-days at court, but this was his collar-day." † A more serious account mentions the solemn defiance of Prynne to Lambeth, calling upon the primate to show that these practices were according to the laws of England. There are some awkward symptoms of indignation at these barbarities, besides the howling in Palace Yard. The sheriff of Chester is sent for by a poursuivant to answer a charge of having been kind to Mr. Prynne as he passed on his way to prison at Caernarvon. "Strange flocking of the people after Burton, when he removed from the Fleet towards Lancaster Castle. Mr. Ingram, sub-warden of the Fleet, told the king that there was not less than one hundred thousand people gathered together to see him pass by, between Smithfield and Brown's well, which is two miles beyond Highgate. His wife went along in a coach, having much money thrown to her as she passed along." ‡ Very strange flocking indeed.

Before we enter upon the stormy period which succeeded the nine or ten years of enforced tranquillity from 1629, let us inquire whether the possession of arbitrary power enabled the king and his advisers to assist the people in the development of their industry, the enlargement of the conveniences of

* Clarendon. † Strafford Letters, vol. ii. p. 85. ‡ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 114.

life, or the cultivation of arts and letters. The industry of the people was in every way oppressed,—not only by irregular taxation, but by interferences totally at variance with the advancing intelligence of the time. The merchants were unprotected from pirates; the landowners were harassed by inquiries into their titles, and by obsolete demands under forest-laws. The plague was always in London, and no exercise of authority was employed for its prevention; indeed its ravages were increased by the excessive crowding of inhabitants caused by the proclamations against new buildings. When despotism manifests itself to the world in erecting gorgeous palaces; in sweeping away miserable dwellings from narrow streets, and substituting buildings that astonish by their magnificence or delight by their commodiousness; in turning barren wastes into beauteous gardens, which the humblest may enjoy in common with the greatest; in delighting the pleasure-loving multitude with displays of military pomp, with illuminations and fireworks—the world is somewhat too ready to believe that despotism is a magician that can perform wonders far beyond the reach of limited authority or combined popular action. To Charles the First cannot be assigned either the praise or the blame of having expended his revenues in any such efforts to throw a factitious splendour over the decay of public liberty. He was to some extent, indeed, a patron of the Fine Arts. He is looked upon by many as the English monarch from whom the Fine Arts received the highest encouragement. Charles was a large purchaser of paintings, and his galleries were adorned with several glorious works of Raffaelle and Titian, of Corregio and Guido. He brought Raffaelle's Cartoons into England, as Cromwell saved them from going away. Vandyck was invited by him to his court; and his encouragement has been amply repaid by the ideal of the king which this great painter has handed down to us. Mytens, also the court portrait-painter, was scarcely so favoured. The one had 200*l.* a year, the other 40*l.* as pension.* Rubens painted for Charles the ceiling of the Banqueting-house. Dobson was encouraged by him, and received from him the name of "The English Tintoret." All this is highly creditable to the monarch; but it must not be forgotten that no consideration of public benefit influenced this elegant expenditure of revenue. Individual gratification was its sole end and aim. Individual vanity was abundantly satisfied by flattering portraits; but great original compositions were not produced for this court. Nor was there wanting amongst the nobility and richer commoners a desire to cultivate those Arts which England had in some measure neglected. The earl of Arundel had begun the formation of his noble collection of sculpture when Charles was a boy. To his "liberal charges and magnificence," says a writer about 1634, "this angle of the world oweth the first sight of Greek and Roman statues, with whose admired presence he began to honour the gardens and gallery of Arundel House, and hath ever since continued to transplant old Greece into England."† The Arundel collection was formed by a costly and judicious private expenditure. The royal collection might have been increased by influences not strictly honourable to the head of an independent kingdom. Charles was most anxious to obtain a statue of Adonis from a private collection at Rome. The queen's confessor urged his desire for that

* See Note at end of this chapter.

† Peacham, "Compleat Gentleman."

and other rare works of ancient art. Cardinal Barberini seconded these efforts; and he wrote to Mazarine, "The statues go on prosperously; nor ... I hesitate to rob Rome of her most valuable ornaments, if in exchange

Gallery of the Arundel Marbles.

we might be so happy as to have the king of England's name amongst those princes who submit to the Apostolic See." * It is to be hoped that Charles resisted such temptations.

During this reign there were invasions enough of the subjects' liberty by proclamations against the extension of London; but they were for no purpose of regulating that extension upon any systematic plan of convenience or beauty. There were still more direct violations of the rights of property, in ordering the sheriff to pull down shops and houses in the vicinity of St. Paul's, compelling the owners to accept any compensation that was offered to them. Here was the vigour of despotism, but not such a vigour as England was formed to endure. All shops also in Cheapside and Lombard-street, except those of the goldsmiths, were commanded to be shut up, that the great avenue to the cathedral might not exhibit any trace of vulgar industries; and that when foreigners went to the city to see the Lord Mayor's procession, they might not be offended by butchers' stalls and "fripperies." This was to enforce arbitrarily the custom, which partially prevailed, that those of the same trade should occupy the same street. The greatest thoroughfare was to display the most striking wealth. What Cheapside then was on gala-days may be seen in a print of the entry of Mary de Medicis, who came to England

* Quoted by Mr. D'Israeli from Panzani's Memoirs.

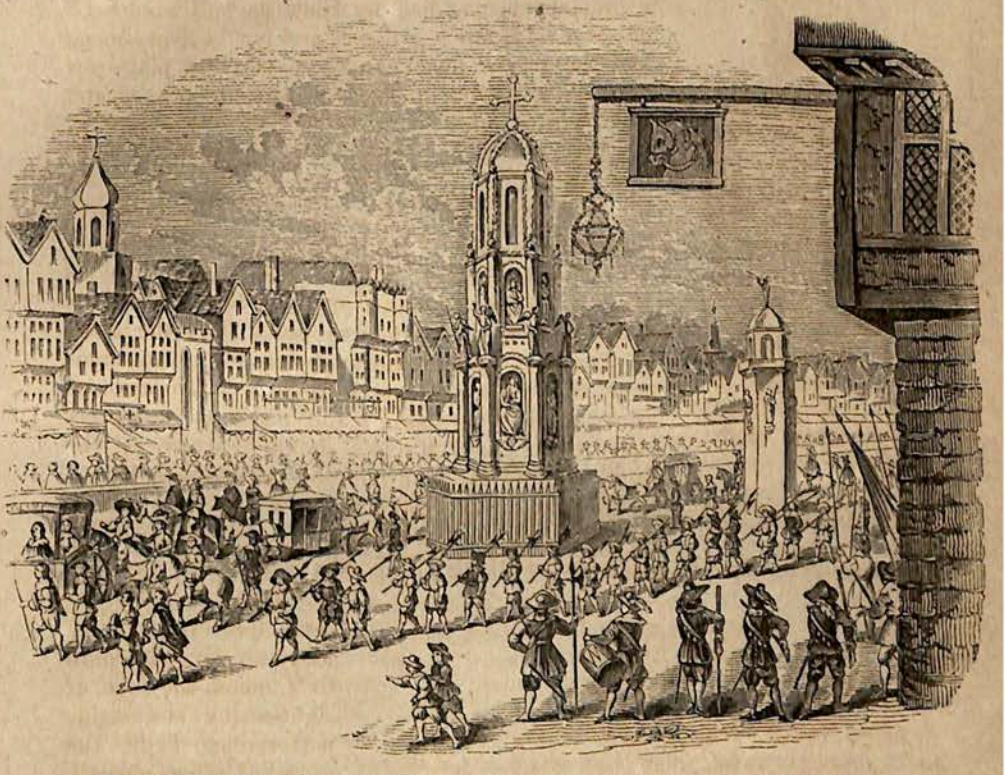
very much against the wishes of the king, in 1638. This print accompanies a description, in French, by the Sieur de la Serre, historiographer of France,* of the ceremonies that attended this visit of the queen-mother,—a visit of which Laud, in his Diary, says, "great apprehensions of this business." She came, however, and Cheapside—"la grande rue"—had its houses, which a previous visitor had described as "all windows," crowded with fair city dames and portly livery-men; and the city companies sat on elevated platforms covered with blue cloth; and the lord mayor and the recorder were there, and twenty-four aldermen, in their robes of scarlet; and, above all, a sight that in a few years was not so agreeable — six thousand soldiers of the city separated in divers companies. These were trained bands, whose number does not seem to have varied from that of 1617, when the chaplain of the Venetian ambassador could not eat his dinner in peace from the noise of "musket and artillery exercise" in the fields near Bishopsgate-street Without.† London was accustomed to processions and pageants, and especially to its Lord Mayor's shows, in which all the dignitaries of the land followed the civic magistrate to his dinner in Guildhall, amidst a very merry and boisterous crowd, that scarcely gave way to the "twenty savages or green-men, walking with squibs or fire-works to sweep the streets." Though the times were evil when Mary de Medicis came to London, the love of sight-seeing and sight-performing kept the crowd of idlers pleased, and even the discontented of the city quiet, though the corporation had been fined £70,000 by the Star-chamber, upon a complaint that the conditions by which they held lands in Ulster had been infringed. The city offered, by way of compensation, to build the king a palace in St. James's park. The courtiers wanted the money to squander in masques and

Merchant's Wife of London. (From Ornatus Muliebris, 1640.)

* "Histoire de l' Entrée Royale de la Reyne Mère," London, 1639. Reprinted in 1775.

† "Quarterly Review," October, 1857, p. 411.

banquets, and the offer was refused. Charles had employed Inigo Jones to prepare plans for a magnificent Whitehall. The Banqueting-house is the only architectural monument of the taste of the two first Stuarts.



Cheapside, with the Procession of Mary de Medicis on her Visit to Charles I. and his Queen.

NOTE ON THE PORTRAITS OF CHARLES I.

In the Manchester Exhibition of Art Treasures an opportunity was afforded of comparing the portrait of Charles by each of the painters, Vandyck and Mytens, almost in juxtaposition. There, was a family group by Mytens, and a family group by Vandyck. In that of Mytens the king and queen are preparing to ride; and there is Jeffrey Hudson, the dwarf, holding a small dog in a leash, the favourite spaniels, and a larger dog with a monkey. In the group by Vandyck the king is sitting by the side of his queen, with an infant on her lap. The Charles of Mytens' group is younger than in that of Vandyck. There are no decided markings of character in his face. The expression is gentle, almost feeble. The Charles of Vandyck's group has the almost invariable countenance which this painter gives to him—the well-known composed and reflective character, with a tinge of foreboding melancholy, as some imagine. Near these groups hung a whole length of the king by Mytens. The technical art of Mytens was little inferior to that of Vandyck; and he was more faithful in portraiture, if amongst the requirements of fidelity we ask that portraits of the same person at different periods of life, and in different situations, should have some variety. The portraits of Charles by Mytens show how much of the general expression of the character of the king is due to the ideal of Vandyck. The features are the same in both artists, but the contemplative and tender expression is wholly due to Vandyck. Mytens gives us a sober and apathetic face, more remarkable for the want of sentiment than for its excess—a face not wholly pleasant. The grace also belongs to the more poetical painter. In Mytens we can see how Charles would have grown into a likeness of his father. In the head of the king by Vandyck, in the same collection, painted in 1637, there is more animation than in his other portraits. But in all of them, not to yield too much to the historical evidences of character, there are the indications, however faint, of suspicion and mental reservation, and an especial want of those physiognomical traits which indicate self-reliance. Compare the Charles of Vandyck with the Strafford of Vandyck. Strafford has the care-worn expression, and the imagined presentiment of evil, to a far greater extent than his master. But it is the weight of responsibility pressing upon a powerful mind. What decision, what keenness of observation, what inflexibility, wholly wanting in the portraits of Charles.

St. Giles's and the Old Tron Church, Edinburgh, in the time of Charles I.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Scotland—Visit of the king in 1633—A Service-book commanded to be used in 1637—The National Covenant—Progress of the troubles in Scotland—The General Assembly—The king and the Scots levy forces—The king at Berwick—Camp of the Covenanters—An English Parliament—Suddenly dissolved—Convocation continues to sit—The Scottish war resumed—Rout of Newburn—Council of Peers—Cessation of arms—An English Parliament summoned—Character of the House of Commons—Strafford—Laud.

In the summer of 1633 Charles had paid a visit to Scotland, and was there crowned. Not only were the two nations as distinct in their civil and ecclesiastical systems of government as if they had been still ruled by two sovereigns, but the Scottish affairs were separately managed by Charles himself, without any reference to the English Council. One English adviser he, however, had, whose notions upon church government wholly over-rode the prudential considerations of civil polity. Laud, then bishop of London, accompanied the king on this Scottish journey. Although the bishop enters in his Diary, "King Charles crowned at Holyrood church in Edinburgh;—I never saw more expressions of joy than after it;" Laud himself gave great offence by the introduction of rites at the coronation which the people considered as part of the system which the Reformation had overthrown. His temper was violent; and the Scottish historians say that he thrust the archbishop of Glasgow from the king's side, because he refused to officiate in embroidered robes. Some of the Scottish prelates were not imbued with

this love of simplicity; and they united with the powerful English bishop in the promotion of a plan for introducing a Service-book in Scotland, which should supersede the extemporaneous prayers of the presbyterian form of worship. The design was not then carried into effect. But in 1637, when Laud had become archbishop, and all moderate measures for producing conformity in England had been laid aside, the Scottish Church was suddenly called upon to receive a book of Canons approved at Lambeth; and a Service-book was directed to be used in all places of divine worship. This Prayer Book varied from the English Liturgy in points which indicated a nearer approach to the Romish ritual. The consequences of this most ignorant rashness—ignorant, because of its utter blindness to the course of Scottish history during the previous hundred years, and to the character of the Scottish people—were wholly unforeseen. All political prudence was swallowed up in the one dominant passion of the king and of his prime adviser for an unvarying ecclesiastical uniformity, in and through which the minutest ceremonial observances should be rigidly enforced, as the test of orthodoxy, and therefore of loyalty. From the date of this violent defiance of the principles and habits of the Scottish people, the reign of Charles becomes the turning-point of English history. Perhaps no great public event has been without its ultimate effects upon the fortunes of a nation, although centuries may have passed away. The stirring action that commenced in Scotland in 1637 not only influenced all her own after-destinies;—"it preserved the liberties and overthrew the monarchy of England." *

Robert Baillie, Principal of the University of Glasgow, has, in his Letters and Journals, left some of the most interesting memorials of these times.† We find in the good man's narrative the ominous beginning of these Scottish disturbances. By sound of trumpet it is proclaimed that all subjects, ecclesiastical and civil, conform themselves to the Liturgy by the next Pasch [Easter]. The books were not ready till May, and then every minister was commanded to buy two copies. The book is lent about from hand to hand; its "popish points" are shown; it is imposed without any meeting of church or state, say the dissatisfied. A letter comes down from the king commanding its use without farther delay. "The whole body of the town murmurs and grudges all the week exceedingly; and, who can marvel, discourses, declamations, pamphlets, everywhere." Sunday, the 23rd of June, arrives; and thus Principal Baillie tells us what happened:—"When the bishop and his dean, in the great church, and the bishop of Argyle, in the Grayfriars, began to officiate, as they speak, incontinent the serving-maids began such a tumult as was never heard of since the Reformation in our nation." History has preserved the name of one turbulent heroine, who may have sat for the "Trulla" of Hudibras: "Jane or Janet Geddes (yet living at the writing of this relation) flung a little folding-stool, whereon she sat, at the dean's head, saying 'Out, thou false thief! dost thou say the mass at my lug?'" ‡ A threatening outburst of popular fury followed this exhibition, but no wounds were given. The chancellor writes to the king, and there is "great fear for the king's wrath." The country is getting hot, as well as Edinburgh.

* Hallam, chap. xvii.

† "Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie, A.M., edited by David Laing, Esq." 3 vols.

‡ "Continuation of Baker's Chronicle," edit. of 1670; quoted by Mr. Carlyle.

Preachers who defend the Liturgy are maltreated, and mostly by "enraged women of all qualities." Gradually the nobles, the gentry, and the "burrows" [members for boroughs] take up the supplications against the Service-book. By December, some of the most influential agree together to oppose its use, and resist the further intrusion of Prelacy. They become organised. The king, who at first had threatened the Scottish authorities, now endeavours to moderate the people by proclamations that declare his abhorrence of Popery, and his resolution to maintain the religion then professed. But there are symptoms that these professions are delusive. The idea of submission to the authority of the Scottish prelates is utterly rejected. The whole community enters into a National Covenant to abjure the doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of the Romish Church, and to resist the innovations which the prelates had introduced. In the High Church of Edinburgh, on the 1st of March, 1638, this Covenant was read, and the whole congregation rose and swore to maintain what it set forth. Copies of the deed were sent throughout the land, and with tears and protestations the Covenant was sworn to and signed by hundreds of thousands.

The ecclesiastical government was an anomaly, which Clarendon describes in few words: "Though there were bishops in name, the whole jurisdiction, and they themselves were, upon the matter, subject to an assembly which was purely presbyterian." But when Clarendon adds "no form of religion in practice, no liturgy, nor the least appearance of the beauty of holiness," he speaks with a very imperfect knowledge of the Scottish earnestness in religion, in which the strength as well as the beauty of holiness was manifest. The "enraged women" of Edinburgh were not very favourable specimens of the national spirit. But in the history of nations there is no grander spectacle than a whole people, for the assertion of a principle, assembled in separate congregations, large or small, in the crowded city and in the mountain solitude, to defend the doctrine and discipline which their fathers had established; and to declare, "before God, his angels, and the world," their resolution to adhere to the same all the days of their life. During this wonderful movement in Scotland, the Council of England, and indeed the people, were as men in their midnight sleep whilst their neighbour's house is on fire. "The truth is," says Clarendon, "there was so little curiosity either in the court, or the country, to know anything of Scotland, or what was done there, that when the whole nation was solicitous to know what passed weekly in Germany and Poland, and all other parts of Europe, no man ever inquired what was doing in Scotland, nor had that kingdom a place or mention in one page of any gazette." * There were gazettes in that day. "The Weekly News," and "The Weekly Account," and little sheets called "Currantoes," were the staple of the half-yearly "Intelligencer." Few, indeed, and very meagre, were these peep-holes out of the prison in which public opinion was then locked up. For the Star-chamber was in full activity for the regulation of the press; and by its decree at this very period master printers were limited to twenty who found sureties; and "printing in corners without a license" was punishable by the orthodox process of whipping and the pillory. It was seven years later when Milton raised his

* "History of the Rebellion," temp. 1637.

eloquent voice for the "Liberty of Unlicensed Printing," and spoke the words which tyranny has always most dreaded to hear, "Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all liberties." If the petty newspapers of 1637 and 1638 had told of Janet Geddes and her doings, they would soon have been silenced. The people had no curiosity about Scotland, because they knew nothing about Scotland. The king suffered no transaction of his native kingdom to be debated or communicated to his privy-council, "but handled all these affairs himself with two or three Scotsmen." * Gradually the knowledge of the riots of Edinburgh creeps out: "Horrible ado against the bishops in Scotland, for seeking to bring in amongst them our Church-Service." (October, 1637.) "Small hope yet in Scotland to bring our Church-Service into use there; they still oppose it with great violence." (November, 1637.) "Messengers come weekly thence." (March, 1638.) So writes Garrard to his great patron, but intimates that there is one who informs the Lord-Deputy much better than himself of the proceedings there. The weekly messengers have told something of the truth in the court purlieus; for even the king's fool has been moved to speak his mind, poor fellow: "Archy is fallen into a great misfortune. A fool he would be, but a foul-mouthed knave he hath proved himself. Being in a tavern in Westminster, drunk he saith himself, he was speaking of the Scottish business; he fell a railing on my lord of Canterbury; said he was a monk, a rogue, and a traitor. Of this his grace complained at Council, the king being present. It was ordered he should be carried to the porter's lodge, his coat pulled over his ears, and kicked out of the court, never to enter within the gates, and to be called into the Star-chamber. The first part is done; but my lord of Canterbury hath interceded to the king that there it should end." † Opinions are getting troublesome in England in higher places than taverns in Westminster. "They grow foolish at Oxford, for they had a question about the legality of Ship-money; as also, whether the *Addita* and *Alterata* in the Scottish liturgy did give just cause of scandal; but my lord's grace of Canterbury, hearing of it, forbad them such question." (July, 1638.) In another year the very courtiers are taking the Scottish matters to heart: "Most certain it is, that the Scots are grown a most obstinate rebellious people. God turn their hearts. Daily they fall more and more from their obedience." (May, 1639.)

Milton in his earlier years.

The steps by which the Scots arrived at this "obstinate rebellious" condition were those of the steady march of an irritated population under experienced leaders. The first resistance to the Service-Book was a sudden outburst. The National Covenant was a deliberate act which was to be

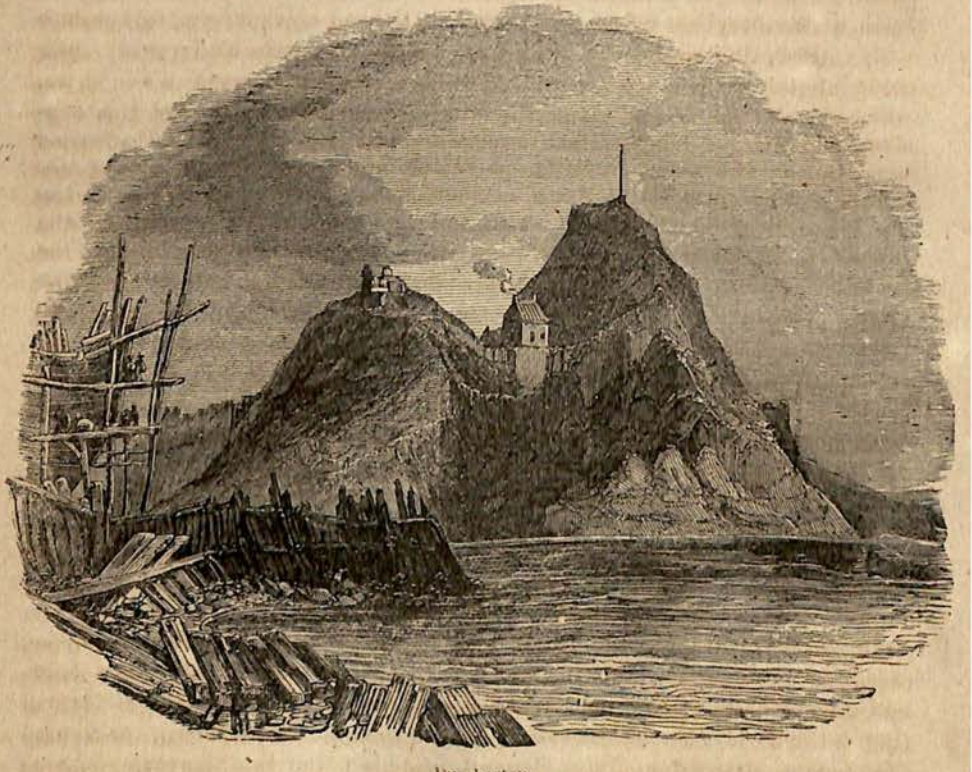
* Clarendon. † Strafford Letters.

sustained on the battle-field. Charles and his one fatal adviser chose to regard it as the affair of a rabble; and the king commissioned the Marquis of Hamilton to reduce "the rascally people" to obedience. The commissioner was to allow the Scots six weeks to renounce the Covenant. If not renounced, power was to be sent from England; and the king himself would hazard his life rather than suffer authority to be contemned. In June, 1638, the Marquis of Hamilton arrived at Edinburgh. He had written to nobles and gentlemen, the most of note, to attend him at Haddington, previous to his entry into the capital. Two or three only met him, and they carried him an excuse in the name of all. Baillie records that huge multitudes received him at Leith—nobles, gentry, women, the town magistrates. But, says the good minister, "we were most conspicuous in our black cloaks, above five hundred on a brae-side in the links." These Geneva cloaks must have suggested some serious considerations to the Commissioners. The discussions between Hamilton and the Covenanters only shewed how earnest and resolute they were. Nothing but a General Assembly and a Parliament would induce them to renounce their league. The Commissioner was directed to temporise, and not to take any extreme measures till an armed force was ready to support them. He went to England for further instructions; but he returned with powers to announce a General Assembly and a Parliament, and to propose that the Confession of Faith, of 1589, should be signed instead of the Covenant. A proclamation was issued, setting forth that the Liturgy and the Canons should be given up, on condition that this Confession should be adopted. The Covenanters protested against this; as an attempt to make them, under cover of a new oath, recant what they had been doing. "We thought this subscription," says Baillie, "a very deep and dangerous plot, and so opposed it everywhere, what we could." In November, a General Assembly was convened at Glasgow. "The Town did expect and provide for multitudes of people." On the 17th the Commissioner arrived. On the 20th there was a solemn fast. The Assembly was opened on the 21st. Seven days did this great meeting debate and protest. The chief grounds of difference were the introduction of lay members into the Assembly; and the general determination to remove the bishops. On the 28th the Marquis dissolved the Assembly, and left Glasgow. It continued its sittings till the 20th of December; and, against the opinions of a few of the moderate, declared the total abolition of episcopacy in the kirk of Scotland. The determined opposition of the Scottish nobility to episcopacy may be attributed to some motives, not unjust ones, besides a desire for the safety of the Reformed Church. The prelates had engrossed some of the high civil offices; they formed a large proportion of the Privy-Council; they had Courts with very obnoxious powers, like those of the High-Commission Court in England. The whole system of episcopacy seemed to the people and to their leaders full of danger to their consciences and their liberties. "The Canterburian faction," says Baillie, "was hayling us all away to Rome for our religion, to Constantinople for our policy." *

At the beginning of 1639 it became clear that these contests would end in an appeal to arms. Charles was ill-prepared for a war. In November,

* Letters, &c. vol i. p. 185.

1638, Lord Cottington writes to the Lord Deputy, "Our business of Scotland grows every day worse, so as we are almost certain it will come to a war, and that a defensive one on our side, and how we shall defend ourselves without money is not under my cap. . . . . The king will not hear of a Parliament." * On the following 26th of January, Charles sent out a letter, "commanding all the nobles and gentry of England to attend his royal standard at York against the 1st of April, where he was to go to the border to oppose the Scots there." † But the Scots, instead of having a discontented commonalty to impede the exertions of the nobles and gentry, were all firmly banded together, peer and peasant, merchant and mechanic, to maintain a cause which they held to be the cause of God and their country. The whole land was full of military preparation. The nobles headed their forces in every shire. In every great town there were frequent drillings; "every



Dumbarton.

one, man and woman, encouraged their neighbours." The castle of Edinburgh was surprised by Leslie, one who had gained a large experience in the great Protestant war in Germany, and in whom all confided; for, says Baillie, "such was the wisdom and authority of that old, little, crooked soldier, that all, with ane incredible submission, from the beginning to the end, gave over themselves to be guided by him." Dumbarton castle was

* Strafford Letters, vol. ii. p. 246. † Baillie.

seized by the Earl of Argyle. Stirling was held by a Covenanter. Onward marched the king towards York. His army, under the lords Arundel Holland, and Essex, was very insufficient for attack or defence, though formidable enough for the plunder of their countrymen. "As for the forces of England, they failed like the summer brooks; the country was filled with their own grievances:" * In the same spirit Mrs. Hutchinson writes, "the, commonalty of the nation, being themselves under grievous bondage, were loath to oppose a people that came only to claim their just liberties." Wentworth made prodigious exertions to keep down the Scottish settlers in Ulster; and he sent some Irish to the king's army—"a matter of fifteen hundred ragged Arabians," says Baillie. The marquis of Hamilton sailed into the Frith of Forth; but his forces were quite unequal to subdue or even to awe an armed population; and the Scots appear to have despised his "five thousand land-sojours, taken up in a violent press." The marquis made war upon his countrymen in a merciful way. He fired no shot; and was content with intercepting supplies. His men, closely packed in their small ships, could obtain neither fresh meat nor water, for the shores were closely watched; and the old fortune of the miserable naval enterprises of this reign attended them. Leslie marched towards the border. The king had advanced to Berwick; and from his camp at the English side of the Tweed, saw "through a prospect" [telescope] twelve thousand Scots encamped on Dunse-Law; the hill-top crowded with cannon; the gentle hill-sides stirring with experienced musqueteers and "stout young ploughmen and highlanders with their plaids, targes, and dorlachs." † Before the tent of every captain was a colour bearing the Scottish arms, and a legend, in golden letters, "For Christ's Crown and Covenant." The camp was full of the kirk-ministers; and the soldiers were encouraged, not only by the presence of their nobles, but by "the good sermons and prayers, morning and even under the roof of heaven, to which their drums did call them for bells." ‡ The armies had looked upon each other, and certainly the English commanders had very substantial reasons for not risking a battle. A small body of the royal cavalry had fled before a smaller body of Scots. Some advances to pacification were made from the Scottish side. On the 6th of June, the earl of Dunfermline was sent to the royal camp with a petition that a meeting might be held between a few worthy men of each kingdom to settle the points in dispute. Charles returned an answer signed by his Secretary. The Covenanters required an answer under his own hand; and the signature was given, assenting to the proposal. On the 11th of June, the Scottish deputies—consisting of four nobles, with Alexander Henderson, Moderator of the General Assembly, and the Clerk-Register of that body, arrived in the camp. The king appointed his Commissioners; but during the proceedings he suddenly appeared amongst the negociators. His lofty tone, however, did not prevent a pacification being concluded on the 18th of June. The articles were very loosely expressed; and it soon became clear that the peace was a hollow one. Charles returned to London on the 1st of August. The Scottish army was disbanded. The fortresses were restored to the officers appointed by the Crown. But the conditions of

* Baillie. † *Ibid.* p. 212-13. ‡ *Ibid.*

the Covenant were inflexibly maintained in the General Assembly, and in the Parliament which met in August. Moreover, that Parliament demanded privileges which appeared to weaken the royal authority; and the king's Commissioners decided upon its prorogation. The members held that such prorogation was illegal without their own consent. On either side of the border the note of preparation for war was again heard.

Lowered in the eyes of his English subjects by the pacification of Berwick; the prestige of eleven years' pretensions to absolute power dissipated; without financial resources for military purposes, unless new exactions had been attempted, besides the old demands,—Charles at length summoned an English Parliament. It met on the 13th of April, 1640; it was dissolved on the 5th of May. In this Session of three weeks the great question of grievances preceding supplies was renewed with a vigour proportionate to the invasions of public liberty since 1629. But there was a moderation in the language of the Commons which was perhaps the best evidence of the steadiness of their resolves. The king demanded twelve subsidies in three years—a sum equivalent to about 840,000*l.*; and he offered to relinquish ship-money, which was estimated to produce 200,000*l.* a year. The Commons would hear of no compromise of such a nature. Ship-money was the opprobrium of the government; the Crown had claimed the right of taxation independent of the Commons; the people had been unconstitutionally taxed; the judgment of the Courts must be annulled, and the judges punished. The Commons would then enter upon the business of Supplies. The table of the House was covered with petitions against the abuses of the State and of the Church. The clouds were gathering all around; and the king thought to avert the tempest by dissolving the Parliament. The Convocation of the Clergy continued to sit; and large assistance was voted to the king. In that assembly Canons were framed which were well calculated to render the government of the Church more and more odious. No Englishman of sense, and especially no honest Puritan, would sanction the attack upon Laud's palace at Lambeth on the 11th of May. But they would regard his Canons,—which preached passive obedience to the divine right of kings and subjected Protestant dissentients to the same penalties as Popish recusants,—as an offence against the ancient liberties of Englishmen. Many of the Clergy would look forward to the time when this new yoke should be shaken off, by which the tenure of their livings was made to depend upon taking an oath offensive to their consciences—the *et cætera* oath as it was called. Meanwhile, members of the Commons were again imprisoned. Ship-money was more rigorously enforced. Citizens were punished for refusing a loan. The counties were subjected to novel charges for the troops that were levied for another Scottish campaign. On the 4th of June, a month after the dissolution of Parliament, the earl of Northumberland, a courtier, said in a letter, "It is impossible that things can long continue in the condition they are now in; so general a defection in this kingdom hath not been known in the memory of any." *

The contest between the king and Scotland—we cannot call it a contest between England and Scotland—had for some time assumed the character of

* "Sidney Papers," quoted by Mr. Hallam.

a war. Trade with Scotland had been prohibited. The English cruisers seized Scottish merchant-ships. In March and April levies had been called out by the Covenanters. On the 2nd of June, the Parliament met in Edinburgh, and put forth manifestoes which were of more effect than the royal proclamations denouncing the Scots as rebels and traitors. The Parliament imposed levies, which were not, however, very promptly paid. They formed a Committee of Estates which held the executive power of the realm. It was resolved to march to England with a petition, supported by an army of twenty-five thousand men On the 20th of August they crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, wading throug- the river. Montrose, afterwards so prominent in another cause, was the first to pass the river on foot. They marched at leisure through Northumberland. Lord Conway, the English general of the horse, had been in cantonments between the Tweed and the Tyne since the end of July. On the day that Leslie crossed the Tweed, Charles, having received news of the advance of this great army, hastily left London for York. He called all the tenants of the Crown to his standard. He offered by proclamation to forgive the Scots, if they would crave pardon for the past as penitent delinquents. Strafford had raised troops in Ireland that had joined the king's forces. Altogether twenty thousand men were in arms under the royal standard. There was no zeal in this army. There was little discipline. The courtiers, "merry lads," as Sir Philip Warwick names some of them, with a ready loyalty made no inquiry as to the principle of the war. The common soldiers "questioned in a mutinous manner whether their captains were papists or not," and uttered "in bold speeches their distaste of the cause, to the astonishment of many, that common soldiers should be sensible of public interest and religion, when lords and gentlemen seemed not to be." * The queen had recommended the Roman Catholics to make contributions to carry on the war against the Scottish Covenanters, and "with more noise and vanity than prudence admitted, they had made public collections of money to a considerable sum." † To oppose the old campaigner Leslie, a man of many battles, was selected lord Conway,—one who had seen some service, such as it was, but who is described by Clarendon as "a voluptuous man in eating and drinking, and of great license in all other excesses;" and who was said by sir P. Warwick to "lay under some reflection since the action of the Isle of Rhé." Strafford (Wentworth was now earl of Strafford) was to have taken the command; but sickness prevented him from joining the army till after it had sustained a perilous defeat, in what Clarendon terms "that infamous irreparable rout at Newburn." On the 27th of August, the Scots had reached the left bank of the Tyne about five miles above Newcastle, and on that night their camp fires blazed with the coal of the adjacent pits. The next day they occupied the town of Newburn. There appears to have been little disposition to come to an engagement; and the Scots had made some English welcome who visited their camp. But one of their officers having been killed by a shot from the opposite bank of the river, the artillery on both sides opened their fire. At low water two Scottish regiments crossed the Tyne. The English horse fled, and the whole army moved in great disorder to Newcastle. There was only one effort made

* May. † Clarendon.

by a gallant few to oppose the passage of the Scots across the river. Newcastle was itself abandoned at midnight. On the morrow, writes Baillie, "Newcastle was rendered to us; the soldiers and chief citizens had fled out of it in great haste." There they found stores of provisions and of arms. In Scotland, the Covenanters were equally successful; and Dumbarton, "questionless the strongest place in Britain," capitulated. The castle of Edinburgh also surrendered to Argyle. The king was coming on and had reached Allerton, when he heard of the rout of Newburn; and he returned to York. Newcastle was put by the Scots under contribution; and there they quietly sat down whilst some attempts were made for a pacification.

After these occurrences, the king, having adopted what Clarendon calls "a new invention," or rather "so old that it had not been practised in some hundreds of years," called a Great Council of Peers to attend him at York on the 24th of September. The first decision of the Council was to appoint a Commission of sixteen Peers to treat with the Scots at Ripon. After various vain attempts to come to a final understanding, a cessation of arms, for two months, was agreed to, on the 26th of October, that the demands of the Covenanters might be discussed in London by the Commissioners. It had become known that the king had proposed to the peers again to summon a Parliament. During this cessation of arms the Scottish army was to be maintained by a payment of 850*l.* per day. The Parliament was to meet at Westminster on the 3rd of November.

For the fifth time during the reign of Charles the people are looking to a Parliament, that should establish the just distinctions between an absolute monarchy and a free monarchy. The barriers between Liberty and Despotism had been rudely thrown down. It is no vain difference about a theory. It is a vital question which has come home to every man. There is no falling off in the popular sentiment as to the character of those who have contended in former parliaments against the insolent claims of prerogative. These men are returned for county and borough, without a doubt that they have pursued the right course. A very short time had been given between the issue of the writs and the elections;—an advantage to the court party. Yet the elections had so completely gone against that party, that Clarendon says the House was packed by decisions upon controverted returns. This is one of the loose assertions of that historian, for there were only eight returns that were contested. He says also, "There was observed a marvellous elated countenance in many of the members of parliament before they met together in the house; the same men, who, six months before, were observed to be of very moderate tempers, and to wish that gentle remedies might be applied." Thus, in this dreary November season, have the Peers, and five hundred and six members of the House of Commons, come up from every shire and borough, to take their sides in the great battle for constitutional rights and liberty of conscience. Travelling in those wintry days to parliament was costly and not very agreeable. Principal Baillie, who was to go to Westminster from Newcastle on the Covenant business, with a safe conduct under the Great Seal, was eight days on the road; and on the eighth day he came from Ware to London, "all well, horse and men, as we could wish; divers merchants and their servants with us, on little nags." The whole journey was perilous in his eyes: "The way extremely foul and deep, the

journeys long and continued; sundry of us unaccustomed with travel, we took it for God's singular goodness that all of us were so preserved. . . . . We were by the way at great expenses; their inns are all like palaces; no marvel they extort their guests." *

The complexion of the House of Commons was such as to alarm some of those who had been concerned in the proceedings of the absolute government of eleven years. Sir John Bramston, a devoted royalist, the son of one of the ship-money judges, writes thus of the composition of the House: "Those gentlemen who had been imprisoned about the loans, benevolences, or any other the like matters; such citizens as had been sued, imprisoned, or molested about tonnage or poundage, or the customs; all that had any ways appeared obstinate and refractory to the government and the king's commands about ship-money, coat-and-conduct money, or the Commission, were chosen either for counties or boroughs." † There were members of the government, the chief advisers of the king, to whom the presence in Parliament of "those gentlemen who had been imprisoned," &c., was not a promise of halcyon days. The Scots, before the treaty of Ripon, had demanded "the removal of three or four persons from about the king." Strafford and Laud were especially pointed at. Of Laud, they distinctly said that his removal was necessary for the preservation of the protestant religion, "which every honest man thought at present in great danger, by the exorbitant power of the Archbishop of Canterbury." The enemy of Strafford, "more terrible than all the others," was "the whole Scottish nation, provoked by the declaration he had procured of Ireland, and some high carriage and expressions of his against them in that kingdom." ‡ Strafford, though of undaunted courage, saw his danger in this parliament, which had been called at the moment when he would have fought in the north. He wished to retire to his government of Ireland. Charles pledged himself that not a hair of Strafford's head should be touched by the parliament. Laud was suffering an agony of superstitious fear in his Lambeth palace. There was real cause for alarm in the temper of the people. On the 22nd of October, the High Commission Court, so tyrannical and so odious, was sitting at St. Paul's. "Very near two thousand Brownists made a tumult at the end of the Court, tore down all the benches in the Consistory, and cried out they would have no bishop, nor no High Commission." § The unhappy state of Laud's own mind, credulous as ever about dreams and prognostications, may be judged by the following entry of his Diary: "October 27, Tuesday, Simon and Jude's Eve. I went into my upper study, to see some manuscripts, which I was sending to Oxford. In that study hung my picture, taken by the life; and coming in, I found it fallen down upon the face, and lying on the floor, the string being broken by which it was hanged against the wall. I am almost every day threatened with my ruin in parliament. God grant this be no omen."

The real character of Revolutions is as rarely understood as their possible range is foreseen, by those first affected by them, — princes and their

* "Letters and Journals," vol. i. p. 271.

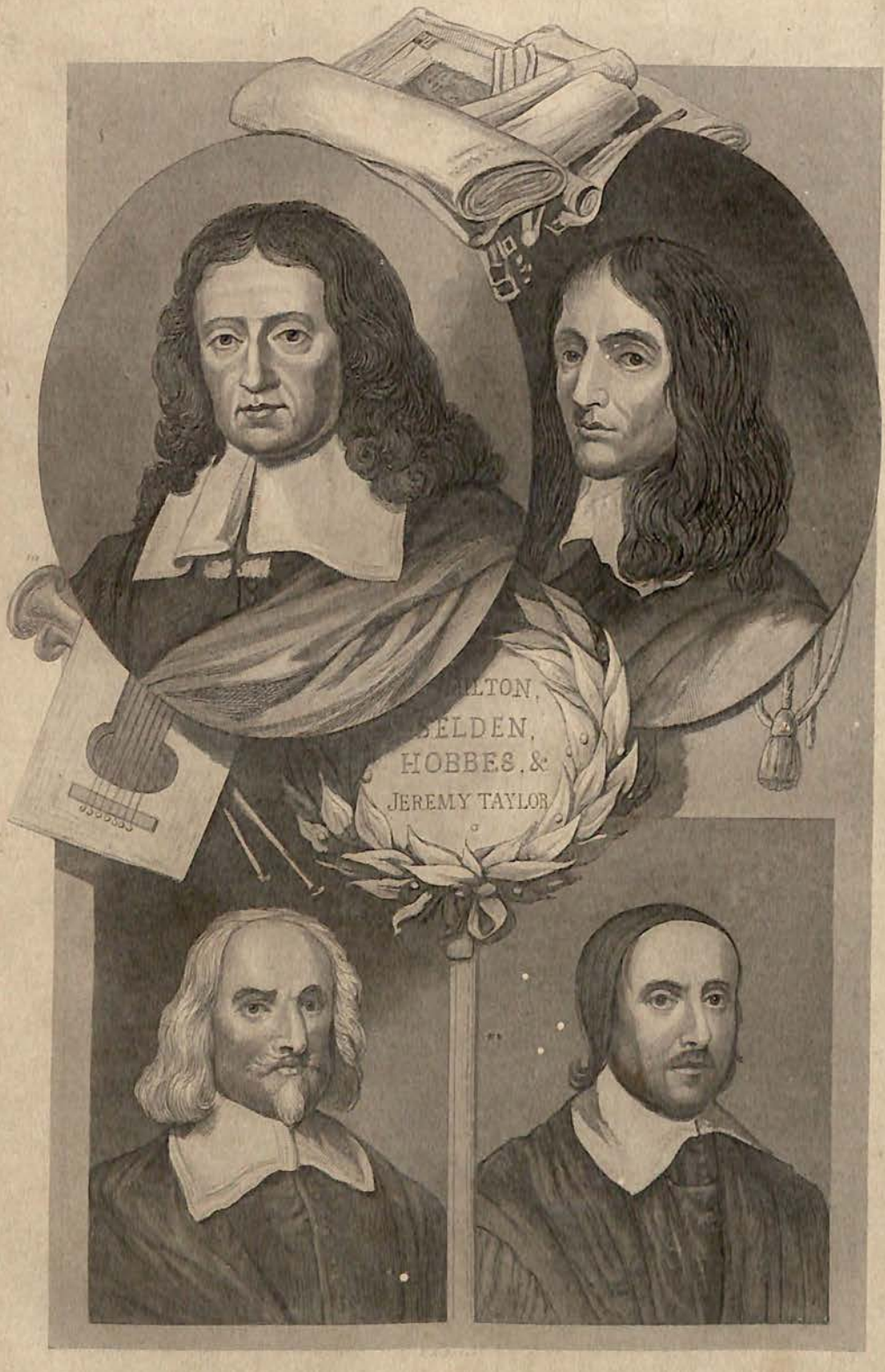
† "Autobiography of Sir John Bramston," Camden Society. "Coat-and-conduct money,' the name of a particular tax for the equipment of soldiers, is misprinted "Coal, and conduct-money," p. 73.

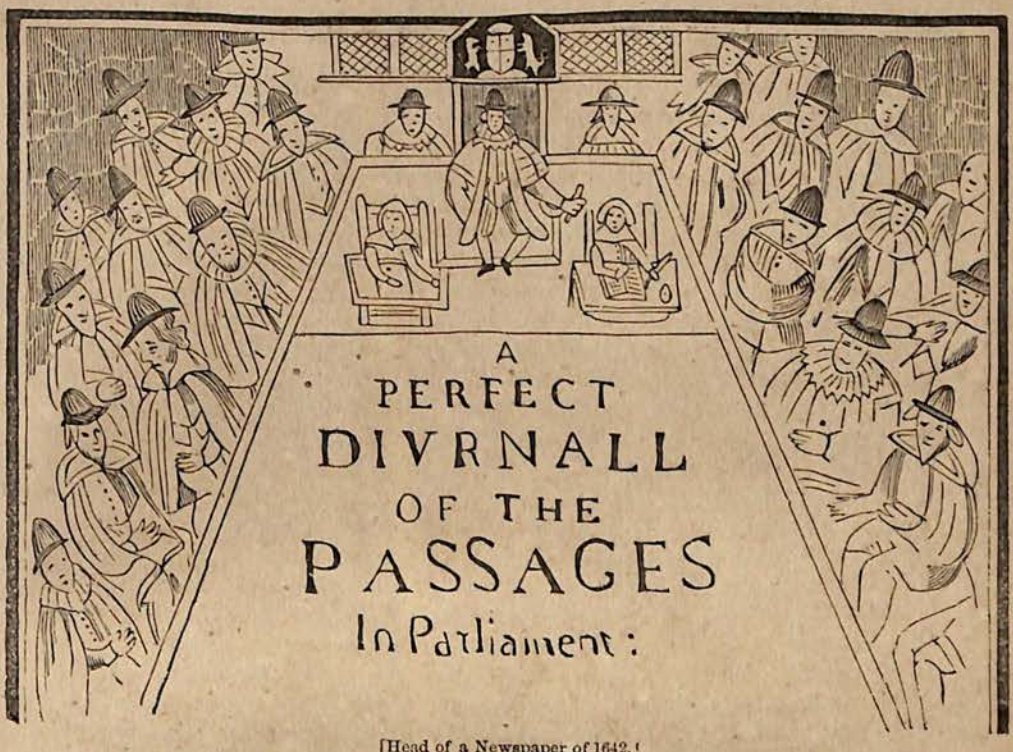
‡ Clarendon.

§ Laud's Diary.

ministers. Laud, and to a less extent Strafford, could see nothing in the events which disturbed their power but the malignity of personal enemies, or the influence of ambitious and irreligious despisers of lawful authority. Laud himself writes, with an amusing simplicity, and no doubt with a sincere expression of his belief, that "the adverse party in the late parliament, or by and by after before they parted, ordered things so, and filled men's minds with such strange jealousies, that the king's good people were almost generally possessed that his majesty had a purpose to alter the ancient laws and liberties of the kingdom, and to bring in slavery upon his people,—a thing which, for aught I know, his majesty never intended." * Purblind and almost stone-blind must that minister have been who did not see that the systematic action of the government during the whole reign, and more especially from 1629 to 1640, had been to drive such an opinion into the heads of the whole community; and that nothing but their loyalty, which was as strong a principle as the love of freedom, could have long before averted some fearful outbreak of popular indignation, in the absence of the legitimate parliamentary mode of expressing the public voice. According to Laud's view of the matter, the Scots did not come to England with a Covenant in their hands, subscribed by an indignant nation, but because "some lords and others, who had by this time made an underhand solemn confederacy with a strong faction of the Scots, brought an army of them into the kingdom." Some may believe, as we do not, that Charles "never intended to bring in slavery upon his people;" but the people who saw the tyranny of his actions had no great reason to rely upon his intentions. The king and the archbishop, both weak men, were self-deceivers; and of the nature of the self-deceptions of both we may form an opinion from an entry in Laud's Diary, recording that he had been fined 500*l.* by the Parliament (December 21, 1640), for the illegal imprisonment of sir Robert Howard: "In such a case, say the imprisonment were more than the Law allow; what may be done for Honour and Religion sake?" When Authority rides over Law in the name of Honour and Religion, it becomes more dangerous even than the brute force which knows no law but its own passionate will.

* Laud's "History of the Troubles," &c. p. 83.


ILTON,
SELDEN,
HOBBES, &
JEREMY TAYLOR



[Head of a Newspaper of 1642.]

CHAPTER XXVIII.

The Long Parliament—Difficulty of narrating its history in a limited space—Of what manner of men composed on its first meeting—Opening of the Parliament—Election of Speaker—Petitions from the prisoners under sentence of the Star-Chamber—Their triumphal entry into London—Arrival of the earl of Strafford—The House of Commons resolve to impeach him—His arrest—Arrest of archbishop Laud—Impeached of high-treason, and committed to the Tower—Finch, the Lord-Keeper, and Windebank, Secretary of State, fly the country—The judges in the case of ship-money proceeded against—Destruction of crosses and images—Charges against Strafford—His trial—Arrangements of Westminster Hall—Daily course of proceedings—Bill of attainder proposed in the House of Commons—Disclosure of Henry Vane—Strafford's last speech in his defence—Pym's reply—Close of the trial—The bill of attainder passed by both Houses—Army plots and popular clamours—Protestation—Efforts of the king to save Strafford—He finally abandons him—His execution.

The Long Parliament—the most memorable Parliament that England ever saw—the Parliament which, for two centuries, has been the theme of the most extravagant hatred and the most exaggerated praise—the Parliament, whatever be its merits or its faults, which has the one glory of having rendered it impossible that the Monarchy of England could endure except in alliance with representative freedom—this Parliament of thirteen years' duration now claims our anxious regard. Those who are bewildered by the crowd of persons, the rush of events, the contrariety of opinions, as they read the history of this Parliament in the more important contemporary historians and memoir-writers, will comprehend the impossibility of adequately relating the great story in a hundred or so of pages. We must necessarily go over

the old track, without lingering by the way-side, if we would arrive at the end of our journey in any reasonable time. Though this old track has been often trodden, it is still very dark and devious; and it has been rendered more difficult by some of its professed guides, and by one especially, who has made very treacherous stepping-stones over parts of the road now known to be foul and dangerous. We shall endeavour to pursue our way warily but not fearfully. What should we fear? The time is past when it was thought necessary for a loyal subject of the British crown to deify Charles or diabolify Cromwell. In the truer and nobler spirit of our own day, the statues of Hampden and of Falkland now claim our united reverence as we tread the vestibule of our Houses of Lords and Commons. *

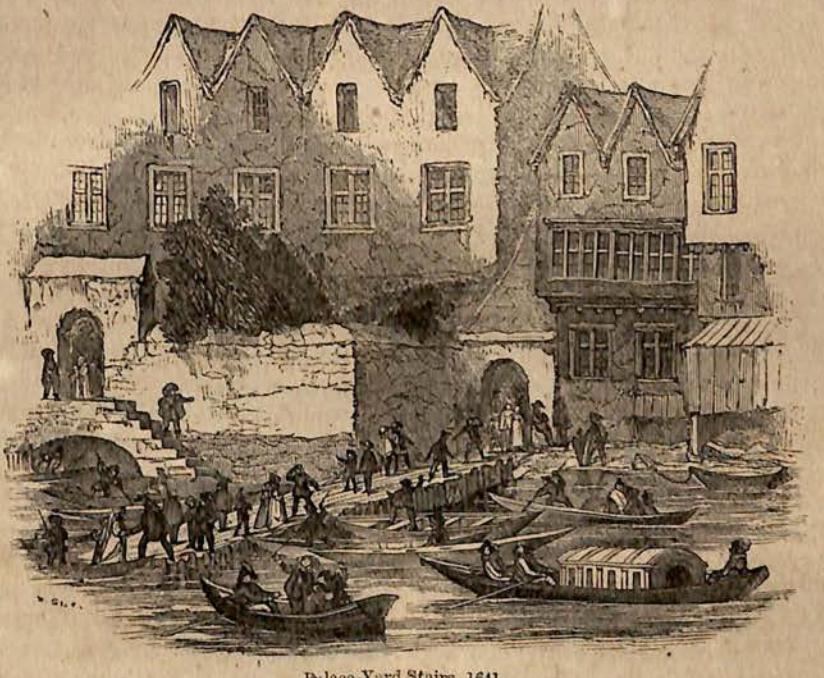
In the rude wood-cut which heads a newspaper of 1642, we have a representation, almost ludicrous, of that great assemblage to which it was given to "rough-hew" the destinies of England. In a far more elaborate engraving of the Lower House, in 1623, we see the five hundred members placed in five rows, tier above tier, in that old Chapel of St. Stephen's, famous for generations.† On the 3rd of November, 1640, there were sitting on those benches men whose names will endure as long as England is a nation; men whose memories are now venerated in lands, then undiscovered, or chiefly occupied by barbarous tribes, where the principles of representative government are sustaining the Anglo-Saxon race in their career of liberty, whilst they fill new continents with their language and their arts. But it is not only from the more illustrious of that Parliament that we have derived our great inheritance of civil rights. There were men there of many varieties of opinion, as to the extent to which reforms of the Church and of the State should be carried. But there were very few indeed, who did not see that the time was come when a stand was to be made against the arbitrary power which, whether embodied in Strafford or Laud, in Finch or Windebank, had so long and so successfully carried on a warfare "against our fundamental laws—against the excellent constitution of this kingdom, which hath made it appear to strangers rather an idea than a real commonwealth, and produced the honour and happiness of this, as the wonder of every other nation." ‡ Those who opposed the despotic pretensions of Charles and of his father were not the innovators, as some would pretend. When Clarendon tells us of the House of Commons, that "the major part of that body consisted of men who had no mind to break the peace of the kingdom, or to make any considerable alteration in the government of Church or State," he correctly represents the general temper of the Long Parliament in its first year. But when he adds that "all *inventions* were set on foot from the beginning to work on them and corrupt them, by suggestions of the dangers that threatened all that was precious to the subject in their liberty and their property," he uses the term "inventions" in the place of the *facts* which no one has set forth more distinctly than himself in the earlier portion of his history. There was, indeed, many a country-gentleman and citizen who went up to this Parliament with a hatred of ship-money and of all other illegal imposts, with a

* "In our days the history of the English Revolution has changed its face. . . . . The narrative and opinions of Hume have ceased to satisfy the imagination and reason of the public." —Guizot.

† Engraved in Lord Nugent's "Hampden," vol. i.

‡ Falkland's charge against Finch.

horror of the Court of High Commission and the Star-Chamber, and with a determination to prosecute, even to the death, the unjust judge and the tyrannical minister, who yet had the most unshaken loyalty to the king. Charles did not understand the character of this Parliament. He conceded much; but in the very act of concession he showed his weakness rather than his sense of right; and there was reasonable fear enough, however exaggerated by popular mistrust, that at the first favourable moment the Parliament would be dissolved, and the old arbitrary power resumed with new force. Treacherous schemes on one side, and extravagant demands on the other, rendered almost hopeless any other issue than Civil War. Then, necessarily, men chose their sides. Those "who had no mind to break the peace of the kingdom" were compelled to draw their swords, friend against friend, and brother against brother; and those who had no original design "to make any considerable alteration in the government of Church or State," had all to



Palace-Yard Stairs, 1641.

witness, and many to promote, the downfall of the ecclesiastical system which Augustin had founded, and the ruin of the monarchy which Alfred had built up.

On the memorable 3rd of November Charles opened this Parliament. He met his people with no cheerful display of royal splendour. "The king himself did not ride with his accustomed equipage, nor in his usual majesty, to Westminster, but went privately in his barge to the Parliament Stairs."* Very few members were absent from their places. Charles addressed the Houses in a tone of conciliation: "One thing I desire of you, as one of the greatest means to make this a happy Parliament, that you on your parts, as

* Clarendon.

I on mine, lay aside all suspicion, one of another." It was scarcely in the power of the representatives of the people to have hastily accepted the renewal of a broken confidence, even if they had been so willing. The fatal dissolution of Parliament, six months before, had spread a spirit of resistance to the court which was not confined to idle complainings. Sir Thomas Gardiner, the recorder of London, had been designed by the king to fill the office of Speaker in the coming Parliament. Contrary to all precedent he was rejected by the city; and no influence could procure his election in any other place. On the morning of the meeting of Parliament, the king was told that his choice was useless. Lenthall was chosen Speaker. In a few days there was abundant work for the Commons. Troops of horsemen arrived in London, craving redress of grievances upon their petitions. From the Fleet Prison came a petition from Alexander Leighton, who had been ten years in confinement; and another from John Lilburne, the sturdy London apprentice who had been whipped and imprisoned for distributing Prynne's books. Lilburne's petition was presented by Oliver Cromwell. From the several distant castles in which they were confined, the petitions of Prynne, and Burton, and Bastwick, reached the House. These prisoners were ordered to be brought to London. Leighton, mutilated, deaf, blind, crept out of the cell in which he expected to die, to receive some recompense for his sufferings. Lilburne had a money compensation voted to him. Prynne and one of his fellow-sufferers made a triumphal entry into London. "Burton and Prynne came through the most of the city triumphantly: never here such a like show: about a thousand horse, and, as some of good note say, above four thousand; above a hundred coaches, and, as many say, above two hundred; with a world of foot, every one with their rosemary branch. Bastwick is not yet come from Scilly."* It was voted that these sufferers should be restored to their callings; and that those who had unjustly sentenced them should pay high damages, as compensation, to each of them. Bastwick returned at the beginning of December, with trumpets sounding, and torches burning, and a thousand horse for his convoy. "God is making here a new world," says Baillie.

Some days before the assembling of Parliament, two remarkable men met in Westminster Hall, and began conferring together upon the state of affairs. Mr. Pym told Mr. Hyde "that they must now be of another temper than they were the last parliament; that they must not only sweep the house clean below, but must sweep down all the cobwebs which hung in the top and corners, that they might not breed dust, and so make a foul house hereafter; that they had now an opportunity to make the country happy, by removing all grievances, and pulling up the causes of them by the roots, if all men would do their duties."† This was not idle talk of Mr. Pym. On the night of Monday, the 9th of November, the earl of Strafford came to London. On the morning of Wednesday, the 11th, Pym rose in his place in the House of Commons, and, saying that he had matter of the highest importance to propose, desired that strangers should be excluded and the doors of the House be locked. The member to whom Pym discoursed of pulling up the causes of grievances by the roots was in the House, and has preserved an

* Baillie's "Letters and Journal," vol. i. p. 277. † Clarendon.

abstract of Pym's speech. He recapitulated all that the nation had endured in the attempt to deprive them of the liberty and property which was their birthright; "these calamities falling upon us in the reign of a pious and virtuous king, who loved his people, and was a great lover of justice." Pym's praise of the king, according to Clarendon, was, that he might wound him with less suspicion. "We must inquire," said the impassioned speaker, "from what fountain these waters of bitterness flowed." There was one man more signal than the rest in bringing these miseries upon the nation—"a man who, in the memory of many present, had sate in that House an earnest vindicator of the laws, and a most zealous supporter and champion for the liberties of the people; but long since turned apostate from those good affections, and, according to the custom and nature of apostates, was become the greatest enemy to the liberties of his country, and the greatest promoter of tyranny that any age had produced."

And then he named "the earl of Strafford." Pym concluded by expressing a hope that they would provide a remedy proportionable to the disease. The members went on debating till the usual time of rising was come; but an order was given that no one should leave the House. After many hours of bitter investigation into the actions of Strafford, it was moved, "that he might be forthwith impeached of high treason, which was no sooner mentioned than it found an universal approbation and consent from the whole House." We must not forget that Mr. Hyde was himself in the House; and that whatever colour he may give, when he writes as Lord Clarendon, to the proceedings against Strafford, he was one of those who gave consent and approbation to the impeachment. Falkland, indeed, recommended, though fully concurring in the determination to impeach, that there should be a farther investigation by a committee previous to the impeachment; but Pym frankly said, that the moment their proceedings were known, Strafford would procure the Parliament to be dissolved, or resort to some other desperate measures; whereas, if they went at once to the Lords, he would necessarily be committed to safe custody. Late as it was, the peers were still sitting. The doors of the House of Commons were thrown open, and Pym, at the head of three hundred members, proceeded to the House of Lords, and there, at the bar, in the name of the Lower House, and of all the Commons of England, impeached Thomas, earl of Strafford, of high treason, and required his arrest. The scene which followed has been spiritedly told by the Principal of the University of Glasgow, who, in his visit to London, had leisure to learn more than most men, and had ability to relate well what he learnt or saw: "The Lords began to consult on that strange and unexpected motion. The word goes in haste to the Lord Lieutenant, where he was with the king: with

speed he comes to the House; he calls rudely at the door. James Maxwell, keeper of the Black Rod, opens. His lordship, with a proud glooming countenance, makes towards his place at the board-head: but at once many bid him void the House; so he is forced in confusion to go to door till he was called. After consultation, being called in, he stands, but is commanded to kneel, and, on his knees, to hear the sentence. Being on his knees, he is delivered to the keeper of the Black Rod, to be prisoner till he was cleared of these crimes the House of Commons did charge him with. He offered to speak, but was commanded to be gone without a word. In the outer room, James Maxwell required him, as prisoner, to deliver his sword. When he had gotten it, he cries, with a loud voice, for his man to carry my Lord Lieutenant's sword. This done, he makes through a number of people towards his coach, all gazing, no man capping to him, before whom that morning the greatest of England would have stood discovered, all crying, What is the matter? he said, A small matter, I warrant you! They replied, Yes, indeed, high treason is a small matter! Coming to the place where he expected his coach, it was not there; so he behoved to return that same way through a world of gazing people. When at last he had found his coach, and was entering, James Maxwell told him, your lordship is my prisoner, and must go in my coach; so he behoved to do." *

There were others to be dealt with by the same summary process who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the nation. Strafford had been committed to the Tower on the 25th of November. On the 4th of December there is this entry in Laud's Diary:—"The king gave way, that his Council should be examined upon oath in the earl of Strafford's case; I was examined this day." Very shortly after, the archbishop himself had to undergo a more severe ordeal. On the 16th of December the Canons which had been passed in Convocation after the dissolution of the last Parliament were, to use Laud's own words, "condemned in the House of Commons as being against the king's prerogative, the fundamental laws of the realm, the liberty and propriety of the subject, and containing other things tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence." He adds: "Upon this I was made the author of them, and a Committee put upon me to inquire into all my actions, and to prepare a charge." On the same day he was named by the Scottish Commissioners, in the Upper House, as an "incendiary." On the 18th, Denzel Hollis carried a message to the Lords, impeaching the archbishop of high treason. Laud was handed over to the custody of the usher of the Black Rod. When he left Lambeth, there was a tribute to his private character which is touching in itself, but has no bearing upon his public errors. He says, "As I went to my barge, hundreds of my poor neighbours stood there, and prayed for my safety, and return to my house. For which I bless God and them." Ten weeks afterwards he was committed to the Tower. Articles of impeachment were prepared against the lord-keeper Finch, and against sir Francis Windebank, secretary of state. They both fled the country. "Within less than six weeks," writes Clarendon, "for no more time was yet elapsed, these terrible reformers had caused the two greatest counsellors of the kingdom, and whom they most feared, and so hated, to be removed from the king,

* Baillie, "Letters and Journal," vol. i. p. 272.

and imprisoned, under an accusation of high treason; and frighted away the lord keeper of the great seal of England, and one of the principal secretaries of state, into foreign lands, for fear of the like." But the terrible reformers did not rest here. Five of the judges, who had declared ship-money lawful, were visited with a just retribution for their servility. They were compelled to give securities to abide the judgment of parliament, whilst the most obnoxious of them, sir Robert Berkeley, being impeached of high treason, was taken to prison from his judgment-seat in the King's Bench, "which struck," says Whitelocke, "a great terror in the rest of his brethren then sitting in Westminster Hall, and in all his profession." A laborious and learned writer has shown how, in the times of the Plantagenets, the judges were regarded as "indifferent arbitrators, whose decisions on constitutional points were conclusive, and beyond the possibility of doubt or suspicion." But he truly points out the difference in the times of Charles I. "One of the primary causes of the great rebellion that overthrew the government, and that cost the king his head, was the degradation of the bench of justice." * Clarendon himself clearly saw this great source of the people's discontent.† In the proceedings of the House of Commons which led to the arrest of Berkeley, one speaker, supposed to be Pym, but whose name does not occur in the pamphlet which contains the speech, uttered these remarkable words: ‡ "Mr. Speaker, blasted may that tongue be that shall, in the least degree, derogate from the glory of those halcyon days our fathers enjoyed during the government of that ever-blessed, never-to-be-forgotten royal Elizabeth. But certainly I may safely say, without detraction, it was much advantage to the peace and prosperity of her reign, that the great examples of Empsoh and Dudley were then fresh in memory. The civility of our law tells us, that the king can do no wrong; but then only is the state secure when judges, their ministers, dare do none. Since our times have found the want of such examples, 'tis fit we leave some to posterity!"

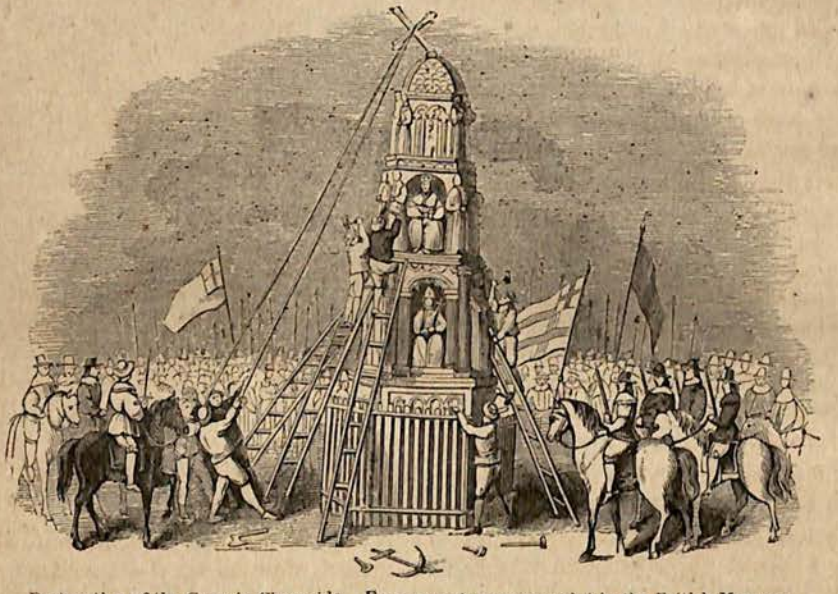
Whilst the leaders of the Parliament were intent upon the re-establishment of civil rights, and the punishment of those who had violated them, the great religious party carried out the principles which had covered Scotland with ecclesiastical ruins, by an order that "commissions should be sent into all counties for the defacing, demolishing, and quite taking away of all images, altars, or tables turned altar-wise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, monuments, and reliques of idolatry, out of all churches and chapels."§ There is an interesting passage in Mrs. Hutchinson's Memoirs of her husband which illustrates the mode in which this order worked in country parishes, such as that in which Mr. Hutchinson's house of Owthorpe was situated: "The Parliament had made orders to deface the images in all churches. Within two miles of his house there was a church, where Christ upon the cross, the Virgin, and John, had been fairly set up in a window over the altar, and sundry other superstitious paintings, of the priest's own ordering, were drawn upon the walls. When the order for razing out those reliques of superstition came, the

* Foss, "Judges of England." † *Ante*, p. 419.

‡ Quoted by Mr. Forster, in his "Life of John Pym," p. 144.

§ By a subsequent vote the crosses of Cheapside and Charing were taken down. Evelyn, in his "Diary," May 2nd, 1643, says, "I went from Wotton to London, where I saw the furious and zealous people demolish that stately cross in Cheapside."

priest only took down the heads of the images, and laid them carefully up in his closet, and would have had the church officers to have certified that the thing was done according to order; whereupon they came to Mr. Hutchinson, and desired him that he would take the pains to come and view their church, which he did, and upon discourse with the parson, persuade him to blot out all the superstitious paintings, and break the images in the glass; which he consented to, but being ill-affected, was one of those who began to brand Mr. Hutchinson with the name of Puritan." The so-called Puritan was then a young man of twenty-three; and he was in himself a faithful representation



Destruction of the Cross in Cheapside. From a contemporary print in the British Museum.

of the religious English gentleman, who had been bred up in a horror of papistical observances, and who, by study of the history of his country, and by serious meditation on the state of public affairs, was prepared to take an earnest part in the great struggle of his time: "He applied himself," says Mrs. Hutchinson, "to understand the things then in dispute; and read all the public papers that came forth, between the king and parliament, besides many other private treatises, both concerning the present and foregoing times Hereby he became abundantly informed in his understanding, and convinced in conscience, of the righteousness of the parliament's cause, in point of civil right."

On the 30th of January, the charges against Strafford were laid before the House of Lords. These were twenty-eight in number. The Scottish Commissioners, and a deputation from the Irish parliament, also put forward the same charges, of endeavouring to rule the north of England and Ireland by military power; of attempting to subvert the fundamental laws of the realm; of labouring to overthrow parliaments and parliamentary authority. During the anxious period between the commitment of the great earl on the 11th of November, and his trial on the 22nd of March, the Commons had

laboured assiduously in the work of legislation as well as in that of punishing the instruments of evil government. Of these legislative labours, which they continued till the close of the Session, we shall give a short general view before we conclude our narrative of the first Session of this memorable Parliament. Meanwhile, let us relate, as briefly as the importance of the subject allows, the proceedings in the trial and attainder of "the one supremely able man the king had," *—the man whose acquittal and restoration to power would, in the opinion of most persons, have given the death-blow to the liberties of England. The proceedings against that eminent man have been condemned by many, who fully admit, with Mr. Hallam, "that to bring so great a delinquent to justice according to the known process of the law was among the primary duties of the new parliament." * But, "the known process of the law" having been set aside, it is held that justice was not rightly administered. The proceedings have been defended, even while it is fully admitted, as Mr. Macaulay admits, that his "attainder was, in truth, a revolutionary measure;" and in the same spirit they are justified, "by that which alone justifies capital punishment, or any punishment, by that alone which justifies war, by the public danger." †

In that Westminster Hall which had witnessed so many memorable scenes; in that hall in which, re-edified by Richard II., the Parliament sat which deposed him, and Bolingbroke placed himself in the marble chair;—in that hall where More was condemned, and Henry VIII. sentenced a heretic to the fire, and the protector Somerset was doomed to the scaffold;—in that hall was to be enacted a scene more strange than any which had gone before,—the arraignment of the great minister who was identified with the acts of the sovereign—a virtual trial of *strength* between the Crown and the People. Of this trial, May, the parliamentary historian, says, "So great it was that we can hardly call it the trial of the earl of Strafford only. The king's affections towards his people and parliament, the future success of this parliament, and the hopes of three kingdoms dependent upon it, were all tried when Strafford was arraigned. * * * Three whole kingdoms were his accusers, and eagerly sought in one death a recompense of all their sufferings." May speaks, also, of "the pompous circumstances and stately manner of the trial itself." The hall was fitted up in a manner quite unusual in any previous state-trial. There was a throne for the king at the north end; the woolsack for the Lord-Steward, the earl of Arundel; benches for the peers, who sat in their red robes, lined with ermine; sacks for the lord keeper and the judges; and, what constituted the peculiarity of this trial, a stage of eleven tiers of seats on each side of the hall, seven of which were reserved for the members of the House of Commons, who were all there in Committee. The king did not occupy the throne, but sat with the queen and his family in a box on the side of the throne. "The trellis, that made them to be secret, the king broke down with his own hand, so they sat in the eye of all," writes Baillie, who was present in the seats appointed for the Scotch Commissioners. The doors were kept, he says, "very straitly with guards. We always behoved to be there a little after five in the morning." The Lords were in their places daily by eight o'clock; the king was usually half-an-hour before them. Many ladies were present, in galleries allotted to them. On Monday, the

* Carlyle. † Macaulay, "Essay on Nugent's Hampden."

22nd of March, as on every succeeding day, the earl of Strafford was brought to Westminster from the Tower in a barge, accompanied by the lieutenant, with boats full of armed men; and on his landing he was guarded by the trained band. He took his place below the bar at a desk, attended by four secretaries and his counsel. "He was always in the same suit of black, as in doole [mourning]. At the entry he gave a low courtesie; proceeding a little he gave a second; when he came to his desk a third; then at the bar, the fore-face of his desk, he kneeled: rising quickly, he saluted both sides of the Houses, and then sat down. Some few of the Lords lifted their hats to him. This was his daily carriage." * The sitting each day was prolonged to two, three, or four o'clock. "It was daily the most glorious assembly the isle could afford; yet the gravity not such as I expected," writes the observant Scot. While the earl was preparing his answers to particular charges, the Lords, he says, "got to their feet, walking, and clattered." The Commons, too, made loud clattering. After ten o'clock they ate and drank, "bottles of beer and wine going thick from mouth to mouth without cups, and all this in the king's eye."

Soldier of the Trained Band.

But if, in the few resting minutes of this solemn trial, the wants of the animal man were supplied after a homely fashion, never was the supremacy of intellect more strikingly put forth to move pity or compel indignation. "Every day, the first week," writes May, "from Monday to Saturday, without intermission, the earl was brought from the Tower to Westminster Hall, and arraigned many hours together; and the success of every day's trial was the greatest discourse or dispute in all companies." The first of these days was occupied by reading the articles of impeachment and Strafford's written answers to them. On the second day Pym, the greatest orator of the Lower House—that great assembly of high thinkers and bold doers—being commanded by the Lord-Steward to proceed, thus began:—"My Lords, we stand here by the commandment of the knights, citizens, and burgesses, now assembled for the Commons in Parliament; and we are ready to make good that impeachment whereby Thomas earl of Strafford stands charged in their name, and in the names of all the Commons of England, with high-treason." The House of Commons had passed a vote "that the earl of Strafford had endeavoured to subvert the ancient and fundamental laws of the realm, and to introduce arbitrary and tyrannical government." To sustain this allegation was the chief object of Pym and the other managers

* Baillie, vol. i. p. 316.

of the impeachment; and although the greater number of the articles exhibited could not be technically brought within the Statute of Treasons, they contended that acts which tended to subvert the constitution were acts of treason against the king. Our necessary limits will not permit us to go through the various and complicated charges upon which this principle was to be sustained. They were, chiefly, acts of oppression as president of the Council of the North; arbitrary proceedings against individuals as governor of Ireland; a contempt for justice, by his assertion that the Irish were a conquered nation, and that the king might do with them as he pleased. He was charged that, as chief minister of England, he had advised the king, if parliament failed to give him supplies, to levy what he needed by his prerogative; and that after the dissolution of parliament, he said the king had vainly tried the affections of his people, and he was free to do whatever his power would admit. On all these points Pym spoke, having constant reference to the answers which Strafford had put in. Strafford replied; and Pym rejoined. On the third day, Maynard, a lawyer, one of the managers, followed up the accusations regarding Strafford's Irish administration; and Strafford, as before, replied with wondrous readiness—wondrous when it is considered that he was suffering from severe disease, and was alone against a host of enemies. Day after day this contest went on. "Many foul misdemeanours," says May, "committed both in England and Ireland, were daily proved against him: but that ward which the earl, being an eloquent man, especially lay at, was to keep off the blow of high treason, whatsoever misdemeanours should be laid upon him; of which some he denied, others he excused and extenuated with great subtlety, contending, to make anything good, that misdemeanours, though never so many and so great, could not, by being put together, make one treason, unless some one of them had been treason in its own nature." On the thirteenth day of the trial, the 10th of April, Pym moved in the House of Commons that the proceedings should take the new form of a bill of attainder against the earl of Strafford.

There was a rising member of the House, Henry Vane, the son of sir Henry Vane, who was comptroller of the royal household in 1639, and in 1641 was secretary of state. The youthful member for Hull, afterwards so famous as—

"Vane, young in years, but in sage counsel old,"

who, in his early enthusiasm for civil and religious liberty had left all the prospects of ambition which naturally opened to him, to join the colony of New England, had now returned home, as his friend Milton had returned, when the mother country required the service of her children. He was the means of an extraordinary disclosure connected with the counsels of Strafford to the king. On that 10th of April Pym stood up, Henry Vane being in his seat, and produced a paper containing "a copy of notes taken at a junto of the Privy Council for the Scots affairs, about the 5th of May last." Whitelocke thus relates how these notes, which were in the handwriting of old sir Henry Vane, were obtained:—"Secretary Vane, being out of town, sent a letter to his son, sir Henry Vane the younger, then in London, with the key of his study, for his son to look in his cabinet for some papers there, to send

to his father. The son looking over many papers, among them alighted upon these notes; which being of so great concernment to the public, and declaring so much against the earl of Strafford, he held himself bound in duty and conscience to discover them. He showed them to Mr. Pym, who urged him, and prevailed with him, that they might be made use of in the evidence against the earl of Strafford, as being most material, and of great consequence, in relation to that business." Young Vane's breach of his father's confidence will be judged harshly or compassionately, according to the degree in which it is believed that the public good is the supreme law. Old Vane wept in the House when the notes were produced. These notes were the record of a dialogue in which Laud, Hamilton, and Strafford were the speakers in Council; and the words which Strafford addressed to the king were these: "You have an army in Ireland that you may employ to reduce this kingdom to obedience." On the 13th of April, Pym read these notes in Westminster Hall. Lord Clare, Strafford's brother-in-law, contended that *this* kingdom meant Scotland and not England. Strafford took up this point, and maintained that a man's life should not depend upon a single word. The notes were admitted as evidence against him. The whole tenor of Strafford's correspondence can leave no doubt upon the mind of any dispassionate person, at the present day, that Strafford would not have had the slightest hesitation in recommending the king to let him bring the Irish army to England, for the overthrow of the fundamental laws of the realm. The peers of 1641 had not these materials of judgment before them; but they had ample means of knowing that such an intention was in perfect accordance with the principles which Strafford proclaimed and acted upon.

Whilst the bill of attainder was debated in the Commons, the Lords continued to sit judicially in Westminster Hall, as if no such measure were in agitation. After the notes discovered by the younger Vane had been received, Strafford was called upon for his general defence upon the facts, leaving the law to his counsel. He spoke two hours and a half. The hard and prejudiced Principal of Glasgow University says, "He repeated nought new but the best of his former answers; and, in the end, after some lashness and fagging, he made such ane pathetic oration, for ane half hour, as ever comedian did upon a stage. The matter and expression was exceeding brave: doubtless, if he had grace or civil goodness, he is a most eloquent man. The speech you have it here in print. One passage made it most spoken of; his breaking off in weeping and silence, when he spoke of his first wife" Whitelocke, to whom we owe many of the most interesting memorials of this great time, has preserved this peroration in a less perishable form than that of the "Diurnal" which Baillie transmitted to his Scottish friends:

"My Lords, it is hard to be questioned upon a law which cannot be shown. Where hath this fire lain hid so many hundreds of years, without any smoke to discover it, till it thus burst forth to consume me and my children? That punishment should precede promulgation of a law,—to be punished by a law subsequent to the fact, is extreme hard: what man can be safe if this be admitted? My Lords, it is hard in another respect, that there should be no token set, by which we should know this offence, no admonition by which we should avoid it. If a man pass the Thames in a boat, and split upon an anchor, and no buoy be floating to discover it, he who owneth the anchor shall

make satisfaction; but if a buoy be set there, every man passeth at his own peril. Now, where is the mark, where the token upon this crime, to declare it to be high treason? My Lords, be pleased to give that regard to the peerage of England as never to expose yourselves to such moot points, to such constructive interpretations of laws: If there must be a trial of wits, let the subject-matter be of somewhat else than the lives and honours of peers.—It will be wisdom for yourselves, for your posterity, and for the whole kingdom, to cast into the fire these bloody and mysterious volumes of constructive and arbitrary treason, as the Christians did their books of curious arts, and betake yourselves to the plain letter of the law, that telleth us what is, and what is not treason, without being more ambitious to be more learned in the art of killing than our forefathers. It is now full two hundred and forty years since any man was touched for this alleged crime, to this height, before myself: Let us not awaken those sleeping lions to our destructions by raking up a few musty records that have lain by the walls so many ages forgotten or neglected. May your Lordships please not to add this to my other misfortunes: Let not a precedent be derived from me so disadvantageous as this will be in the consequence to the whole kingdom. Do not through me, wound the interest of the commonwealth; and, however these gentlemen say they speak for the commonwealth, yet, in this particular, I indeed speak for it, and show the inconveniences and mischiefs that will fall upon it. For, as it is said in the statute, 1 Hen. IV., no man will know what to do or say for fear of such penalties. Do not put, my Lords, such difficulties upon ministers of state, that men of wisdom, of honour, and of fortune, may not with cheerfulness and safety be employed for the public: If you weigh and measure them by grains and scruples, the public affairs of the kingdom will lie waste; no man will meddle with them who hath anything to lose.

"My Lords, I have troubled you longer than I should have done, were it not for the interest these dear pledges a saint in heaven left me."—Here he paused and shed a few tears.—"What I forfeit for myself is nothing; but that my indiscretion should extend to my posterity woundeth me to the very soul. You will pardon my infirmity; something I should have added, but am not able, therefore let it pass. And now, my Lords, for myself, I have been by the blessing of Almighty God, taught that the afflictions of this present life are not to be compared to the eternal weight of glory which shall be revealed hereafter. And so, my Lords, even so, with all tranquillity of mind I freely submit myself to your judgment; and whether that judgment be of life or death, '*Te Deum laudamus.*'"

When we read these burning words, we can easily believe the statement of May, that the ladies in the galleries were all on Strafford's side. "So great," he says, "was the favour and love which they openly expressed to him, that some could not but think of that verse,

> "Non formosus erat, sed erat facundus Ulysses;
> Et tamen æquoreas torsit amore Deas."

Never was quotation more happy. Strafford was not beautiful, but he was the eloquent Ulysses, who bent the sea-goddesses to his love. After such appeals—not only to "the pity proper to their sex," which May attributes to

Strafford's fair friends, but appeals to all who could be moved by natural sympathy towards a man bearing up so bravely in the presence of imminent danger and under the pressure of disease,—the majestic periods of Pym's reply would fall dull and cold. Even now Strafford touches the heart, whilst Pym holds the understanding in his powerful grasp. There never was a grander scene in the ancient world of "famous orators"—not when Demosthenes "fulmined" against Philip, and Catiline trembled before Cicero—than when Pym, in the presence of the king of England, proclaimed that treason against the people was treason against the throne, and intimated that the sovereign who abetted such treason was not himself safe from "a miserable end." We may drop a tear for the fate of Strafford; but we should ill deserve the freedom which we enjoy under a constitutional monarchy, if we did not feel how much we owe to the noble assertion of the dominion of law over arbitrary power which Pym then sent forth into the heart of England:

"The law hath a power to prevent, to restrain, to repair evils. Without this, all kinds of mischief and distempers will break in upon a state. It is the law that doth entitle the king to the allegiance and service of his people; it entitles the people to the protection and justice of the king. It is God alone who subsists by himself; all other things subsist in a mutual dependence and relation. He was a wise man that said that the king subsisted by the field that is tilled; it is the labour of the people that supports the crown. If you take away the protection of the king, the vigour and cheerfulness of allegiance will be taken away, though the obligation remain. The law is the boundary, the measure, betwixt the king's prerogative and the people's liberty. Whilst these move in their own orbs, they are a support and a security to one another,—the prerogative a cover and defence to the liberty of the people, and the people by their liberty enabled to be a foundation to the prerogative. But if these bounds be so removed that they enter into contestation and conflict, one of these mischiefs must ensue,—if the prerogative of the king overwhelm the people, it will be turned into tyranny; if liberty undermine the prerogative, it will grow into anarchy."

There was not a man in that great assembly who could refuse assent to the truth of these words. Happy would it have been; much misery would have been spared; we might have reached in 1641 what we were struggling for till 1688, had these oracular sentences been equally the guide of prince and people. Charles must have started at the prophetic warning which followed:—

"Arbitrary power is dangerous to the king's person, and dangerous to his crown. It is apt to cherish ambition, usurpation, and oppression, in great men, and to beget sedition and discontent in the people; and both these have been, and in reason must ever be, causes of great trouble and alteration to princes and states. If the histories of those eastern countries be perused, where princes order their affairs according to the mischievous principles of the earl of Strafford, loose and absolved from all rules of government, they will be found to be frequent in combustions, full of massacres, and of the tragical ends of princes. If any man shall look into their own stories, in the times when the laws were most neglected, he shall find them full of commotions, of civil distempers, whereby the kings that then reigned were always kept in want and distress; the people consumed by civil wars; and by such

miserable counsels as these some of our princes have been brought to such a miserable end as no honest heart can remember without horror, and an earnest prayer that it may never be so again."

Again and again Pym asserted his leading principle, that the offences of Strafford constituted the crime of treason, inasmuch as he had "endeavoured by his words, actions, and counsels, to subvert the fundamental laws of England and Ireland, and to introduce an arbitrary and tyrannical government." By the wise law of the reign of Edward VI., all treasons were reduced to the standard of the statute of Edward III., under which the offence was clearly defined as comprising seven distinct heads—1, compassing the death of king, queen, or their heir; 2, the offence which was alleged against the two wives of Henry VIII., and those implicated with them; 3 and 4, levying war against the king, and adhering to the king's enemies; 5 and 6, counterfeiting the king's seal, and counterfeiting the king's money; 7, slaying the king's chancellor, treasurer, or justices. Pym's interpretation of treason appears, therefore, a somewhat forced inference from the actions and counsels of Strafford. And yet, fanciful as it may sound, there is reason in this grand declamation: "Shall it be treason to embase the king's coin, though but a piece of twelvepence or sixpence? And must it not needs be the effect of a greater treason to embase the spirit of his subjects, and to set up a stamp and character of servitude upon them, whereby they shall be disabled to do anything for the service of the king and commonwealth?" It is natural that we should question the justice of such an extension of a definite statute. Mr. Hallam, however, thus qualifies our doubts: "We are not to suppose that the charges against this minister appeared so evidently to fall short of high treason, according to the apprehension of that age, as in later times has usually been taken for granted;" and he points out what we shall have presently to notice, that the judges were of opinion that, upon the articles held by the Peers to be proved against Strafford, he deserved to undergo the penalties of the law.

The close of this great trial in Westminster Hall was dramatic, in the highest sense of that word. Pym wound up his speech with this appalling denunciation:—

"The forfeitures inflicted for treason, by our law, are of life, honour, and estate, even all that can be forfeited; and this prisoner having committed so many treasons, although he should pay all these forfeitures, will be still a debtor to the commonwealth. Nothing can be more equal than that he should perish by the justice of that law which he would have subverted. Neither will this be a new way of blood. There are marks enough to trace this law to the very original of this kingdom; and if it hath not been put in execution, as he allegeth, these two hundred and forty years, it was not for want of law, but that all that time hath not bred a man bold enough to commit such crimes as these." *

Pym had a few more formal words to utter, but having turned round, his eyes met those of Strafford, who was intently gazing on his accuser—the friend of his earlier years—his associate in the great struggle which produced

* The authority for Pym's speech is Rushworth. To understand its power, it should be read complete in Mr. Forster's "Life of Pym."

the Petition of Right, which Charles and his ministers trampled upon.* The ancient friend, whose blood the accuser had demanded in the name of his country, had said, in one passage of his defence, "It pierces my heart, though not with guilt yet with sorrow, that in my grey hairs I should be so misunderstood by the companions of my youth." Their eyes met. Pym faltered. The unimaginative Baillie thus describes, and accounts for, the sudden failure of the great orator: "To humble the man, God let his memory fail him a little before the end. His papers he looked on, but they could not help him to a point or two, so he behoved to pass them."†

The Bill of Attainder of the earl of Strafford was passed by the Commons on the 21st of April. Fifty-nine members voted against it out of a house of two hundred and sixty-three. Amongst them was lord Digby, son of the earl of Bristol. Although he described Strafford as "that grand apostate to the commonwealth who must not expect to be pardoned in this world till he be dispatched to the other," he said, "and yet, let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my hand must not be to that dispatch. I protest, as my conscience stands informed, I had rather it were off." The Bill was carried to the Upper House by Pym, with a message "that it was a Bill that highly concerned the Commonwealth in the expediting of it." The king then went to the House of Lords, and stated that he had been present during the whole trial of Strafford; that he could not condemn him of high-treason; but, said he, "I must confess for matter of misdemeanours, I am so clear in that, that though I will not chalk out the way, yet let me tell you, that I do think my lord Strafford is not fit hereafter to serve me or the commonwealth in any place of trust, no, not so much as that of a constable." This interference was offensive to the Commons, who deemed it a breach of privilege for the king to take notice of any Bill during its passage through Parliament. There were other circumstances ill-calculated to allay the temper of the Commons or the people. Rumours, afterwards distinctly proved not to be without foundation, were rife, of a plot to bring up the army from the north to overawe the parliament, and to effect the release of Strafford. Preachers in the city poured forth invectives against the "great delinquent." Multitudes thronged the approaches to the House of Lords, demanding "Justice." The names of the fifty-nine members of the Commons who had voted against the Bill of Attainder were placarded as "Straffordians, or betrayers of their country." The Peers, consulting with the judges whether some of the articles against Strafford, which they considered proved, amounted to treason, received an unanimous opinion that he had incurred the penalties which the law awarded to that crime. The articles of treason which the Peers deemed proved, were, the fifteenth, which charged the Lord Deputy of Ireland with raising money on his own authority, and quartering troops on the people of Ireland, in order to compel obedience to his unlawful requisitions; and the nineteenth, that which charged him with imposing an unlawful oath on the

* *Ante*, p. 397.

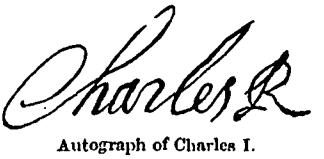
† Baillie describes this concluding oration as "one of the most eloquent, wise, true speeches, that ever we heard, or I think shall ever hear." M. Guizot, referring to the authority of the "State Trials," says that Pym read a prepared answer, without being listened to by any one; and that the look of scorn which Strafford gave him made him falter at the beginning of his speech, "which he had great difficulty in delivering."

Scots in Ireland. In a house of forty-five, twenty-six Peers voted Strafford guilty, and passed the Bill of Attainder.

Whilst this question was under debate in the House of Lords, the Commons were singularly moved by the disclosures which were made of the king's own participation in the design "to disaffect the army to the Parliament;" to bring it up from the north with the view to place absolute power in the Crown. Goring, a colonel in the army, having taken umbrage at some preference shown to Percy, a brother-conspirator, disclosed the plan to lord Newark, who revealed it to other lords, through whom it reached the indefatigable John Pym. He brought the whole matter before the House of Commons. The evidence of this plot, though by no means definite or conclusive, was sufficient to prove that the king had listened to a proposal of appealing to a military force to control the representatives of the people. In the Memoirs of Madame de Motteville, who states that she had the information from the queen herself, there is a relation of this army plot, which is described as a meritorious design, carried on at the desire of the king and queen. Henrietta's favourite, Jermyn, was deeply implicated in it. Even with the imperfect knowledge which the Commons possessed of this somewhat wild scheme of the courtiers, combined with the fact that Strafford had offered twenty thousand pounds to sir William Balfour, the lieutenant of the Tower, to permit his escape, we can scarcely wonder at their immediate adoption of strong measures. Their first resolution was to draw up a Protestation, under oath to defend the Protestant Church, his majesty's person and power, the privileges of parliament, and the lawful rights and liberties of the people. This was immediately sworn to and signed by every member present; was sent to the House of Peers, who all signed except two; and was circulated for general signature through the kingdom. This Protestation became a touchstone of opinions. Some months after, four thousand Buckinghamshire petitioners rode to London with a copy of the Protestation stuck in each man's hat. But the Protestation was of far less consequence than a short bill which was carried in this moment of alarm. Earlier in the session an Act had passed 'for the prevention of inconveniences happening by the long intermission of parliament;" but the Bill which immediately followed the Protestation,—"to prevent inconvenience which may happen by the untimely adjourning, proroguing, or dissolving this present parliament,"—made the Parliament itself the sole arbiter of its own duration. The royal assent was given by commission to this Bill on the 10th of May. On the same day, the same commissioners consented to the Bill of Attainder against the earl of Strafford. On the 11th of May, the king sent a letter to the Lords by the Prince of Wales, in which he desired that a conference might take place with the Commons, to the intent, he said, that "both Houses of Parliament consent, for my sake, that I should moderate the severity of the law in so important a case." This extraordinary postscript was added:—"If he must die, it were charity to reprieve him until Saturday." Strafford had generously written a letter to the king to set his "conscience at liberty," so as to allow him to pass the Bill of Attainder, "for prevention of evils which may happen by your refusal." But it is clear that the earl, who thus gave this last proof of his fidelity, expected another result; for he exclaimed, when it was announced to him that the king had passed the Bill, "Put not your trust in princes." It

is unnecessary here to enter into the question of the weakness or wickedness of the king in consenting to the sacrifice of Strafford. Charles held it, in the subsequent struggle of his life, as his one great fault,—that which was justly punished by Heaven in his misfortunes. Strafford met his fate with the same resolution which had characterised the public actions of his life. He walked to the scaffold, says Rushworth, a spectator of the scene, with the step and manner of "a general marching at the head of an army, to breathe victory, rather than those of a condemned man, to undergo the sentence of death." As he passed the window of the room in which Laud was confined, he asked the blessing of the archbishop, and moving on exclaimed, "God protect your innocency." The firm yet modest demeanour of the great earl produced little mitigation of the dislike of the people. "In the evening of the day wherein he was executed, the greatest demonstrations of joy that possibly could be expressed ran through the whole town, and countries hereabout; and many, that came up to town on purpose to see the execution, rode in triumph back, and with all expressions of joy, through every town they went, crying, 'His head is off, his head is off.'" Warwick, the zealous adherent of the court, tells this, "to show how mad the whole people were, especially in and about this then bloody and brutish city, London." *

* Warwick, "Memoirs," p. 164.



Autograph of Charles I.

Helmets of the time of Charles I. (From specimens at Goodrich Court.)

CHAPTER XXIX.

Act for the non-dissolution of parliament—Jealousy of the Commons—Principal legislative measures—Ship-money; Star-chamber; Local arbitrary Courts; Court of High Commission; Forests; Writs for knighthood—English and Scottish armies disbanded—The king goes to Scotland—Intrigues with Montrose—Parliament re-assembles—The Irish Insurrection—The king's progress to London—Debate on the Remonstrance—The king's entertainment in the city—Struggle of parties—The Remonstrance presented—The king at Whitehall—Tumults—Protest, and committal of twelve bishops—Articles of treason exhibited against lord Kimbolton and five members of the Commons—The king attempts to seize the five members—The house adjourned.

THE consent of the king to the bill for the attainder of Strafford, and to the measure which was afterwards called "The Act for the Perpetual Parliament," can scarcely be attributed to any other feeling than a sense of his immediate weakness. Mr. Hallam imputes Charles's ready acquiescence in this parliamentary bill, to his own shame and the queen's consternation at the discovery of the army plot.* Lord Clarendon says, "after the passing these two bills, the temper and spirit of the people, both within and without the walls of the two Houses, grew marvellous calm and composed."† The Parliament now went boldly and steadily forward in the work of reform. A subsidy and a poll-tax were granted; but another subsidy of tonnage and poundage was granted for a very limited time, from May 25 to July 15; so that the Commons might exercise the right of renewal, according to circumstances. This subsidy was renewed, by subsequent Acts, until July 2, 1642. It is difficult to blame them for this excessive jealousy of the designs of the Crown. The bill for triennial parliaments was absolutely necessary, to take out of the hands of the king the power to govern again without a parliament. The more unconstitutional measure of preventing the dissolution of parliament by the king without its own consent, thus rendering the Commons independent of the Crown and of their own constituents, cannot be justified

* "Constitutional History," c. 9.

† "Rebellion," vol. i. p. 459, ed. 1826.

upon any principle consistent with the just balance of the monarchical and democratic interests in the State. Nothing but a well-grounded suspicion of the designs of the king could have induced both Houses hastily to pass such a measure, upon the simple allegation that money could not be borrowed under the authority of parliament if there was a prospect of its being suddenly dissolved. "It is impossible to think," writes sir Philip Warwick, "how so intelligent a person as this king was, should by any persuasions, which certainly were great on the queen's side, or treachery, which certainly was great on the side of many of his great courtiers, be induced thus to divest himself of all majesty and power." * The queen, under the influence of terror, as some have believed, but more probably with the hope of procuring the interference of foreign powers to restore the absolute authority of Charles, was preparing to leave the country. The princess royal was betrothed to the eldest son of the prince of Orange. A secret article of the treaty stipulated that the prince should assist the king, if the disputes with his Parliament came to an open rupture. The queen, a few months later, alleging her ill-health, wished to seek a remedy in the Spa-waters. Upon the remonstrance of both Houses of Parliament she consented to remain in England. Amidst the contradictory and obscure traces of court secrets, one thing is manifest—that there was not the slightest approach to a real union between the king and the Parliament for the public good. The royal concessions were made with a sort of recklessness which argues that there was a hope and belief that they might become nugatory under some turn of fortune. The suspicions of the Commons were never wholly set at rest.

In the great legislative measures of this session, the Houses were invariably anxious to rest their reforms upon the ancient foundations of law and liberty. Thus in the Statute granting Tonnage and Poundage, it is declared and enacted, "That it is and hath been the ancient right of the subjects of this realm, that no subsidy, custom, impost, or other charge whatsoever ought or may be laid or imposed upon any merchandise, exported or imported by subjects, denizens, or aliens, without common consent in Parliament." † In "An Act for the declaring unlawful and void the late proceedings touching ship-money," it is declared that the writs and judgments thereupon "were and are contrary to and against the laws and statutes of the realm, the right of property, the liberty of the subject, former resolutions in parliament, and the Petition of Right made in the third year of the reign of his majesty that now is." ‡ Again and again the principle of arbitrary taxation was made to bear its death-knell. In the Act for dissolving the Court of Star Chamber and taking away the whole of its powers, all the ancient statutes, including the Great Charter, which declare that no freeman shall be imprisoned or condemned but by judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land, are recited; and it is affirmed that the authority of the Star Chamber, under the Statute of Henry VII., has been abused, and the decrees of the Court have been found "to be an intolerable burthen to the subjects, and the means to introduce an arbitrary power and government." § This Statute not only abolishes the Court of Star Chamber, but the jurisdiction of the Courts of the Marches

* "Memoirs," p. 181.
† 16 Car. I. c. 8.
‡ 16 Car. I. c. 14.
§ 16 Car. I. c. 10.

of Wales, of the Northern Parts, of the Duchy of Lancaster, and of the County Palatine of Chester. Under these arbitrary Courts one-third of the people had been deprived of the protection of Common-law, and were at the mercy of such local despots as Strafford.

In the Act for abolishing the Court of High Commission, it is maintained that, under the Statute of the first of Elizabeth "concerning commissioners for causes ecclesiastical," the commissioners "have to the great and insufferable wrong and oppression of the king's subjects used to fine and imprison them, and to exercise other authority not belonging to ecclesiastical jurisdiction." The Act of abolition goes farther, and takes from the Ecclesiastical Courts the power to inflict temporal penalties for spiritual offences.* The "Act for the certainty of forests, and of the meres, meets, limits, and bounds of the forests," goes back to the days of Edward I. as to ancient boundaries, and, reprehending their real or pretended extension confines forests within such limits as were recognised in the twentieth year of James I. † In "An Act for preventing vexatious proceedings touching the order of knighthood," reference is made to an ancient usage that men seised of lands to the yearly value of forty pounds might be compelled to take upon themselves the order of knighthood, or else to make fine; but it declares that many have been put to grievous fines and vexations, for declining to receive the same dignity, being wholly unfit for it in estate or quality. In all these enactments for the removal of great oppressions, constant reference is had to the origin of the abuses. There is no unreasoning pretext for their abolition, as if the subject were to be benefited by arbitrarily curtailing the prerogative of the Crown. Clarendon fully admits all the abuses which these enactments swept away; and yet, in the spirit of that ignoble belief which he has done so much to perpetuate, that justice to the subject can only be derived from the favour of the sovereign, he says, of these Acts of Parliament, that they "will be acknowledged by an uncorrupted posterity, to be everlasting monuments of the king's princely and fatherly affection to his people." ‡ Much more rationally do we now feel that, "in by far the greater part of the enactments of 1641, the monarchy lost nothing that it had anciently possessed; and the balance of our constitution might seem rather to have been restored to its former equipoise than to have undergone any fresh change." § It is to the Long Parliament, in this triumphant session, that we owe a new era of civil liberty. If they had rested here in their great work, they would have placed the political rights of Englishmen upon the broad foundation upon which the national greatness and security has been since built up. Other questions, incident to the particular crisis, prevented that concord between the sovereign and the people upon which the safety of the monarchy must rest.

The pacification with Scotland was concluded by Act of Parliament; ‖ and by another Act, the sum of 300,000*l.* was agreed "to be given for a friendly assistance and relief towards the supply of the losses and necessities of our brethren of Scotland." ¶ On the 10th of August the king left London for Scotland. On the 9th of September the Parliament adjourned.

* 16 Car. I. c. 14.
† 16 Car. I. c. 16.
‡ "Rebellion," vol. i. p. 504
§ Hallam, vol. ii. c. 9.
‖ 16 Car. I. c. 17
¶ 16 Car. I. c. 18.

Charles had manifested great impatience to proceed to Scotland. On his journey he passed through the English army in the north, which was disbanding; and he dined at Newcastle with Lesley, the general of the Scottish army, which was returning home. The king was accompanied by two commissioners named by the Lords, and four named by the Commons, amongst whom was Hampden. Clarendon calls them "spies." There was no discourtesy between Charles and these commissioners; but they were evidently there to watch and counteract his secret designs. The king had met the Scottish Parliament; had sanctioned all their proceedings even to the abolition of episcopacy; and seemed bent upon securing the affections of the nation by swearing to the terms of the Covenant, and attending the presbyterian worship. There can be no doubt that he was plotting to destroy those whom he chose to consider as his personal enemies. Montrose had been in correspondence with the king. Argyle had intercepted a letter in cypher, and the Parliament had imprisoned the daring man who was now the great supporter of the old order of affairs in the Scottish Church and State. Montrose contrived to correspond with Charles, through one of his pages, offering to produce proofs of the secret communications of Hamilton and Argyle, with Hampden, Pym, and other parliamentary leaders, to bring the Scottish army into England in 1640. Hamilton and Argyle, having learnt that they were in danger of liberty or life, absented themselves. For Montrose had endeavoured to persuade the king to arrest them, and if resistance was made, to remove them by assassination. Such was political and religious hatred, when mixed up with the semi-barbarism of Scottish clanship. Clarendon says, "the king abhorred that expedient." There was great alarm in Edinburgh; but the king and the Scottish parliament thought it wise to accommodate matters; and the nobles returned to receive marks of honour from Charles. But Hampden and the other commissioners saw the danger with which they might be threatened. "The leaders," says M. Guizot, "thought their former relations with the Scottish insurgents had been pardoned, together with the rebellion itself, by the last treaty of peace." It was natural that they should so think. The Act of Parliament for the pacification has these express words: "It is expedient for making the peace and unity of his Majesty's dominions the more firm and faithful, and that his Majesty's countenance against all fears may shine upon them all the more comfortably, that an Act of Pacification and Oblivion be made in the Parliament of all the three kingdoms for burying in forgetfulness all acts of hostility, whether betwixt the king and his subjects or between subject and subject, or which may be conceived to arise upon the coming of any English army against Scotland, or the coming of the Scottish army into England, or upon any action, attempt, assistance, counsel, or device, having relation thereto and falling out by the occasion of the late troubles preceding the conclusion of the treaty and the return of the Scottish army into Scotland; that the same and whatsoever hath ensued thereupon whether touching upon the laws and liberties of the Church and kingdom, or upon his Majesty's honour and authority, in no time hereafter may be called in question or resented as a wrong national or personal, whatsoever be the quality of the person or persons, or of whatsoever kind or degree civil or criminal the injury be supposed to be, and that no mention be made thereof in time coming, neither in judgment nor out of judgment,

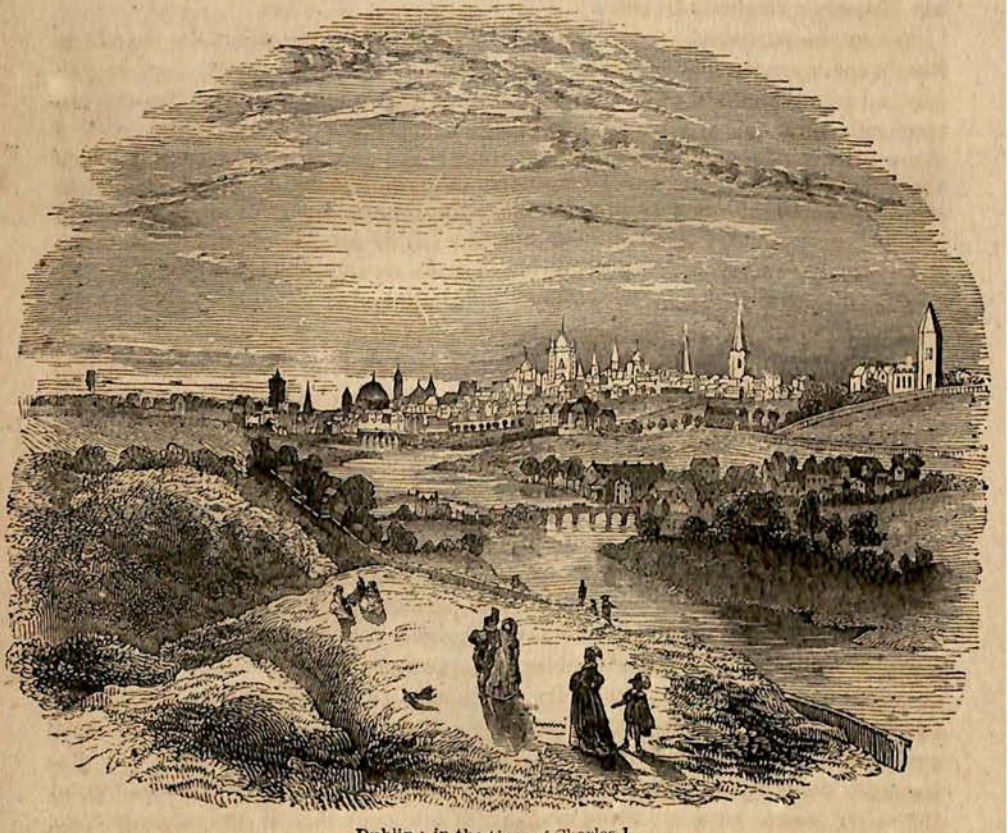
but that it shall be held and reputed as though never any such thing had been thought nor wrought." The Statute for the pacification does not expressly pass such an Act of Oblivion; but after the king by his royal assent had declared its expediency, this manifestation of duplicity could only tend to widen the breach between the sovereign and the legislature.

During the parliamentary recess a Committee sat at Westminster; and they instituted inquiries, and authorised acts, which were certainly beyond their legislative functions. The news from Scotland led this Committee to believe, according to Clarendon, that "there was some desperate design on foot;" and he adds that the Scottish business, which was called "the incident," "had a strange influence at Westminster, and served to contribute to all the senseless fears they thought fit to entertain." * Other news soon came to Westminster that produced there, and throughout the kingdom, a consternation far more intense and lasting than any "senseless fears." The House of Commons re-assembled on the 20th of October. On the 25th the Lords of the Council communicated to the House that a fearful insurrection had broken out in Ireland; and shortly after the king sent a letter to the Parliament, apprising them of a "formed rebellion" which must be prosecuted with a sharp war; "the conducting and prosecuting which he wholly committed to their care and wisdom." A Committee of both houses at once took upon themselves the authority thus confided to them; "the mischief whereof, though in the beginning little taken notice of," says Clarendon, "was afterwards felt by the king very sensibly." Such a voluntary concession of the executive power to the legislature was indeed a dangerous precedent.

The Irish insurrection of 1641 was one of the most terrible events in the history of that unhappy country. It was an event which long perpetuated the hatred between the Irish natives and the English settlers, and in a series of bitter revenges kept alive the more deadly animosity between Catholics and Protestants. The Irish army, which had been raised by Strafford, had been kept together against the desire of the Parliament. The king had wished to establish that army in Flanders, to be ready for any service under the king of Spain; but his plan had been prevented by a parliamentary resolution, which afterwards became a law, against "the raising and transporting of forces of horse or foot out of his Majesty's dominions of England or Ireland." This Catholic army was therefore disbanded; and it became a dangerous power in a distracted country. The vigilant rule of Strafford was at an end. There was no resident viceroy. The government was administered by the two lords' justices. The Protestant troops in Ireland were few, and they were scattered. Charles had striven to prevent the disbanding of Strafford's eight thousand papists; and after that measure was accomplished, he had intrigued to prevent the dispersion of these men. They were told to rally round their sovereign, and by defending the throne prevent the extirpation of the ancient religion. A general rising was at length determined upon amongst some Irish chieftains and some of the ancient settlers of the Pale, for the purpose of seizing the castle of Dublin, and proclaiming that they would support the sovereign in all his rights. The plot was betrayed as far as regarded the attack upon Dublin castle; but Ulster was in open insurrection on the 22nd

* Appendix to "History of Rebellion," vol. ii. p. 576 (ed. 1826).

of October. Sir Phelim O'Neal was at the head of thirty thousand men. What was intended to be an insurrection, for the redress of civil wrongs and the removal of religious disabilities, soon became a general massacre of Protestants. The conspirators in Ulster were rendered desperate by the failure of the plot for the seizure of Dublin. The puritan settlers of the north were especially obnoxious to those who were in arms. They were driven from their houses in an inclement season. They fled to the hills and morasses, where they perished of hunger. They were put to death, with all the horrors that only savages and fanatics can inflict. Women and children were murdered with relentless fury. Multitudes fled towards Dublin as their only city of refuge. The number of those that perished has been variously estimated. Clarendon says that "about forty or fifty thousand of the English Protestants



Dublin; in the time of Charles I.

were murdered before they suspected themselves to be in any danger, or could provide for their defence by drawing themselves into towns or strong houses." Troops at length arrived from England; and after months of horror the insurrection was quelled. The king could never wholly remove the belief that he had instigated this fearful rising, or had connived at it. The Irish insurgents themselves pretended that they acted under the royal authority. There is a

curious illustration of this circumstance in a manuscript relation of the "Siege of Ballgaly Castle," in the County of Clare, at the beginning of 1642, written by one of the besieged. "After this the enemy would daily in our sight draw forth their skenes and swords, flourishing them, swearing many dangerous oaths that ere long they would draw us forth and hack us to pieces, terming us puritan rogues, and all the base names that might be invented, vowing that shortly sir Phelim O'Neal, and at least 40,000 soldiers, would come into Thomond and not leave a Protestant living, praying heartily for them, pretending that they then fought for them, but within a short time after they pretended that they were wholly the queen's army, and that she and her mother were in the north aiding them, but no Protestant admitted to look upon her. This note suddenly altered, and then they were all for the king, vowing deeply that they had his Majesty's commission for what they did, and that they were his Majesty's Catholic forces." *

When the parliamentary commissioners quitted Edinburgh they urged the king's speedy return to London. His intentions were, however, kept secret. He had left the earl of Essex commander of the forces south of Trent; but the earl was not in the confidence of the court. The queen, on the 20th of November, writes to the secretary of state that he may now tell Essex when the king is coming; for, she adds, "the king commanded me to tell this to my lord of Essex, but you may do it, for these lordships are too great princes now to receive any directions from me."† In his progress from Scotland the king was received with demonstrations of respect and affection. At York he was told by the mayor, "our wintry woods assume spring leaves to welcome home so indulgent a sovereign." At Stamford the mayor alluded to the Irish rebellion, expressing his conviction that "although Rome's hens should daily hatch of its preposterous eggs crocodiliferous chickens, yet under our royal sovereign we should not fear." The king was to reach London on the 25th, and there to dine with the lord mayor, who was a devoted royalist. It was natural that the people of themselves should express these sentiments of good will to Charles. A vast number of the grievances of the nation had been swept away, and the people would necessarily attribute much of the merit to the king, and be willing to lay aside their doubts and complainings. It is not easy to understand why the parliamentary leaders should have chosen the moment of the king's return to greet him, not with their professions of love, but with the strongest remonstrance against the whole tenour of his past government. The only solution is that they acted under a distinct persuasion that it was impossible, at that time, that a just balance could be restored between the monarchic and the democratic principle, unless one power yielded something more than had been already conceded, or the other power gave up some of the advantages which it had already won. The conviction in the mind of the king that he had a right to be absolute had never been removed or lessened by the events of the past twelve months. The resolution of the Commons that he should not be again absolute was as strong as ever. But at this crisis the men who had been unanimous in 1640 divided into two great parties,—those who held that the monarchy should be

* "Narratives of the Contests in Ireland." Camden Society.
† Green's "Letters of Henrietta Maria," p. 46.

still more abridged of its power, and those who believed that any further assertion of parliamentary authority would be to destroy the monarchy. With the question of the due limits of popular rights was mixed up the equally difficult question, whether episcopacy should be regulated or abolished; and this question, in time, became merged in the wider question, whether England, like its neighbour kingdom, should become presbyterian, or whether all state religion should come to an end, and every congregation of Christians be a church of itself. We cannot understand the real spirit of this great time, if we judge the parties and the individuals in an uncharitable temper—if we believe that the cavaliers, as the loyalists were called, meant to fight for slavery and popery; and that the roundheads, as the parliamentarians were called, were furious anarchists or blind fanatics. An Englishman who will now look honestly and calmly at the events of this period, will rejoice that he is descended from men who, whatever be their opinions, were earnest in their advocacy; who were, for the most part, no trading politicians, merely intent upon their individual advancement; who were truly heroic in their passionate loyalty or their passionate love of civil or religious liberty; who, whether vilified as profligates or as hypocrites, displayed, each in his own way, some of the noblest traits of human character; for they each were fighting with a conviction that the eye of God was upon them, and the greater number of them, whether Episcopalian, Presbyterian, or Independent, believing in his conscience that he was doing God's work in the world.

The debate on the Remonstrance was the great trial of strength in the House of Commons. That debate began at nine o'clock of the morning of the 22nd of November. It went on through that day till it grew dark. Candles were called for. Twelve hours of passionate talk, and yet no rest. The House thinned under the faintness and exhaustion of this unusual sitting. But the excitement was greater than the weariness. The Remonstrance was adopted by one hundred and fifty-nine votes against one hundred and forty-eight. "At three of the clock in the morning," says Philip Warwick, "when they voted it, I thought we had all sat in the valley of the shadow of death; for we, like Joab's and Abner's young men, had catched at each other's locks, and sheathed our swords in each other's bowels, had not the sagacity and great calmness of Mr. Hampden, by a short speech, prevented it, and led us to defer our angry debate till next day." The Remonstrance had been carried, but the "angry debate" was continued on the question of printing it. As they went into the house, Falkland said to Cromwell that "it would take some debate," which Cromwell doubted. As they went out, Falkland asked Cromwell whether it had been debated? to which he answered, "he would take his word another time; and whispered him in the ear, with some asseveration, that if the Remonstrance had been rejected, he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never have seen England more; and he knew there were many honest men of the same resolution." This statement of Clarendon has been called "a vague report, gathered over dining-tables long after, to which the reader need not pay more heed than it merits." † This Remonstrance is a document of 206 articles. It may be read in Rushworth

* Warwick's "Memoirs," p. 202.
† Carlyle's "Cromwell's Letters." Vol. I. p. 95.

and Rapin, and its general tone is very like a declaration of war by one potentate against another. We do not believe what Clarendon affirms, that "the only end of passing it was to incline the people to sedition;" but we may admit with Mr. Hallam, that if Charles "were intended to reign at all, and to reign with any portion either of the prerogative of an English king, or the respect claimed by every sovereign, the Remonstrance of the Commons could but prolong an irritation incompatible with public tranquillity." *

The manifestations of popular feeling at this eventful period can scarcely be regarded as indications of public opinion. There can be no doubt that, on either side, many arts were practised to procure such demonstrations as might influence the temper of Parliament, or support the wishes of the king. One of the most important of these was the splendid welcome that was given by the city of London to Charles on the 25th of November. Clarendon says, "Gourney, the lord mayor, was a man of wisdom and courage, and expressed great indignation to see the city so corrupted by the ill artifices of factious persons; and therefore attended upon his majesty, at his entrance into the city, with all the lustre and good countenance it could show, and as great professions of duty as it could make or the king expect." The "Ovatio Carolina," as this reception was called in a pompous account of the ceremonial,† was in many respects the greatest pageant that "the royal chamber" of London had ever witnessed, The lord mayor and aldermen, and five hundred horsemen selected from the liveries, in velvet and plush coats, with pendants, and footmen, and trumpeters, rode out to Kingsland. A new way through the fields was made to Shoreditch, for the ordinary road was "impassable, in regard to the depth and foulness of it." The lord mayor had a tent pitched in the fields near Kingsland, and thither the king and queen, with the prince of Wales, and the duke of York, and the princess Mary, were escorted by the sheriffs. Alighting from the royal coach, the king received an address, to which he answered, that he was returned with as hearty and kind affection to his people in general, and to London in particular, as could be desired by loving subjects. To mark his particular affection to the city, he gave back "that part of Londonderry" from which the citizens had been evicted. "This, I confess," he said, "is now no great gift; but I intend first to recover it, and then to give it you whole and entirely." Perhaps some of

Lady Mayoress of London. (Hollar's Theatrum Mulierum.)

* "Constitutional History," vol. ii. c. ix. † "Harleian Miscellany," vol. v. p. 86. edit. of 1810.

that assembly might have recollected that Londonderry was taken from the citizens because they had refused to comply with the illegal demand of a forced loan. Onward went the gorgeous cavalcade to Moorgate, and so on to the Guildhall; and the houses were hung with tapestry, and the conduits ran with claret-wine, and the people cried "God bless, and long live, king Charles and queen Mary." The banquet was of proportionate spendour; and the old hall was brilliant on that November day with the gorgeous dresses of lords and ladies; and the city dames vied in splendour with the high-born; and it seemed in that hour of festival as if in that large town of seven hundred thousand people all were of one accord of loyal content. After the banquet, the king and the court were conducted in solemn procession to Whitehall, the footmen carrying lighted torches, "so that the night seemed to be turned to day." But even amidst this well-arranged demonstration, there was doubt and alarm. The multitude gazed from behind the rails four feet distant from the houses, and admired the splendid array of courtiers and citizens, of footmen and whifflers. But "because some seditious libels were at that time dis-

Whiffler and Henchboy.

persed, which bred a panic fear in some, order was taken, that there should be two companies of the city's trained bands placed in several parts of the city upon that day; as also that at every door a man should be placed, sufficiently appointed, to be ready upon all occasions to appease any disorders." *

The reception of the king by the city appears to have given him confidence in making a demonstration of his disposition towards the Parliament. He withdrew the guard which Essex had appointed for the security of the two Houses. The struggle of parties quickly began to assume a more formidable character. Men of great influence changed their sides. The earl of Holland, who had been a successful courtier in the time of James I.; who was afterwards a favourite of Charles's queen; and whom the king, says Clarendon,

* "Ovatio Carolina."

"but four months before had looked on as his own creature, as he had good reason to account himself from the beginning, joined himself close to and concurred with those councils which, with the greatest bitterness, were held against him." Holland House, at Kensington, one of the few mansions whose quaint architecture carries us back two centuries and a-half, was the scene of many a secret deliberation of the popular party. The earl of Essex and the earl of Leicester also took their side with those who were considered the king's enemies. On the other hand, Mr. Hyde, though without office, had become an adviser of the king. So, also, sir John Colepepper, one of the

Holland House.

most able of the parliamentary leaders. More important than either, was the subsequent accession of lord Falkland to the king's councils. Colepepper became chancellor of the exchequer; and Falkland, in a short time after, secretary of state. Falkland was most reluctant to accept office; but he yielded to the persuasions of Hyde. With this additional support of able and moderate advisers, Charles might have attained the enviable position of a patriot king had he adhered to their advice, which, without any violent compromise of their former opinions, would have tended to the maintenance of tranquillity. The Remonstrance of the Commons was presented to Charles at Hampton Court on the 1st of December. He received it with temper The Remonstrance was published; and the king's answer to it, written by Hyde, was also published. But the king had other advisers with whom moderate measures were the last in their thoughts. Falkland had not openly

seceded from his party till after the king, by one rash act which we shall presently have to relate, and the Commons, by a series of demands for power which grew more imperative as the control of the House fell into the hands of the more violent, had each rendered it impossible that a pacification could be effected, without unduly crippling the monarchy, or without returning to absolutism. The battle had to be fought out by physical force. The wordy war was coming to an end.

Two days after the Committee of the House of Commons had been at Hampton Court with the Remonstrance, the lord mayor and a select number of aldermen of London arrived there with an address. It was a harmless policy thus to attempt a counter manifestation of public opinion, as if to neutralise the acts of the Commons. But the machinery was very insufficient for the object. The lord mayor implored the king and the queen to return to Whitehall, "to give a good quickening to the retail trade;" and the king said he would return. The lord mayor begged that the king would not impute to the city, or to the better sort of citizens, disorders which had occurred about Westminster; for "the skirts of the city are more populous than the city itself, fuller of the meaner sort of people;" and if any dwellers in the city should have been concerned in such disorders, "as who can deny among millions of people, some there may be," yet their purpose was unknown to the city magistrates. This loose way of talking of millions of people, as inhabitants of the capital, long prevailed. And so the king and his family, at the sole instance of the obedient portion of the corporation of London, returned to the palace of Whitehall a few days after, "there to keep their Christmas," as the king had promised. It was an awful Christmas and an awful new year. For six centuries of occasional troubles—of kings dethroned, of the red rose and the white alternately prevailing, of Tyler and Cade insurrections, of papist and protestant struggles,—the State had never been so near anarchy as in this winter of 1641.[1] The real constitutional strength, both of the king and the Parliament, was so balanced, that military power or popular fury might each decide the preponderance. About Whitehall gathered bands of ardent gentlemen of town and country, some of generous loyalty and unstained life, but more of loose habits and broken fortunes,—full of contempt for puritans, and perfectly ignorant of the real causes of difference between the king and the Parliament. Many of them were Romanists. Ludlow's account, however coloured, is true in the main as to the character of those who called themselves the king's body-guard. "The king, finding that nothing less would satisfy the Parliament than a thorough correction of what was amiss, and full security of their rights from any violation for the future, considered how to put a stop to their proceedings; and to that end encouraged a great number of loose debauched fellows about the town to repair to Whitehall, where a constant table was provided for their entertainment. Many gentlemen of the Inns of Court were tampered with to assist him in his design, and things brought to that pass, that one of them said publicly in my hearing, 'What! shall we suffer those fellows at Westminster to domineer thus? Let us go into the country and bring up our tenants to pull them out.'"* The king gave a sanction to the opinion that

* "Memoirs," vol. i. p. 21.

he contemplated a resort to force, in his injudicious appointment of a Romanist and a desperado, Colonel Lunsford, to be Governor of the Tower. Clarendon thus speaks of the appointment:—"The king, finding that the seditious preachers every day prevailed in the city of London, and corrupted the affections and loyalty of the meaner people towards the government of the Church and State, resolved to put that place, which some men fancied to be a bridle upon the city, into the hands of such a man as he might rely upon."* The Commons requested the Peers to join them in a petition against this appointment; but the king superseded Lunsford upon the private advice of the Peers. The popular cry finally set in against the bishops. A bill was before the Lords, which had been carried in the other House six months before, for taking away the votes of bishops and removing them from the House of Peers. In August, thirteen of the bishops had been impeached by the Commons, for having taken part in passing the Canons of 1640. The archbishop of Canterbury was still imprisoned in the Tower. The idea of the abolition of episcopacy was become familiarised to the people by the example of Scotland, and by the ready adhesion which the king had given to the presbyterian establishment there in his recent visit. There was now a change in the demonstrations of the corporation of London. A petition of the aldermen and common council was carried to Westminster in a procession of sixty coaches, praying that the House of Commons would still be a means to concur with the king and the Lords in redressing the grievances of Church and State; "and for the better effecting thereof that the popish lords and bishops may be removed out of the House of Peers." The apprentices of London also agreed to a petition to the king, showing that they found by experience, great mischiefs coming upon their masters' tradings, "to nip them in the bud when they were first entering into the world; the cause of which they could attribute to no other but the papists and the prelates, and that malignant party which adhered to them." Truly enough does Clarendon call this apprentices' petition "such stuff." But the popular cry daily gathered strength. It was small poetical exaggeration in the author of "Hudibras" thus to unite "All cries about the town," in one "hideous shout," around the palace, "to cry the bishops down:"

"The oyster-women lock'd their fish up,
And trudg'd away, to cry, *No Bishop.*
The mouse-trap men laid save-alls by,
And 'gainst evil counsellors did cry.
Botchers left old clothes in the lurch,
And fell to turn and patch the Church.
Some cry'd the Covenant, instead
Of pudding-pies, and ginger-bread.
And some for brooms, old boots and shoes,
Bawl'd out to purge the Common-house:
Instead of kitchen-stuff, some cry,
A Gospel-preaching ministry;
And some for old suits, coats, or cloak,
No surplices nor Service-book." †

Fish-wife.

* "Rebellion," vol. ii. p. 81.

† Part i. canto ii. line 540.

"The Christmas holidays giving more leave and licence to all kind of people, the concourse grew more numerous about Westminster." * As the audacity of the multitude increased, so did the fury of the cavaliers. Colonel Lunsford, disappointed of his governorship of the Tower, and other officers, were now engaged in skirmishes with the apprentices and such leaders of the daily mobs. "From these contestations the two terms of Roundhead and Cavalier grew to be received in discourse," says Clarendon. The hair of the London apprentices was cut close about their ears, and hence the name of contempt. The factions, royalist, and parliamentarian, were bitter in their reproaches against each other as encouragers of these passionate outbreaks. The dogged cries of the multitude, the insolent speeches of the king's friends, might have passed off without any serious results beyond a few broken heads, had not the bishops themselves become mixed up in the affray. Clarendon, who bore a decided ill-will to Williams, the archbishop of York, attributes the evil results to the Church, chiefly to the pride and passion of this archbishop. Hearing a youth in the street vociferating "no bishops," the fiery Welshman seized him, and there was a great scuffle, in which the archbishop's robes were torn from his back. He returned to his house, the deanery of Westminster, and having assembled twelve of the bishops, who had been often prevented attending in their places in parliament through these tumults, proposed "that they might unanimously and presently prepare a protestation to send to the House, against the force that was used upon them: and against all the acts which were, or should be, done during the time that they should by force be kept from doing their duties in the House." The archbishop soon drew this document, which all signed; and forthwith carried it to the king at Whitehall, who directed the lord keeper to present it to the Peers. The immediate result was that the Commons accused of high treason all those who had signed the paper; and the whole twelve were committed. "In all the extremity of frost, at eight o'clock in the dark evening, are we voted to the Tower," writes Joseph Hall, bishop of Norwich—one who suffered much persecution undeservedly, but whose character was safe in the hands of impartial posterity. Imprudent and illegal as was this protest, it was a bold stretch of party-feeling to call it treasonable. In the debate on the bishops' offence in the House of Commons, one member only spoke in their behalf, and said, "he did not believe that they were guilty of high treason, but that they were stark mad; and therefore desired they might be sent to Bedlam." †

The cry of "no bishop" was certainly not an expression of the national opinion. Although the arrogance and indiscretions of some of the higher clergy, and their extravagant enforcement of offensive ceremonies, had disgusted many sober and religious persons, and even at this time had called forth a petition for the reformation of the episcopal order from seven hundred beneficed clergymen, there was by no means a general sympathy with those who sought the destruction of the establishment. The Scots who were in England in 1641 were dreading that the people would be content with a modified episcopacy. "All are for the creating," writes Baillie, "of a kind of presbytery, and for bringing down the bishops, in all things spiritual and temporal, so low as can

* Clarendon. † Clarendon, vol. ii. p. 121.

be with any subsistence; but their utter abolition, which is the aim of the most godly, is the knot of the question." By "the most godly" the exclusive presbyterian meant those only of his own persuasion. What was called "the root and branch party" was especially strong in London; and the House of Commons had come to a resolution for the abolition of episcopacy before the adjournment in 1641, by a majority of thirty-one, upon a bill brought in by sir Edward Dering. Archbishop Usher had prepared a scheme of reformation, under which each county was to be a diocese, with a governing college, or presbytery, of twelve, under the presidency of a bishop; and the House also voted for this plan. The measure for excluding the bishops from the House of Peers, which was the cause of the popular agitation in the Christmas of 1641, was supported by many who had no desire to subvert the church, or to establish an ecclesiastical democracy. Falkland was one of those who went to this extent. But to minds like that of Falkland, earnest for civil and religious liberty, but also attached to the ancient institutions; disliking the persecutions which the non-conformists had endured, but also offended by the narrow and bitter spirit of the puritans; opposed to popish superstitions, but yet disgusted by the desecration of holy places, and by the insults offered to the ministers of religion—to minds of this anti-fanatical and tolerant cast the temper of the parliamentary leaders, and of the populace at this period, must have been the signal for their ultimate separation from their party. In this revolution of England, as in all other revolutions, those who halt between two opinions can scarcely expect to be the victors. It is for the Cromwells to go forward, ever confident and self-willed, from imminent danger to triumphant success; but it is for the Falklands to ingeminate the word "Peace, Peace;" and to seek death in the battle-field as the only refuge of hearts broken through the desolation of their country.*

With these fearful contentions around the king's palace and the houses of parliament—Lunsford and his cavaliers drawing their swords upon the city apprentices in Westminster Hall on one day, and the apprentices returning in great force on another day, crying out "Slash us now"—the Commons again petitioned the king for a guard under the command of the earl of Essex. This guard the king refused, except it were under an officer appointed by himself. The leaders of the Commons had too many friends about the court not to know that some crisis was approaching. The king had, no doubt, reasonable fears that it was contemplated to deprive him of the control of the military force of the kingdom; and this, which was the great point of difference in all subsequent attempts at negotiation, might have led him to the adoption of the fatal measure which shut out all hopes of tranquillity. On the 31st of December it was voted in the Commons "that the House be resolved into a Committee on Monday next, January 3rd, to take into consideration the Militia of the kingdom." From the time of the army plot in May, 1641, it had been the object of the Commons to vest the command of the Militia in persons nominated by themselves. We have several times had occasion to point out that there was no regular military force kept up, except a few soldiers retained for the defence of fortresses. In earlier times of danger, the people were called out under commissions of array.

* See Clarendon's famous character of Falkland, vol. iv. p. 240.

When invasion was apprehended, as on the alarm of the Spanish Armada, the sovereign exercised the power of mustering and training the population for the common defence. The royal authority for arming the people in time of peace was very doubtful. Thus the Parliament, whilst the question of the Militia was in dispute, authorised "An Act for the better raising and levying of soldiers for the present defence of the kingdoms of England and Ireland," in which it was declared that, "by the laws of this realm, none of his majesty's subjects ought to be impressed, or compelled to go out of his county to serve as a soldier in the wars, except in case of necessity of the sudden coming in of strange enemies into the kingdom, or except they be otherwise bound by the tenure of their lands or possessions." * There appeared no legal provision for calling out the Militia in time of peace, except by a new Act of Parliament. With our present knowledge of the constitutional powers of the sovereign, we can have no hesitation in affirming that the power of nominating the officers of such a force was necessarily a part of the royal prerogative; and that the requisition of the Commons to place the command of the Militia in the hands of lords-lieutenant of each county, to be nominated in a bill, and to obey the orders of the two Houses, was an undue invasion of the rights of the Crown. But, on the other hand, we must not forget that in the case of Charles he had manifested a disposition, which Strafford had distinctly encouraged, to employ an army to make himself absolute. The king and the parliament were at issue upon the vital point as to which should wield the power of the sword. The Commons suspected the king. The king hated the Commons. The question of the Militia, and the question of episcopacy, were the questions that made the opening year of 1642 the most ominous in English history. The king endeavoured to solve the grand difficulty by what, in modern times, is called a *coup-d'état.*

When Charles, at this period of tumult and alarm, had bestowed office on Colepepper and Falkland, and had sought the councils of Hyde, he "declared that he would do nothing that in any degree concerned or related to his service in the House of Commons without their joint advice, and exact communication to them of all his own conceptions." So writes Clarendon, adding, "which without doubt his majesty did at that time stedfastly resolve, though in very few days he did very fatally swerve from it." The historian then describes the influence possessed over the king by lord Digby, who he represents as a man of great vanity, ambition, and self-confidence. "The king himself," he says, "was the unfittest person alive to be served by such a counsellor, being too easily inclined to sudden enterprises, and as easily startled when they were entered upon." Thus, he says, "a very unhappy counsel was proposed and resolution taken, without the least communication with either of the three who had been so lately admitted to an entire trust." It would have been difficult for an enemy of Charles to have more strongly depicted the weakness, rashness, and faithlessness of his character, than in these words of his friend and panegyrist.

On the 2nd of January, when the king sent his refusal to the Commons to appoint a guard for their security, he added, "We do engage to you solemnly, on the word of a king, that the security of all and every one of you

* 16 Car. I. c. 28.

from violence is, and ever shall be, as much our care as the preservation of ourselves and our children." On the 3rd of January, the attorney-general, sir Edward Herbert, appeared at the bar of the House of Lords, and in the king's name accused of high-treason, lord Kimbolton, and five members of the Commons. These members were Pym, Hollis, Hampden, Haslerig, and Strode. The attorney-general desired that these persons should be placed in custody, and a secret committee appointed to examine witnesses. They were accused of endeavouring to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom, and deprive the king of his regal power; of alienating the affections of the people from the king; of drawing his majesty's late army from their obedience; of encouraging a foreign power, Scotland, to invade the kingdom; of endeavouring to subvert the rights of parliament; of compelling the parliament to join with them in their traitorous designs; and of conspiring to levy war against the king. The charge of corresponding with the Scots, in 1640, was, as we have shown, a technical act of treason, for which there was a legal defence under the Statute of Oblivion. The other charges had reference to their parliamentary conduct, as Clarendon implies. On the same day a serjeant-at-arms appeared at the bar of the House of Commons, and required the Speaker to place five members in his custody, whom the king had accused of high-treason. The five members were present when the officer named them. They remained in their places, silent. The Speaker commanded the serjeant to retire; and sent a deputation to the king, of which Falkland and Colepepper formed part, to say that so important a message should receive their most serious consideration, and that the members should be ready to answer any legal charge. The papers of the accused had been sealed up, at their lodgings, by the king's command. The House ordered that the seals should be removed, and the Speaker's warrant issued for the apprehension of those who had affixed them. The House then adjourned. On the morning of the 4th, the five members of the Commons were in their places. It was perfectly well known to a few what was about to happen. The king had acted illegally, in the first instance, by sending a serjeant-at-arms to demand the persons of the members without any warrant of the privy council or of a magistrate. It was now known that he was about to follow up this despotic attempt by an act still more unconstitutional. The Commons sent a message to the lord mayor, aldermen, and common council, to inform them that the privileges of parliament were in danger; and some members were deputed to the inns of court to desire the law students not to come to Westminster, as it was understood that they had been tampered with. The House then adjourned till one o'clock. In a short time, it was made known that the king was coming down the street from Whitehall, escorted by three or four hundred armed persons. Again it was reported that the king, with his band of attendants, had entered Westminster Hall. It was a moment of terrible suspense. Some members drew their swords. The more prudent urged the five accused to retire, to prevent bloodshed. An account of the scene which ensued has been preserved in the notes of one present, sir Ralph Verney, member for Aylesbury. It is as graphic as it is important as a parliamentary precedent.*

* Mr. Hallam prints it from the original notes more correctly than it is given in Hatsell's "Precedents of Proceedings in the House of Commons."

"As soon as the House met again [after the morning adjournment], it was moved, considering there was an intention to take these five members away by force, to avoid all tumult, let them be commanded to absent themselves; upon this the House gave them leave to absent themselves, but entered no order for it. And then the five gentlemen went out of the house.

"A little after, the king came with all his guard, and all his pensioners, and two or three hundred soldiers and gentlemen. The king commanded the soldiers to stay in the hall, and sent us word he was at the door. The Speaker was commanded to sit still, with the mace lying before him; and then the king came to the door, and took the palsgrave in with him, and commanded all that came with him on their lives not to come in. So the doors were kept open, and the earl of Roxburgh stood within the door, leaning upon it. Then the king came upwards towards the chair, with his hat off, and the Speaker stepped out to meet him; then the king stepped up to his place, and stood upon the step, but sat not down in the chair.

"And after he had looked a great while he told us he would not break our privileges, but treason had no privilege; he came for those five gentlemen, for he expected obedience yesterday, and not an answer. Then he called Mr. Pym and Mr. Hollis by name, but no answer was made. Then he asked the Speaker if they were here, or where they were? Upon this the Speaker fell on his knees, and desired his excuse, for he was a servant to the House, and had neither eyes nor tongue to see or say anything but what they commanded him: then the king told him he thought his own eyes were as good as his, and then said his birds had flown, but he did expect the House should send them to him; and if they did not, he would seek them himself, for their treason was foul, and such a one as they would all thank him to discover: then he assured us they should have a fair trial; and so went out, pulling off his hat till he came to the door.

"Upon this the House did instantly resolve to adjourn till to-morrow at one of the clock, and in the interim they might consider what to do."

Houses of Parliament, from the river.

CHAPTER XXX.

The king demands the Members at Guildhall—Manifestations of popular discontent—The king removes from Whitehall—The Members brought back in triumph—The queen leaves England—Conference at Newmarket—The king refused entrance to Hull—Parliamentary Ordinance for the Militia—The king forms a body guard at York—Propositions of the Parliament—View of society immediately before the commencement of the Civil War—Arming of the People—The Cavaliers—Influence and character of the Puritans—The Clergy—Shutting-up of the Playhouses—Volunteers of London—Women petitioning—London apprentices—Industry affected by the preparations for civil war—Disturbances in the country districts—Maintenance of order generally—Influence of the Press—The Poets—The Journalists—Superstitions—The king sets up his Standard at Nottingham—His gloomy prospects—Messages between the king and parliament—Essex marches from London.

When the king left the House of Commons, the members for a few seconds sat in mute astonishment; but the cry of "Privilege, Privilege," then burst forth, and the House instantly adjourned. As the members passed into the lobbies, they found themselves amongst a crowd of their own servants and other spectators, who were repeating the violent expressions which had been used by the king's attendants. The accused members proceeded to the city. The night was one of general alarm. The citizens formed themselves into armed patrols. The cry was that the Cavaliers were coming

to fire the city. At Whitehall there was terror and despondency. The queen, who in the morning had seen the king go forth from the palace, promising her that he would return in an hour, master of his kingdom, saw him return under the disgrace of having attempted an unlawful act, and failed in the attempt. In the evening it was known that the six members were in a house in Coleman-street. Lord Digby offered, says Clarendon, "with a select company of gentlemen, who would accompany him, whereof sir Thomas Lunsford was one, to seize upon them, and bring them away alive, or leave them dead in the place." The historian, who had just related the scene in the House of Commons, adds, with wonderful *naïveté*, "but the king did not like such enterprises." The Commons assembled on the 5th, and, declaring the king's coming "in a warlike manner" a high breach of privilege, adjourned for six days, appointing Committees to sit in the city. One Committee occupied Grocers' Hall, another occupied Merchant Taylors' Hall. Charles himself on that morning rode into the city without any guards. He was received by the people generally with cold respect, and by some with cries of "Privilege of Parliament." One man threw into his carriage a paper inscribed "To your tents, O Israel!" The king had written to the lord-mayor to summon a Common Council in Guildhall. He told them that he came amongst them without a guard, to show his affection; "that he had accused certain men of high-treason, against whom he would proceed in a legal way; and therefore he presumed they would not shelter them in the city." Clarendon adds, "he departed without that applause and cheerfulness which he might have expected from the extraordinary grace he vouchsafed to them." The king told one of the sheriffs whom he wished to conciliate, that he would dine with him; and having dined, he returned homewards, hearing the cry of "Privilege of Parliament" repeated, and looking upon faces of gloom and disquiet. It was Twelfth Night. The old Christmas gaiety of Whitehall was interrupted by such occurrences as England had never before seen. But on this Twelfth Night the one play of that Christmas was performed in the Cock-pit. The king and queen were not present; the prince of Wales, then a boy of twelve, was there to laugh at the scenes of "The Scornful Lady," one of the most popular of the dramas of Beaumont and Fletcher. This was the last dramatic performance which Whitehall witnessed during the reign of Charles.* There were four more days of fear and vacillation whilst the king and his family remained in the capital. The Common Council sent a petition to the king, complaining of the attempt to arrest the members. He makes an answer which only increases the discontent. On the 8th he issues a proclamation to arrest lord Kimbolton and the five Commoners. The parliamentary committees in the city meet the proclamation by great preparations to bring them back in triumph to Westminster. The courtiers now became alarmed for the personal safety of the king and queen. On the evening of the 10th Charles left Whitehall for Hampton Court. He never again entered that palace of the English kings, till that fatal morning when he walked across the Park from St. James's, attended by bishop Juxon, and guarded by a regiment of foot.

* The book of the Master of the Revels furnishes this record. See Collier's "Annals of the Stage," vol. ii. p. 102.

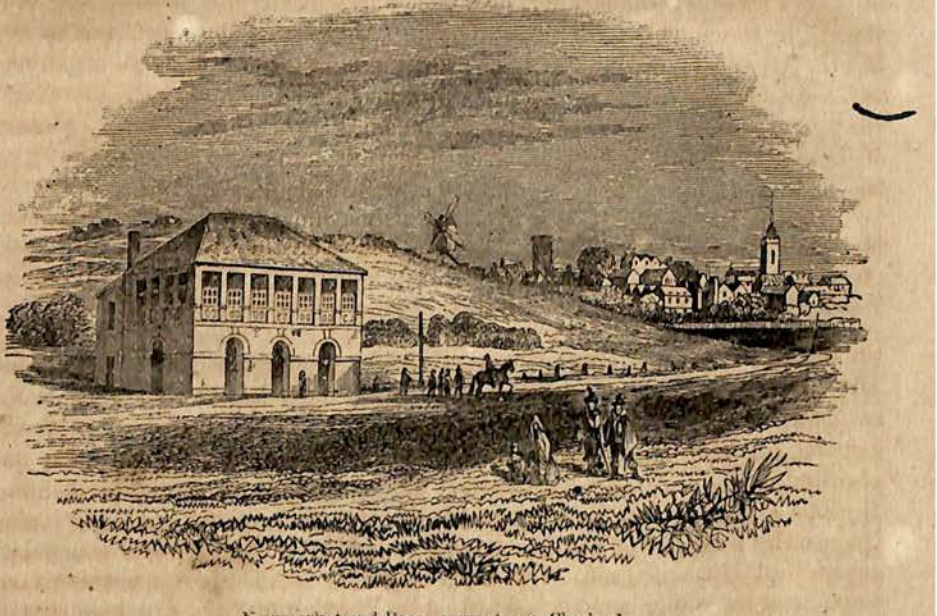
At two o'clock of that day se'nnight on which the king had entered the House of Commons, the accused members were brought back to the Parliament-stairs, in a rude triumph which presented a remarkable contrast to the welcome which the city gave its sovereign on the 25th of November. From London bridge to Westminster the Thames was covered with pleasure-barges and wherries filled with citizens. Lighters and long-boats, carrying pieces of ordnance, and dressed up with streamers, surrounded the barges of the Commons. The trained bands marched past Whitehall, bearing on their pikes the Protestation of 1641, and the printed votes of the Commons declaring the king's breach of their privileges, pinned on their breasts. As the crowd passed the palace they exclaimed, "Where are now the king and his cavaliers?" The House of Commons having met, the sheriffs of London were called in, and received the thanks of the Speaker. The masters and officers of ships, who had formed the river-guard, were also thanked. Then came the freeholders of Buckinghamshire, who, to the number of four thousand, had arrived in London to offer their services for the defence of Parliament. They came, each wearing the famous Protestation in his hat.* A deputation from the freeholders went the next day with a petition to the king, in which they prayed that their representative, Mr. Hampden, and the other members who laboured under a "foul accusation," might enjoy the just privileges of parliament. The king replied, "that because of the doubt that hath been raised of the manner, he would waive his former proceedings, and proceed in an unquestionable way." This "unquestionable way" was never tried. Another attempt of the king's rashest partisans was as unpropitious as the breach of privilege. On the day when the Buckinghamshire petition was presented, lord Digby and colonel Lunsford appeared with a body of men in arms at Kingston. The Parliament proclaimed them traitors. Digby fled beyond sea; Lunsford and his cavaliers attended the king to Windsor.

In the councils of Windsor, in which we may now well believe that better advisers were listened to than the vain Digby or the truculent Lunsford, a sensible plan of operations was resolved upon. The king was to refrain from all open contests with the Parliament; to hold out terms of conciliation, and gradually to retire to the north, whilst his friends were gathering strength. Charles invited the Houses, on the 20th of January, to reduce all their complaints to one specific relation. The Peers hailed this as an omen of peace; the Commons would put no faith in the king's desire for conciliation, unless he would transfer the military commands of fortresses and the Militia to those who possessed the confidence of parliament. The king gave a decided refusal to the Commons' "sure ground of safety." The House then directed, by Ordinance, that Goring, the governor of Portsmouth, and Hotham, the governor of Hull, should hold those garrisons "for king and parliament," and surrender to no one but under the authority of the parliament. Day by day was the contest growing to a fatal crisis. The Houses passed a Bill for regulating the Militia early in February. About the

* Butler calls this document—

"The prototype of reformation,
Which all the saints, and some, since martyrs,
Wore in their hats, like wedding-garters."—*Hudibras*, canto 2.

same time the Bill was carried "for disabling all persons in Holy Orders to exercise any temporal jurisdiction or authority," the preamble of which runs thus, "Whereas bishops and other persons in Holy Orders ought not to be entangled with secular jurisdiction, the office of the Ministry being of such great importance that it will take up the whole man." * To this Bill, by which the bishops were excluded from the House of Lords, the king at length gave his assent. The Bill for the Militia he rejected. The queen urged her husband to accept the one bill and reject the other. On the 16th of February her majesty, escorted by the king to Dover, took her departure for Holland. She carried with her the crown-jewels; and her real purpese was to raise forces for resisting the demands of the Parliament. There are many letters from the queen to the king, during her absence, which show how she laboured to strengthen the king's infirmity of purpose. They communicated in cipher, and the key to the cipher was always kept in the king's pocket. "Once again I remind you," she writes, "to take care of your pocket, and not let our cipher be stolen." † The breach between the king and the parliament upon the question of the Militia was more and more widened. Commissioners were received again and again, and the matter could not be accommodated; nor would the king, at the earnest entreaty of the Houses, return to London. At last, at a conference at Newmarket, when

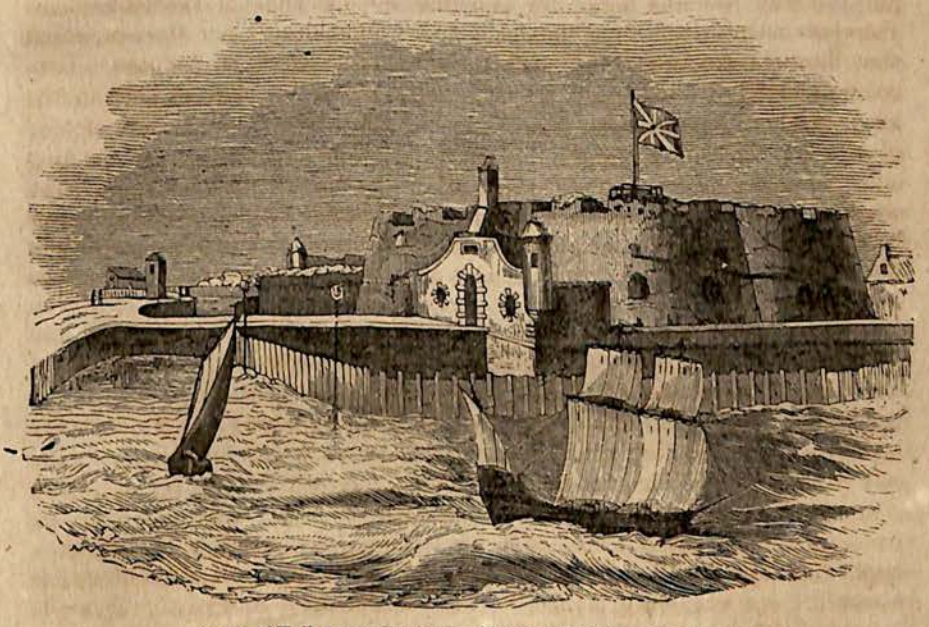


Newmarket and Race-course, temp. Charles I.

it was asked by lord Holland and lord Pembroke, whether the Militia might not be granted for a time, Charles replied, "No, by God, not for an hour; you have asked that of me, in this, which was never asked of a king, and with which I would not trust my wife and children." This scene, in this locality,

* 16 Car. I. c. 27. † Green's "Letters of Henrietta Maria," p. 54.

must have suggested a contrast to the usual meetings of the court at Newmarket, for the race-course there was established by Charles; and few courtiers fell in with the opinion of lord Herbert of Cherbury, who said, "The exercise I do not approve of is running of horses, there being much cheating in that kind." The king, after this stormy conference, went on to York. Royalist forces had been raised in the north by the marquis of Newcastle. The first step towards an actual outbreak of civil war was quickly taken. On the 23rd of April the king suddenly appeared before Hull at the head of a strong body of horse, and demanded admittance into



Castle of Hull, temp. Charles I. (From an old plan of the town.)

the town. There was a large store of arms and ammunition in the fortress. The mayor was about to open the gates, when sir John Hotham went on the ramparts, and falling on his knees begged the king to excuse a refusal to the demand, for that he, as governor, had sworn to keep the place at the disposition of the parliament. Charles was compelled to retire, proclaiming Hotham a traitor. He then complained to the parliament, demanding justice against the governor of Hull, according to law. The two Houses voted their approval of Hotham's act. The crisis had arrived. There was nothing more to be done for reconcilement. Thirty-two Peers, and sixty-five members of the Commons, joined the king at York. Those that remained no longer attempted to pass Bills for the royal sanction. They issued Ordinances. On the 5th of May the Parliamentary Ordinance for the Militia was directed to be carried out. The king proclaimed this ordinance to be illegal, and summoned the gentlemen of York to form his body-guard. But even in this county, which was considered the stronghold of the royalists, opinions were divided. The lord chancellor, Littleton, had sent the great seal to the king,

that mystic symbol of legal government. Many gentlemen of the county assembled in the town-hall of York, and were addressed by Charles, who was received with loud acclamations. Commissioners of the parliament, men of local influence, who had been sent to York to observe what passed, were threatened by the king and hooted by the cavaliers. But under this appearance of overwhelming strength, some fifty gentlemen, with sir Thomas Fairfax at their head, refused to join in the formation of a body-guard. A more important demonstration of public feeling occurred in the gathering round the hall of several thousands of the middle class, who demanded admission to the meeting, and being refused, held a meeting of their own, and protested against the acts of a close assembly. The king called another general meeting upon a neighbouring moor; and thither came forty thousand men, for the purpose of presenting a petition to the king, imploring him to be reconciled to his parliament. Charles read a paper, and was going away, when young Fairfax pressed forward, and on his knee presented the petition of the people. The king indignantly rode off, and after many violent ebullitions of contempt from the cavaliers the meeting dispersed. The councils of the king became irresolute. The decisions of the parliament, freed from the royalist members who had retired to York, became bolder. The leaders prepared for open war with marvellous energy. They proposed terms of accommodation which they must have anticipated would meet with rejection. These propositions went to the extent of stripping the monarch of the greater part of the constitutional powers which happily, in our times, have been found consistent with the most perfect liberty of the people. They contemplated, more especially, the enforcement of the principle that the appointment of the king's council and the great officers of state should be subject to the approbation of the two Houses. By the gradual establishment of ministerial responsibility, and the harmonious dependence of the executive power upon the legislative, such a result has been attained. It was then sought to be attained by such a direct curtailment of the sovereign authority as would have made the monarch what Charles truly described, "but the picture, but the sign of a king." The courageous and able men who drew up these propositions must have been satisfied that their adoption could have led to no permanent tranquillity; that they were incompatible with the existence of the monarchical principle; and that the executive power, under such arrangements, could have had no real strength to preserve domestic peace or resist foreign aggression. But they dreaded a return to arbitrary power; they suspected, not without cause, the inclinations of the king. They had the great plea of self-preservation for their actions; and they knew that if they fell themselves, public liberty would fall with them. Neither party was in a position to regard their rights and duties with equanimity. The most terrible question that can be put to a nation was now about to be put—to which of two powers, each claiming to be supreme, will you render obedience? On the 9th of July, three days before the Houses came to the decisive vote, that an army shall be raised "for the defence of the king and parliament" (such, for some time, was the phrase of the Ordinances), one member, sir Benjamin Rudyard, uttered this prophetic warning: "Mr. Speaker, it now behoves us to call up all the wisdom we have about us, for we are at the very brink of combustion and confusion. If blood once begin to touch blood, we

shall presently fall into a certain misery, and must attend an uncertain success, God knows when, and God knows what. Every man here is bound in conscience to employ his uttermost endeavours to prevent the effusion of blood. Blood is a crying sin: it pollutes the land. Let us save our liberties and our estates, as we may save our souls too. Now I have clearly delivered mine own conscience, I leave every man freely to his." *

Let us pause at this juncture, at which the public men of England are exhibiting the spirit of party in aspects so unusual and so portentous, and endeavour to catch some faint glimpses of the life of the people immediately before the commencement of the Civil War.

"Before the flame of the war broke out in the top of the chimneys, the smoke ascended in every country." So writes Lucy Hutchinson, a careful and honest observer of what was passing. She saw around her, in many places, "fierce contests and disputes, almost to blood, even at the first." The partisans of the king were carrying out his commissions of array. The partisans of the parliament were insisting upon obedience to the ordinance for the militia. The king proclaimed Essex, the captain-general of the parliament, and his officers, as traitors. The parliament voted the king's commissioners of array to be traitors. Not only were the king and the parliament each struggling to obtain possession of the munitions of war by seizing the fortified places, but each barrel of gunpowder was contested for by opposite parties. Mr. Hutchinson, going by chance to Nottingham, at the time when Charles was at York, is told by the mayor's wife that the sheriff has come to take away the ammunition belonging to the trained bands of the county. He goes into the town-hall, and finds lord Newark, the lord-lieutenant, and the sheriff, with two or three captains, seeing the gunpowder weighed. The king, said the lord-lieutenant, desired to borrow it—it should be restored in ten days. Mr. Hutchinson contended that such was the danger of the times that in four days they might be ruined for the want of the powder; there was a troop of horse in the town, committing great outrages and insolencies, and calling divers honest men puritans and rogues. The contest went on; but lord Newark, admitting that the powder belonged to "the country," would have it for the king. When the countrymen outside the hall knew what had taken place, they desired Mr. Hutchinson to stand by them, and they would part with every drop of blood in their bodies before the lord-lieutenant should have the powder. Lord Newark angrily gave up his demand, when he saw the multitude gathered round the hall. But still the power of the magistrate was respected, and it was agreed that the mayor and the sheriff should have the powder in their joint custody. Such contests between those of opposite opinions were going on throughout England. Few of the members of parliament remained in London. The zealous men of influence in their several counties were in their own districts, raising volunteers, gathering subscriptions, drilling recruits, collecting arms. Each is subscribing largely "for defence of the kingdom." Fire-arms are scarce; and the old weapons of the long-bow and cross-bow are again put in use. Old armour, long since "hung by the wall," is brought down and furbished. The rustic, changed into a pikeman, puts on the iron skull-cap and greaves; and the young farmer

* His printed speech bears date July 18. It is in the "Harleian Miscellany," vol. v. p. 216.

becomes a dragoon, with his carbine and pistols. In the parliamentary army there is every variety of clothing. In some companies raised by gentlemen amongst their tenants, the old liveries of each family give the prevailing colour. Hampden's men are in green; lord Brook's in purple; others are in blue; others in red. The officers all wear an orange scarf, being the colour of their general. The buff doublet, "though not sword yet cudgel proof," is a substitute for armour. Haslerig's Lobsters, and Cromwell's Ironsides—each so called from their rough mail—are not formed as yet. Recruits are taken, at first, without much reference to their opinions. Cromwell, with his super-eminent sagacity, saw the danger of this course. In a later period of his life, when he had attained supreme power, he thus described his position at the commencement of the war:—"I was a person who, from my first employment, was suddenly preferred and lifted up from lesser trust to greater; from my first being a captain of a troop of horse." He then relates that he "had a very worthy friend, a very noble person, Mr. John Hampden, and he thus spake to him:—'Your troops are most of them old decayed serving-men, and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and their troops are gentlemen's sons, younger sons, and persons of quality: do you think that the spirits of such mean and base fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour, and courage, and resolution in them.'" What Cromwell did to meet the ardour of the Cavalier with a zeal equally enthusiastic, he goes on to tell: "I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, as made some conscience of what they did."* Cromwell did justice to the principle upon which the honour and courage of the Cavaliers was founded. He saw, beneath their essenced love-locks and gilded doublets, clear heads and bold hearts. The gay were not necessarily debauched; the health-drinkers were not necessarily drunkards. There were other men in the royalist ranks than—

Dragoon. (From a specimen at Goodrich Court.)

"The bravoes of Alsatia, the pages of Whitehall."

There were great spirits in both armies ready to measure their swords for "The King," or for "The Cause."

We can scarcely assume that the bulk of the population, or even the

* Carlyle's "Cromwell," vol. iii. p. 250. This remarkable speech is also in Guizot's "Cromwell," vol. ii. p. 316.

greater number of the richer and more educated classes, at once took their sides in this great argument. We know they did not. Many of the best gentlemen of England withdrew from the quarrel which promised to be fatal either to order or to liberty. John Evelyn, whose inclinations were royalist, was one. "The Covenant being passed," he obtained a licence, signed by the king, to travel. He found it "impossible to evade the doing very unhandsome things." * Sir Roger Twysden, one who had refused ship-money, dreaded on the one hand to take part with the parliament, for he "saw, if this war continued, it would prove the ruin of the Protestant religion and the laws of the land;" but, on the other hand, he "did not love to have a king armed with book-law against me for my life and estate." Mr. Kemble, the editor of Twysden's "Government of England," from which we quote, says "Sir Roger Twysden was not the only gentleman who, being unable to join either party, desired to leave England for a time." This learned student of our history adds, by way of accounting for the flight to other lands of some of the country gentlemen, that "they felt it was impossible to serve a king who never spoke a word of truth in his life; and yet could not arm against him, or remain neutral between the two parties." † With every respect for conscientious halting between two opinions, we must nevertheless feel that it is nobler to be a little wrong in the adoption of one party or the other, than to stand aside in philosophical or interested indifference to either party. No cause can be wholly good or wholly bad. Whilst Englishmen were girding up their loins for battle in 1642, they presented a grander aspect than if the Roundheads had suffered Charles to come back in triumph to London, to be the absolute king which he claimed to be; or if the Cavaliers had suffered the Roundheads to trample the Monarchy and the Church in the dust, even in an honest desire to correct their abuses.

The state of opinion in the country generally is thus represented by Mrs. Hutchinson:—"Some counties were in the beginning so wholly for the parliament, that the king's interest appeared not in them; some so wholly for the king, that the godly, for those generally were the parliament's friends, were found to forsake their habitations, and seek other shelters." But in London, after the attempt of the king to violate the sanctuary of the House of Commons, and his removal from the seat of government, the majority of the people became devoted to the parliament. That the influence of those distinguished as "the godly," was more effectual in the capital than in the country, would be manifest if there were no other evidence than the bitterness with which the Puritans, and especially their preachers, are spoken of by the royalist writers. The "Gospel Trumpeter, surrounded with long-ear'd rout,"—the "errant saints,"—the "gifted brethren, preaching by a carnal hour-glass," were the objects of Butler's ridicule. Cleaveland's coarser wit attacks the "new teacher of the town,"—"his shopboard breeding,"—his "cozening cough and hollow cheek,"—his "hands to thump, no knees to bow." The puritan clergy were more hated than the "preaching coblers, pulpit praters," whom some defended "in a merry way," saying that, when such men first began to "take up that duty which the prelates and great doctors had let fall," they each had invaded the other's calling,—"that chandlers, cutlers, weavers, and the like, preached, while the archbishop himself,

* Diary. † Introduction, p. lxx.

instead of preaching, was busied in projects about leather, salt, soap, and such commodities as belonged to those tradesmen." * In London, the influence of the popular preachers, who filled the churches and conventicles, was irresistible. Few of the clergy were bold enough to support episcopacy; and those who proclaimed high-church opinions had very incredulous auditors. This temper began in the hatred of popery, which the people saw lurking behind the most harmless ceremonials. The cause of the parliament became the cause of the more earnest religionists; whilst the party of the king, though supported by many of sincere piety, was also the rallying point of the indifferent, the pleasure-loving, and the licentious. In the king's court, during its season of prosperity, the splendours of the church were more regarded than the ministration of the working clergy. We have mentioned the performance of "The Scornful Lady" on the night of the eventful 5th of January. It is perhaps significant of the real want of respect for the ministerial office, in a court which was ready to risk a civil war in the cause of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, that at this time of alarm a play was acted, of which "the trivial, senseless, and unnatural representation of the chaplain," was, seventy years afterwards, denounced as an offence against good morals; with the just observation, that "it is so mean a thing to gratify a loose age with a scandalous representation of what is reputable among men, not to say what is sacred, that no beauty, no excellence in an author, ought to atone it." The "Spectator," in the reign of Anne, held that the character of the chaplain in "The Scornful Lady," "has done more towards the disparagement of holy orders, and consequently of virtue itself, than all the wit of that author, or any other, could make up for in the conduct of the longest life after it." The chaplain of "The Scornful Lady" is not represented as a puritan. We see only, to use the words of the essayist, "a wretch without any notion of the dignity of his function." † This was the play selected by the master of the revels with an utter unconsciousness of its impropriety. How should he have been conscious that it was inconsistent with the boasted decorum of the court of Charles to ridicule the degraded condition of the clergy, when the curates who did the work were so scandalously paid, that in London they were to be found dining at "the threepenny ordinary," and in the country were glad to obtain from the churchwarden "a barley bag-pudding for the Sunday's dinner." The country curate is described as being "under a great prebend, and a double-beneficed rich man," with a salary inferior to his cook or his coachman. The London curates are represented as living "upon citizens' trenchers; and were it not that they were pitiful and charitable to them, there was no possibility of subsistence." ‡ The Committee of the Commons in 1641 received many bitter complaints from parishes, that their rectors and vicars would not preach themselves nor allow others to preach; and they appointed "The Committee of Preaching Ministers," whose business was to remedy these neglects. We can easily understand how, out of this laxity in regard to the real interests of religion, whilst some ministers were disputing whether "the Lord's table" should stand in the body of the church or at the east end, railed or without rails, covered or uncovered; those who denounced a liturgy, or resisted all ecclesiastical

* May. † Spectator, No. 270,—1712.

‡ See a curious tract, "The Curates' Conference," in "Harleian Miscellany," vol. i. 8vo.

government, grew stronger and stronger, and principally increased in London and other great towns. From this period we cannot understand the causes and the events of the Civil War, without steadily keeping in mind that the zeal of the Puritans, in whatever sectarian differences it exhibited itself, was as much the sustaining principle of the great conflict, as the passionate desire for civil liberty. These two great elements of resistance to the Crown produced impressions upon the national character,—for the most part salutary impressions,—which two centuries have not obliterated.

The strength of the puritanical element in the parliament of 1642 led to bold interferences with popular habits. The parliamentary leaders knew that they would have the support of the most powerful of the community of London, and of many other great towns, if not of the majority of the nation, when they discouraged the ordinary amusements of the people,—the bear-baitings, the cock-fights, the horse-races, the May-poles; appointed a fast on Christmas-day; and shut up the theatres. Bitter must have been the heart-burnings amongst the actors when their vocation came to an end in London, in 1642. The five regular companies were dispersed. Their members became "vagabonds," under the old Statutes, hanging about the camps of the Cavaliers, or secretly performing in inns and private houses. Old John Lowin, who was a fellow-actor with Shakspere, went to keep "The Three Pigeons" at Brentford; and in that ancient hostelry, a few years ago, some scenes were discovered painted on a wall. The parliament would not have ventured upon depriving the people of their most cherished amusement, throwing so many persons into destitution, had not the suppression of plays been held by them as a matter of religious obligation. There is a solemnity in the words of "An Ordinance of the Lords and Commons concerning Stage Plays," dated September 2, 1642, which has no sound of hypocritical pretence:—"Whereas the distressed estate of Ireland, steeped in her own blood, and the distracted estate of England, threatened with a cloud of blood by a civil war, call for all possible means to appease and avert the wrath of God appearing in these judgments: amongst which fasting and prayer having been often tried to be very effectual, have been lately and are still enjoined: and whereas public sports do not well agree with public calamities, nor public stage-plays with the seasons of humiliation, this being an exercise of sad and pious solemnity, and the other being spectacles of pleasure, too commonly expressing lascivious mirth and levity: it is therefore thought fit and ordained by the Lords and Commons in this Parliament assembled, that while these sad causes and set times of humiliation do continue, public stage-plays shall cease and be forborne."

Milton has described two of the chief aspects of the London of this period in very eloquent words: "Behold now this vast city; a city of refuge, the mansion-house of liberty, encompassed and surrounded with His protection. The shop of war hath not there more anvils and hammers working, to fashion out the places and instruments of armed justice in defence of beleaguered truth, than there be pens and heads there, sitting by their studious lamps, musing, searching, revolving new notions and ideas."* London is the shop of war; it is the home of thought. Let us look at the vast city under the first of these aspects. It has always had its Trained-bands. It

* "Speech for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing."

has now its Volunteers of every rank. Ludlow thus relates his first introduction to "the shop of war," when he thought it his duty, as a young man, to take part in the cause of parliament: "Soon after my engagement in this cause, I met with Mr. Richard Fynes, son to the lord Say, and Mr. Charles Fleetwood, son to sir Miles Fleetwood, then a member of the House of Commons; with whom consulting, it was resolved by us to assemble as many young gentlemen of the Inns of Court, of which we then were, and others, as should be found disposed to this service, in order to be instructed together in the use of arms." * They frequently met at the Artillery Ground, to receive this instruction from "a person experienced in military affairs." Many who had been in the Protestant armies of the continent, some who had fought under Gustavus Adolphus, were competent to become such instructors. Such a man was Skippon, who had been appointed major-general of the London Militia. Clarendon does justice to his character: "The man had served very long in Holland; and from a common soldier had raised himself to the degree of a captain, and to the reputation of a good officer: he was a man of order and sobriety, and untainted with any of those vices which the officers of that army are exercised in." The parliament considered this city force as a great arm of strength: "Ordered, that the House shall meet to-morrow at eight, and adjourn at ten, to the end that such as please may see the Militia of the city of London exercised." † Eight thousand men were mustered on this occasion. Tents were erected for the members of parliament, and there was a city feast, without which the review would have been maimed of its fair proportions. There were healths, mingled with prayers and thanksgivings, on that and other grand occasions. Skippon and his strict brethren were obliged to compromise with some of the profane customs which they held in abomination. When the parliamentary Ordinance for an army went forth, the zeal of the people was called out in a more remarkable manner than by the sights of Finsbury fields. There was a work to be done which would require heavy payments. Four thousand men had enlisted in one day, and they must have wages. The tables of Guildhall were instantly heaped up with money and plate. The wealthy brought their bags of silver and their parcel-gilt goblets; the poorer, their smallest article of value—"a thimble, bodkin, and a spoon." May says, "it was a common jeer of men disaffected to the cause to call it 'the thimble and bodkin army.'"

> "Women, that left no stone unturn'd
> In which the Cause might be concern'd,
> Brought in their children's spoons and whistles,
> To purchase swords, carbines, and pistols." ‡

Women took part in this great question of the time with an ardour in which there is nothing really ridiculous. The cavaliers laughed at "the zealous sisterhood;" but, in a juster point of view, there is something as heroic as the royalist countess of Derby's defence of Latham House, in the demeanour of the puritan Ann Stagg, a brewer's wife, when she went to the door of the House of Commons, at the head of a great number of women of the middle class, and presented a petition, which said,—"It may be thought strange and unbecoming our sex to show ourselves here, bearing a petition to this

* "Memoirs," p. 43. † "Journals," May 9, 1642. ‡ "Hudibras," part ii. canto 2.

honourable assembly; but Christ purchased us at as dear a rate as he did men, and therefore requireth the same obedience, for the same mercy, as of men: we are sharers in the public calamities." Pym delivered a gracious message to Ann Stagg and her companions: "Repair," he said, "to your houses, we entreat, and turn your petitions into prayers at home for us." Milton, commending the courtesy of the parliament to such petitions, says, "The meanest artisans and labourers, at other times also women, and often the younger sort of servants, attending with their complaints, and that sometimes in a less humble guise than for petitioners, have gone with confidence that neither their meanness would be rejected, nor their simplicity contemned." *

Citizen's Wife of London. (Hollar, Ornatus Muliebris, 1640.)

The London apprentices, so prominent in these unhappy times, and so really formidable in their organisation, require a brief notice. They were not a low-bred or illiterate class. The greater number were the sons of substantial citizens or yeomen; and even the esquire did not disdain that his boy should serve in the shop of the London trader. Stow says, "Because the apprentices of London were often children of gentlemen and persons of good quality, they did affect to go in costly apparel, and wear weapons, and frequent schools of dancing, fencing, and music." Their principle of confederation gave them their political strength. A writer of this period says, "There is a kind of supernatural sympathy, a general union, which knits their hearts in a bond of fraternal affection, under the common notion of a London 'prentice." † The dress of the apprentice in the reign of Charles I. was, "the flat round cap, hair close cut, narrow falling band, close side-coat, close hose, cloth stockings,"—an antique habit which may still be seen in the streets of London, as worn by the youths of that noble school, Christ's Hospital. The violence of the apprentices against episcopacy, and their general adherence to the cause of the Parliament, were probably influenced by the opinions of their puritan masters. But amongst this body there were some differences of opinion. At the beginning of 1643, there was a petition for peace, presented by "divers" London apprentices, which was not very favourably received; and in their published vindication they say, "Though we for several considerations were not, or not suffered to be, of that number who have exposed their persons to the fury of war, yet, as they bleed outwardly, we bleed within for the distempers of this Church and State." They probably belonged to the households of the minority of citizens, or were sons of royalist families. Their assertion that when they went to present their petition, they desired "all the subscribers to meet at the Piazzas in Covent Garden, in complete civil habits,

* "Apology for Smectymnus." † "Honour of London Apprentices," 1647.

without swords or staves," seems to point to a contrast with the usual truculent demeanour of their fraternity; and suggests that "the great long club" and "the long dagger" of the "well-grown sturdy apprentices," described by Stow, were still the weapons which made the rallying-cry of "'Prentices and clubs!" a terror to civic dignitaries.

It would have been more than strange if, amidst all the excitements of this summer, the preparations for civil war—the doubts and fears of those whose property or industry would surely be affected by the loss of internal peace,—the prosperity of the kingdom generally, and that of the Londoners as much as any portion of the nation, had not been materially affected. There is a curious tract, issued "in the year of disasters, 1642," which sets forth the general stagnation of employments. It is a bitter outpouring of wrath against "that master-piece, or idea of dissimulation, which Nature made her example to portraiture a rogue by, the Roundhead." Evidently written by a lawyer, it pours forth "St. Hilary's tears for want of a stirring Midsummer term." In Westminster Hall "those few judges left have time enough to get a nap, and no noise to awake them;"—"the lawyers, instead of perusing the breviates, and reducing the matter in question to cases, were buying up all the pamphlets, and dispersing themselves in corners to read them." The coaches that used to rumble up and down Palace-yard, challenging heaven with their thunder, are here and there one. The cooks in King-street lean against their door-posts. The lodgings in the Strand are empty. "At the Exchange, the only question that is asked is, what news?—not from Aleppo, Constantinople, the Straits, or Indies, but from York, Ireland, and the Parliament." In the halls of the City Companies there is no feasting but for the masters and wardens. In the shops there is no talk amongst the tradesmen, "but condoling the want of the courtiers' money." This is not a very touching feature of distress. It presents us nothing of the miseries of the poor, the first to suffer in a time of public distraction. Yet, from all the indications of this remarkable period, we may collect that public order was strictly maintained in London; that there were no attacks upon property; that life was perfectly secure. London was the general resort of those whose opinions exposed them to danger in the country. Ellwood, the quaker, says, "In my infancy, when I was but about two years old, I was carried to London." His father "favoured the parliament side, though he took not arms. Not holding himself safe at his country habitation, which lay too near some garrisons of the king's, he betook himself to London." The little boy was the playfellow of the daughter of the lady Springett; "being admitted as such to ride with her in her little coach, drawn by her footman about Lincoln's-inn-Fields." * The children in the little coach give an appearance of perfect security to Lincoln's-inn-Fields. It was in the country that the distractions of the time bore hard upon the richer families. Every manor-house was liable to attack by a royalist or a parliamentary band. Lady Brilliana Harley had to put her castle of Brompton, in Herefordshire, in a posture of defence, whilst her husband, sir Robert Harley, was engaged in his parliamentary vocation. The courageous woman, who died at her post, writes to her son, "My dear Ned, I thank God I am not afraid; it is the Lord's cause that we

* "Life of Thomas Ellwood, written by himself."

have stood for." * The people of Herefordshire were mostly for the king. In Essex, the party of the Parliament predominated. Arthur Wilson, in "The Tract of my Life," says, "The twentieth of August, 1642, the king having left the parliament, and thereby a loose rein being put into the mouth of the unruly multitude, many thousands swarmed to the pulling down of Long Melford House, a gallant seat belonging to the countess of Rivers; and to the endangering of her person. She being a recusant, they made that their pretence, but spoil and plunder was their aim. This fury was not only in the rabble, but many of the better sort behaved themselves as if there had been a dissolution of all government. No man could remain in his own house without fear, nor be abroad with safety."† At such a time, in a country where all were arming themselves, with the purpose, or the pretence, of joining one party or the other, lawless bands would undoubtedly seize the occasion of tumult and rapine. A circumstance recorded in July, 1643, may be anticipated in point of time as an illustration of this inevitable result of civil commotion. There was an insurrection in Kent against the Parliament. The house of Thomas Weller, the collector of the subscription money for the parliamentary army, was broken into and plundered; and one Parry, a smith, of Crayford, and another man named Smale, held the following colloquy: "We have sped well here," says Parry: "let us go to Hadlow and Peckham, and plunder there, for they are rich rogues, and so we will go away into the woods." Smale replied, "But we must plunder none but Roundheads." With a great oath Parry rejoined, "We will make every man a Roundhead that hath anything to lose: this is the time we look for." ‡

Amidst scenes such as these, "in all quarters of English ground, with swords getting out of their scabbards," there is one neutral power not wholly cast down—"the constable's baton still struggling to reign supreme." § That power never ceased to assert itself amidst hostile armies. The judges went their usual circuits. The Sessions and the County Courts were regularly held. The constable kept watch and ward, arrested night-walkers, pursued hue and cry after felons, apprehended vagabonds, presented disorderly ale-houses. The overseer provided the common stock to set the poor to work, and relieved the impotent poor. The local organisation of England might be disturbed, but it was never destroyed. The assumption of executive authority by the Parliament, if it were sometimes abused, was everywhere directed to the maintenance of order. Whilst the chief nobles and gentlemen, who were the natural conservators of the peace in their several counties, were gathered round the king at York or at Oxford, the leaders of the parliament were not only looking after the particular interests of their cause, and that very sharply, but were keeping the people under a strict rule, however irregular. The sons of sir John Bramston are coming from the king at York, in July of 1642. Near Huntingdon they are commanded to stand by certain musketeers, who start out of the corn, "telling us we must be searched, and to that end must go before Mr. Cromwell, and give account from whence we

* "Letters of Lady Brilliana Harley," p. 180. Camden Society.
† Peck's "Desiderata Curiosa," lib. xii. p. 23. Folio.
‡ Mr. Weller's Narrative. "Camden Miscellany," vol. iii. p. 31.
§ Carlyle's "Cromwell," vol. i. p. 98.

came, and whither we were going." * Mr. Cromwell is not yet in military command, but he is a Justice of the Peace, and his name is already a word of strength. He is member for the town of Cambridge; and has there exercised a very unusual representative power, by seizing the magazine in the Castle, and stopping the transit of the University plate to the king's quarters. The country gentleman "in a plain cloth-suit," who farmed the tithes at Ely, and cultivated lands there, felt that he had the power within him to deal with great public exigencies. In a very startling manner did he deal with them.

In 1623 Charles heard, in Ben Jonson's "Prince's Masque," allusions to a power which was then beginning to make itself formidable. The "press in a hollow tree," worked by "two ragged rascals," expressed the courtly contempt of that engine which was to give a new character to all political action. In 1642, wherever Charles moved, he had his own press with him. His state papers, for the most part written by Hyde, were appeals to the reason and the affections of his people, in the place of the old assertions of absolute authority. In the same way, the declarations of the Parliament approached the great questions in dispute, in the like spirit of acknowledgment that there was a court of appeal beyond the battle-field, where truth and right would ultimately prevail. This warfare of the pen gradually engaged all the master minds of the country; some using the nobler artillery of earnest reasoning and impassioned rhetoric; others emptying their quivers of vehement satire, or casting their dirty missiles of abuse, on the opponents of their party. Milton enters upon his task with a solemn expression of "small willingness to leave a calm and pleasing solitariness, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, to embark in a troubled sea of noises and hoarse disputes, put from beholding the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies." † Cleaveland rushes into the fray with an alacrity that suits his impetuous nature:—

> "Ring the bells backward; I am all on fire;
> Not all the buckets in a country quire
> Shall quench my rage." ‡

Herrick was living in his vicarage of Dean Priors in Devonshire, disliking the "people currish, churlish as the seas," amongst whom he lived; scarcely venturing to print till he was ejected from his benefice; but solacing his loyalty with the composition of stanzas to "the Prince of Cavaliers," and recording his political faith in two lines, which comprehended the creed of the "thorough" royalists:—

> "The gods to kings the judgment give to sway;
> The subjects only glory to obey." §

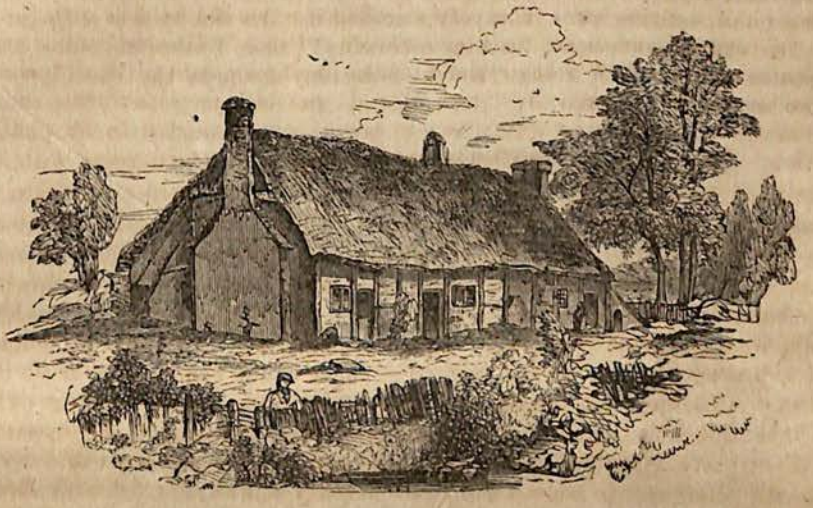
The general tone of the poets is expressed by Lovelace:—

> "Our careless heads with roses bound,
> Our hearts with loyal flames." ‖

Butler, from the time when he left his father's cottage at Strensham, on the

* "Autobiography of Sir John Bramston," p. 86.
† "Reason of Church Government," book ii.
‡ "The Rebel Scot."
§ "Hesperides," p. 151, vol. i. ed. 1823.
‖ "To Althea."

banks of the Avon, to note down those manifold characteristics of his time which furnish the best picture of its common life, was a royalist. Cleaveland, Carew, Suckling, Denham, Herrick, Butler, form a galaxy of cavalier verse-makers. The dramatic poets, who were left to see the suppression of the theatres, such as Shirley, were naturally amongst the most ardent haters of the puritan parliament. But Milton did not quite stand alone amongst



Butler's Cottage.

those with whom civil and religious liberty was a higher sentiment than loyalty to the king. George Wither was the poet of puritanism, as ready with bitter invective as Cleaveland. But in Wither, the exalted spirit of fervent piety, which warmed the hearts of the religious enthusiasts, whether "sitting by their studious lamps," or shouting "The Cause" amidst the noise of battle, imparts a majesty to his political poems for which we look in vain amidst the songs of the Cavaliers:—

"With fury came our armed foes,
To blood and slaughter fiercely bent;
And perils round us did inclose,
By whatsoever way we went;
That had'st not Thou our Captain been,
To lead us on and off again,
We on the place had dead been seen,
Or masked in blood and wounds had lain." *

The inferior men of letters then rushed to take up the weapons of party in the small newspapers of the time. Their name was legion. Their chief writers, Marchmont Needham on the parliament side, with his "Mercurius Britannicus," and John Birkenhead on the royalist side, with his "Mercurius Aulicus," were models of scurrility. The character which Aubrey gives of Birkenhead was probably true of the greater number of the journalists: "He was exceedingly confident, witty, not very grateful to his benefactors, would

* Song 88.

lie damnably." * The parliament writers had evidently the best of it, if we may judge by the hatred which Cleaveland bears to the whole tribe of journalists: "A Diurnal Maker is the sub-almoner of history, queen Mab's register; one whom, by the same figure that a north-country pedlar is a merchant-man, you may style an author." † A London Diurnal he calls "a history in sippets." He says, "It begins usually with an Ordinance, which is a law still-born." Its chief ingredients are "plots, horrible plots." When the time of fighting came, Cleaveland regarded "the triumphs of a Diurnal" as "so many bladders of their own blowing;" and Butler ridicules those victories which called forth "thanksgiving day amongst the churches," as mere vapourings, though

> "registered by fame eternal
> In deathless pages of Diurnal." ‡

Whatever were their demerits, the little newspapers produced a powerful effect. They were distributed through the villages by the carriers and foot-posts. The country-woman brought a "Diurnal" from the market town in her egg-basket. They gave information to individuals, without committing indiscreet friends in correspondence. They probably did something towards general enlightenment in places that would have been otherwise wholly given up to local prejudices and superstitions. In a time of such great public troubles all men had a touch of superstition. Evelyn looks with wonder upon "a shining cloud in the air, in shape resembling a sword." § After the fight of Edgehill, "in the very place where the battle was stricken, have since and doth appear strange and portentous apparitions of two jarring and contrary armies." So records a tract, in which the "apparitions and prodigious noises of war and battles" are certified by a justice of the peace, a preacher, and "other persons of quality." Such a relation was evidently not an attempt at imposture; and must be received as a remarkable instance of the illusions of the imagination, when preternaturally excited by the immediate presence of extraordinary events. During these wars the belief in witches reached a frightful extent; and the astrologers, with Lilly at their head, were going beyond their ancient vocation of discovering lost spoons and prophesying happy marriages, to discover in the stars the certain victory for the party which offered the best rewards for their science.

Country-woman.

* Lives, vol. ii. p. 239.
† "Character of a Diurnal Maker," ed. 1657.
‡ Hudibras, part i. canto 3.
§ Diary.

Such, then, is a very imperfect sketch of a few of the salient points of English society, at the time when rival armies of Englishmen stood front to front in the midland counties. The king in August had vainly attempted to obtain possession of Coventry. He had then gone to Leicester with a body of cavalry. On the 21st of August, the king's nephew, Prince Rupert, had joined him, and received the command of the horse. The next day they rode to Nottingham. The king's purpose was, upon Nottingham Castle, to set up his Standard—a ceremony which had not been seen in England since Richard III. had raised his standard in Bosworth-field—a ceremony which was held by some legists to be equivalent to a declaration that the kingdom was in a state of war, and that the ordinary course of law was at an end. Evening was coming on. The great streamer, such as was borne by many men at a lord-mayor's show, was placed upon the highest tower, with a red battle-flag waving over it. The herald read a proclamation; the trumpets sounded; the friends who stood around the castle cried "God save the king." A stormy night came on; and, omen of disaster as many thought, the standard was blown down.

The setting-up of the Standard would appear from Clarendon's account to have been a hasty and somewhat desperate act. The king had previously issued a proclamation "requiring the aid and assistance of all his subjects on the north side Trent, and within twenty miles southward thereof, for the suppressing of the rebels, now marching against him." He calls, in a tone of supplication rather than of command, to invite all "whose hearts God Almighty shall touch with a true sense and apprehension of our sufferings," to attend our person at our town of Nottingham, where "we intend to erect our Standard Royal in our just and necessary defence, and whence we intend to advance forward for the suppression of the said rebellion." Clarendon says, "there appeared no conflux of men in obedience to the proclamation; the arms and ammunition were not yet come from York, and a general sadness covered the whole town." There is a passage in his original MS. which adds, "And the king himself appeared more melancholic than he used to be." The historian of "The Rebellion" further enlarges upon the gloomy prospect that was before the king and his adherents:—"The king received intelligence the next day that the rebels' army, for such now he had declared them, was, horse and foot and cannon, at Northampton;" besides a force at Coventry. "At Nottingham, besides some few of the trained bands, which sir John Digby, the active sheriff of that county, drew into the old ruinous castle there, there were not of foot levied for the service yet three hundred men. So that they who were not over much given to fear, finding very many places in that great river, which was looked upon as the only strength and security of the town, to be easily fordable, and nothing towards an army for defence but the Standard set up, began sadly to apprehend the danger of the king's own person."

There is an interesting description of Nottingham Castle by one who, in another year, had there to endure great anxieties, and to show the tenderness as well as heroism of a noble woman's nature. Mrs. Hutchinson thus describes this remarkable place, of which a modern building is now also a ruin, produced not by time, but by popular outrage:—

"The castle was built upon a rock, and nature had made it capable of

very strong fortification; but the buildings were very ruinous and unhabitable, neither affording room to lodge soldiers nor provisions. The castle stands at one end of the town, upon such an eminence as commands the chief streets of the town. There had been enlargements made to this castle after the first building of it. There was a strong tower, which they called the Old Tower, built upon the top of all the rock, and this was that place where queen Isabel, the mother of king Edward the Third, was surprised with her paramour, Mortimer, who by secret windings and hollows in the rock came up into her chamber from the meadows lying low under it, through which there ran a little rivulet, called the Line, almost under the castle rock. At the entrance of this rock there was a spring, which was called Mortimer's Well, and the cavern, Mortimer's Hole: the ascent to the top is very high; and, not without some wonder at the top of all the rock there is a spring of water. . . . . Under that tower, which was the old castle, there was a larger castle where there had been several towers and many noble rooms, but the most of them were down; the yard of that was pretty large; and without the gate there was a very large yard that had been walled, but the walls were all down, only it was situated upon an ascent of the rock, and so stood a pretty height above the streets; and there were the ruins of an old pair of gates, with turrets on each side."

The importance attached, in these days, to the royal act of hoisting a streamer of unusual size upon a commanding position, can scarcely be adequately estimated in our times. It revived all the traditions of feudality. It was the terrible symbol of the Lord Paramount summoning his vassals to war. The motto which the standard displayed might be taken as an assertion of the principle of absolute power, which the king had supposed inherent in him: "Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's." That Charles was supported throughout this contest by the belief that he was not accountable to any power for his actions, was sufficiently manifested at this critical period. His advisers urged an attempt to negotiate with the Parliament. Charles refused with a "composed courage and magnanimity" which "seemed too philosophical and abstracted from the policy of self-preservation." But he was persuaded to negotiate—not in sincerity of heart, but in the desire to obtain an advantage from the mere manifestation of a disposition to negotiate: "That which prevailed with his majesty very reasonably then to yield was, 'that it was most probable' (and his whole fortune was to be submitted at best to probabilities) 'that, out of their pride, and contempt of the king's weakness and want of power, the parliament would refuse to treat; which would be so unpopular a thing, that as his majesty would highly oblige his people by making the offer, so they would lose the hearts of them by rejecting it; which alone would raise an army for his majesty.'" * The parliamentary leaders knew that the messengers of the king came with hollow overtures. They knew his weakness at the moment when he sent a message to the Parliament that his only desire was to prevent the effusion of blood; "our provision of men, arms, and money being such as may secure us from further violence till it pleases God to open the eyes of our people." The Parliament returned this answer: "We have endeavoured to prevent, by our several advices

* Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 205.

and petitions, the dangerous and distracted state of this kingdom, not only without success, but that there have followed those several proclamations and declarations against both the Houses of Parliament, whereby their actions are declared treasonable, and their persons traitors; and, thereupon, your Majesty hath set up your standard against them, whereby you have put them, and in them the whole kingdom, out of your protection. So that, until your Majesty shall recall those proclamations and declarations, whereby the earl of Essex and both Houses of Parliament are declared traitors or otherwise delinquents, and until the standard set up in pursuance of the said proclamation be taken down, your Majesty hath put us into such a condition, that, while we so remain, we cannot, by the fundamental privileges of Parliament, the public trust reposed in us, or with the general good and safety of this kingdom, give your Majesty any other answer to this message." * The king, in new proclamations, repeated his declarations of the treason of the earl of Essex and others; at the moment when he had made another proposition that he would withdraw his proclamations if the Parliament would withdraw theirs. Neither party would make the first concession.

There is nothing more remarkable, amidst the anger and suspicion of this momentous period, than the evident reluctance of both parties to proceed to extremities. In such a conflict all would be losers. There was so much of reason and justice on each side that, till the shock of arms had let loose the passions that belong to a state of war, there was a lingering hope that a day-spring of peace would succeed this gloomy night. Sir Edmund Verney, the king's standard-bearer, thus expressed himself to Hyde: "My condition is much worse than yours, and different, I believe, from any other man's, and will very well justify the melancholic that I confess to you possesses me. You have satisfaction in your conscience that you are in the right; that the king ought not to grant what is required of him; and so you do your duty and your business together. But for my part, I do not like the quarrel, and do heartily wish that the king would yield and consent to what they desire; so that my conscience is only concerned in honour and in gratitude to follow my master. I have eaten his bread, and served him near thirty years, and will not do so base a thing as to forsake him, and choose rather to lose my life (which I am sure I shall do) to preserve and defend those things which are against my conscience to preserve and defend." However we may feel as to the civil and religious principles involved in this fearful quarrel, our warmest sympathies go with the noble Englishmen who were engaged on opposing sides, though the ties of blood and friendship might have joined them in the same ranks. How many might truly say to his friend and brother,

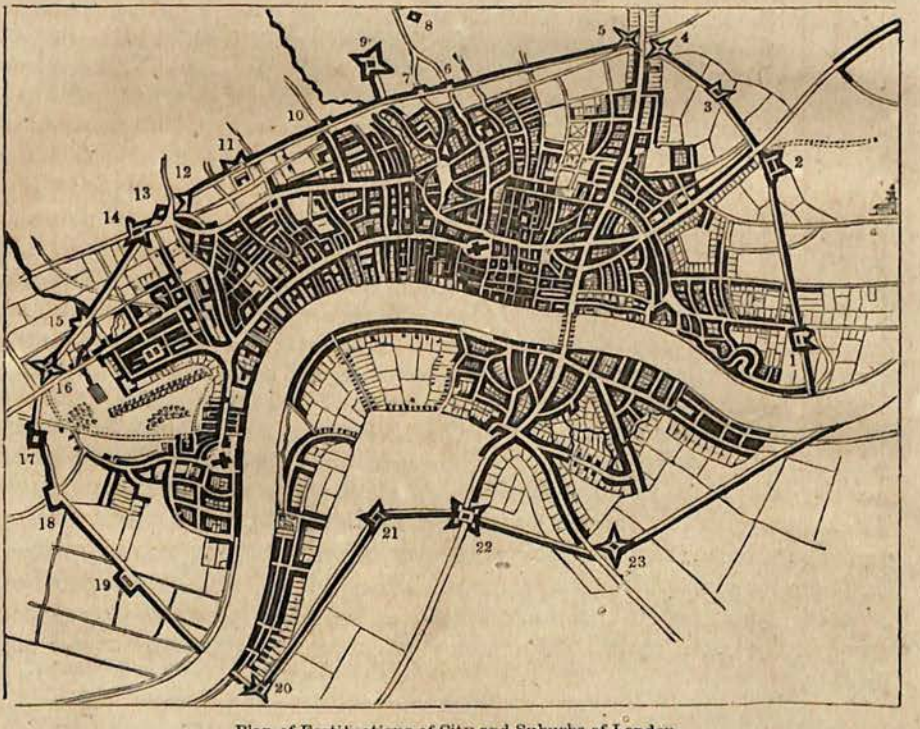
"Nought I did in hate, but all in honour."

In a letter from sir William Waller, the parliamentarian, to sir Ralph Hopton, the royalist, this principle is enforced with a feeling which, we confess, we cannot read without deep emotion, though the actors in this tragedy have passed from the stage two centuries ago: "My affections to you are so unchangeable, that hostility itself cannot violate my friendship to your person;

* Clarendon, vol. iii.

but I must be true to the cause wherein I serve. The old limitation of *usque ad aras* holds still. . . . . The great God, who is the searcher of my heart, knows with what reluctance I go upon this service, and with what perfect hatred I look upon a war without an enemy. But I look upon it as *opus Domini*, and that is enough to silence all passion in me. The God of peace in his good time send us peace, and in the mean time fit us to receive it! We are both on the stage, and we must act the parts that are assigned us in this tragedy. Let us do it in a way of honour, and without personal animosities."

And so, there being no alternative but war, the Parliament, on the 9th of September, published a declaration to the whole kingdom, setting forth the causes of the war. On that day, the earl of Essex marched in great state out of London to join the army in the midland counties with the trained bands. A few weeks later the Parliament ordered London to be fortified; and the population, one and all, men, women, and children, turned out, day by day, to dig ditches, and carry stones for their bulwarks.



Plan of Fortifications of City and Suburbs of London.

1. Gravel Lane.
2. Whitechapel Road.
3. Brick Lane.
4. Hackney Road, Shoreditch.
5. Kingsland Road, Shoreditch.
6. Mount Mill.
7. St. John Street end.
8. Near Islington Pound.
9. New River Upper Pound.
10. Hill east of Blackmary's Hole.
11. Southampton House, now the British Museum.
12. Near St. Giles's Pound.
13. East end of Tyburn Road.
14. Wardour Street.
15. Place called Oliver's Mount.
16. Hyde Park Corner.
17. Constitution Hill.
18. Chelsea Turnpike.
19. Tothill Fields.
20. Vauxhall.
21. St. George's Fields.
22. Blackman Street.
23. Near the Lock Hospital in Kent Street.

ENGLAND.	SCOTLAND.	FRANCE.	SPAIN.	GERMANY.	SWEDEN.	PAPAL STATES.
1547 Edward VI.	Mary	1547 Henry II.	Charles I.	Charles V.		Paul III.
1553 Mary						1550 Julius III.
			1555 Philip II.			1555 Marcellus II.
				1557 Ferdinand I.		1555 Paul IV.
1558 Elizabeth						
		1559 Francis II.				1559 Pius IV.
		1560 Charles IX.				
				1564 Maximilian II.		1566 Pius V.
	1567 James VI.					
		1574 Henry III.				1572 Gregory XIII.
				1576 Rodolph II.		
						1585 Sixtus V.
		1589 Henry IV.				1590 Urban VII.
						1590 Gregory XIV.
						1591 Innocent IX.
						1592 Clement VIII.
			1599 Philip III.			
1603 James I.						
					1604 Charles IX.	1605 Leo XI.
						1605 Paul V.
		1610 Louis XIII.				
					1611 Gustavus Adolphus	
				1612 Matthias		
				1619 Ferdinand II.		
			1621 Philip IV.			1621 Gregory XV.
1625 Charles I.						1623 Urban VIII.
					1632 Christina	
				1637 Ferdinand III.		
		1643 Louis XIV.				1644 Innocent X.

END OF VOLUME III.

LONDON:
BRADBURY, EVANS, AND CO., PRINTERS, WHITEFRIARS.

00031581

Digitized with financial assistance from the
Government of Maharashtra
on 18 July, 2018